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on his Sixtieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

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A Closer Look at the *Dīwān al-Adab*

JAMES M. KELLY

Many medieval Islamic authors borrowed materials from their predecessors and incorporated them into their own works without making any acknowledgment of their debt. This was a standard practice, and it was not considered particularly dishonest or disgraceful. One result of the custom, however, is that it is often impossible to ascertain the source of a given work, except by comparison with earlier works of the same genre. Detective investigations for such information are therefore common in this field. One such case was the discovery by G. Bergsträsser in 1921 that the model used by Kāšγarī for his Turkic lexicon, the *Dīwān luγāt at-turk* ("Compendium of the Turkic Dialects"), was the *Dīwān al-adab* ("Compendium of Learning") of Fārābī.[1] The discovery resulted from a comparison of the respective arrangements of the two works. However, Fārābī's work also served as the partial model for the *Ṣiḥāḥ* ("The Authentic") of Jauharī, and hence also originated an entire school of Arabic lexicography.

It is noteworthy that all three authors mentioned above did most of their work in the Eastern Islamic world and not in the nucleus of the empire, Baghdad. This is not as strange as it may at first appear, because it is to be expected that those Muslims to whom Arabic was not native would be the most likely to approach it from a scientific point of view and to attempt to systematize it. A supportive factor was the long tradition of scientific and literary activity in this part of the world, with its numerous centers of learning which continued to exist into the medieval period. Currents from Greece, Persia, Byzantium, India, Central Asia, and China intermingled in this area, giving rise to multifarious ideas and influences in all facets of intellectual endeavors.

The aim of this paper is to look at the *Dīwān al-adab* of Fārābī from the

[1] G. Bergsträsser, "Das Vorbild von Kāšγarī's dīwān luġāt at-turk," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 24 (1921): 154–55.

aspect of structure and to make a more complete assessment of its influence on the works of Jauharī and Kāšγarī.

The full title of the *Dīwān* is the *Dīwān al-adab fī bayān luγa al-'arab*, or "Compendium of Learning in Explaining the Language of the Arabs," written by Abū Ibrāhīm Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (d. 350/961).[2] The manuscript exists in a single copy completed in Jumādā al-ūla, 668/1269, by al-Ḥājjī ibn al-Ḥusayn (folio 369).[3] The work itself seems to have been written for a certain "Atsiz, King of Khwarizm."[4]

The *Dīwān* has several innovative features differentiating it from earlier lexicographical works, some of which were adopted in later lexicographical works. First, let us note that Fārābī rejected the arrangement devised by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. 175/791) in his work the *Kitāb al-'ayn* ("Book of the 'Ayn").[5] The latter was named after the first letter of Khalīl's own alphabetical arrangement, in which the order of phonemes was based upon the points of articulation.[6] In addition, Khalīl had arranged his entries around all possible permutations of each root, classifying them into words which were "in use" (Ar. *musta'mal*) and those "not in use" (Ar. *muhmal*). Words "not in use" also included roots which, for phonological reasons, were impossible to form. Khalīl's arrangement was called the "Anagrammatical Arrangement" (Ar. *tartīb al-taqlīb*). A school which formed around the method lasted until the *Muḥkam* ("The Masterly") of ibn Sīda (d. 458/1066) and then gave way to the Rhyme Arrangement (Ar. *tartīb al-qāfiyya*) which Fārābī was to originate.[7]

The Rhyme Arrangement was Fārābī's most important and long-lasting influence on Arabic lexicography. It consisted of arranging roots according to their final radical, followed by the first radical, the second, and so on. Thus a word could order the radicals in the following manner: 3–1–2, 4–1–2–3, etc. This ordering has given rise to a number of theories which do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that the arrangement became the

[2] On Fārābī, see Jörg Kraemer, "Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie," *Oriens* 6 (1953): 212. His honorific indicates he came from Fārāb, later Otrar, which is located on the Syr Darya. All dates are given according to both the Muslim or Hijra and the Christian calendar.

[3] It is located in the Bodleian Library, MS Pococke 227. The folio numbers are given in parentheses.

[4] Clément Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature* (Beirut, 1966), p. 157. I can find no other reference to support this statement.

[5] On al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, see John A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 20–40; and Abdullah Darwīš, *Al-Ma'ājim Al-'arabiyya* (Cairo, 1956), pp. 2–9, 17–18.

[6] Haywood, *Lexicography*, p. 37, postulates Indian influence here, but Darwīš, *Ma'ājim*, p. 4, denies this.

[7] On al-Khalīl's school, see Haywood, *Lexicography*, pp. 41–67.

principal method of lexical arrangement, used by Arabic lexicographers up to the present time.

Another of Fārābī's innovations was the classification of roots according to various phonological criteria. He divided his *Dīwān* into six books, each of which was based upon a specific phonological feature:

1. The Book of the Sound (*Kitāb as-sālim*) — roots containing only sound consonants (i.e., no weak letters);
2. The Book of the Doubled (*Kitāb al-muḍā'af*) — doubled or geminate roots;
3. The Book of Resemblance (*Kitāb al-miṯāl*) — roots commencing with the weak letter *wāw* or *yā'* functioning as a consonant;
4. The Book of the Possessor of Three (*Kitāb ḏī aṯ-ṯalāṯa*) — roots having a weak medial radical;
5. The Book of the Possessor of Four (*Kitāb ḏī al-arba'a*) — roots having a weak final radical;[8]
6. The Book of the Hamz (*Kitāb al-hamz*) — roots having hamz in any position.

This classification closely follows the criteria and nomenclature used by Arabic grammarians to describe the Arabic verbal system. There may have been some connection between this system and the Kufan school of grammatical studies.[9] Of concern to us here are only books 4 and 5, which would normally use the terms *ajwaf* 'hollow', i.e., weak medial, and *nāqiṣ* 'defective', i.e., weak final, and the absence of a category for doubly and trebly weak roots (*lafīf* 'complicated').

Each of the books is divided into nouns and verbs, with nouns occurring first. Fārābī's treatment of nouns brings us to the most unique feature of the *Dīwān,* namely, its arrangement of nouns based on their pattern (*wazn,* but called by Fārābī *binā'* 'structure'), rather than on their number of radicals. The system relied on consonant and vowel arrangement of the word in Arabic. To indicate the word's structure, a *model* was used — the Arabic root *f-'-l* 'to do'. Because Arabic is a Semitic language based upon a triliteral structure with internal inflexion, this native system of signifying patterns by a model root works very well. One takes the triliteral root, which gives the semantic sense of the word and, depending upon the concept desired, adds various vowel combinations and/or additional

[8] On this term and the preceding one, see James M. Kelly, "On Defining *Dhū ath-thalāthah* and *Dhū ar-Arba'ah,*" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91, no. 1 (1971): 132–36.

[9] F. Krenkow, "The Beginnings of Arabic Lexicography till the Time of al-Jauhari," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Centenary Supplement,* 1924, p. 268.

letters to form lexical items. All of this can be done on an abstract level by utilizing the root *f-'-l*. The following examples from Arabic illustrate this:

1. *fā'il*: this represents the active participle or *nomen actoris*, e.g., *qātil* 'killer' (< q-t-l 'to kill') and *kātib* 'writer' (< k-t-b 'to write');
2. *fa'īl*: the passive, e.g., *qatīl* 'killed' and *katīm* 'shut tight' (< k-t-m 'to hide, conceal');
3. *mif'al*: noun of instrument, e.g., *minjal* 'sickle' (< n-j-l 'to cut grass') and *minsaf* 'winnow' (< n-s-f 'to scatter').

The nouns are then arranged according to the number of radicals, that is, as being biliteral, triliteral, quadriliteral, etc. Finally, each of these sections is arranged according to various patterns following a well-defined order both of form and of vowel occurrence: fa'l, fu'l, fi'l; fa'al, fa'ul, fa'il; fu'al, fu'ul, fu'il; fi'al, fi'ul, fi'il. Then letters of increase are added: af'al, af'ūl, if'āl, etc. There then appear forms with initial *mīm*: maf'al, maf'ul, muf'al, etc. Then internal changes are allowed for: fu'aylā, fi'īlā, fā'āl, fi'īl. Finally, various additional final letters and doubling of the final radical are introduced: fu'lān, fa'lal, fi'līl, fu'lalīl, fi'lalil, etc. The roots in each section are arranged by their final radical according to the Rhyme Arrangement. The tā' marbuṭa has a section followed by weak final roots and finally ending with weak final roots plus tā' marbuṭa. This is the procedure used for the nouns.

The section on verbs is less complicated and can be outlined thus:

First form (distinguished by their vowels)

1. Perfect in fatḥa — imperfect in ḍamma
2. Perfect in fatḥa — imperfect in kasra
3. Perfect in fatḥa — imperfect in fatḥa
4. Perfect in kasra — imperfect in fatḥa
5. Perfect in ḍamma — imperfect in ḍamma

Derived forms (given by verbal noun)

1. if'āl = af'ala(IV)
2. taf'īl = fa''ala (II)
3. mufā'ala = fā'ala (III)
4. ifti'āl = ifta'ala (VIII)
5. infi'āl = infa'ala (VII)
6. istif'āl = istaf'ala (X)
7. tafa''ul = tafa''ala (V)
8. tafā'ul = tafā'ala (VI)
9. if'ilāl = if'alla (IX)
10. if'īlāl = if'ālla (XI)
11. if'inlāl = if'anlala (XIV)
12. if'ī'āl = if'aw'ala (XII)
13. if'iwwāl = if'awwala (XIII)

The most obvious shortcoming of this system is the occurrence of the various derived forms of a root throughout the book, depending on their pattern. For instance, *qatl* 'killing' is found under the pattern fa'l, *qitl* 'enemy' under fi'l, *qatīl* 'killed' under fa'īl, *maqtal* 'murder' under maf'al, and so on, each occurrence being mixed in among other roots of the same pattern. Perhaps Fārābī saw an advantage in arranging lexical items according to their morphological pattern, rather than by meaning. Thus all words indicating the active participle are under the pattern fā'il, the noun of instrument under mif'al, etc. This might be logical from a grammatical viewpoint, but it is confusing from a lexical one.

Fārābī explains his entire system in a long and rather detailed introduction of several chapters arranged in the following order:

1. (Introduction) (1V)
2. On the Parts of Speech (3R)
3. On the Types of Speech (3R)
4. On the Separation of Nouns and Verbs according to Pattern (3V)
5. Letters of Increase in Nouns and Verbs (3V)
6. On Listing some Examples before others in the Structure of the Book (3V)
7. Explanation of the Structure (3V)
8. On the Order of the Vowels (6R)
9. On the Order of the Letters (6R)
10. Nouns which will not be Mentioned (6V)
11. Participles which will not be Mentioned (6V)
12. Verbal Nouns which will not be Mentioned (7R)

Most of the chapter headings are self-explanatory and need no comment. Suffice it to remark here that Fārābī lists the six phonological books on 2V, but does not explain the principles behind each of them until chapter 3 on 3R. He also states explicitly that he does not use the system of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (6R), thereby declaring his originality.

We see then that Fārābī made three principal innovations in his *Dīwān*: (1) the Rhyme Arrangement; (2) the arrangement of entries based on their phonological characteristics; (3) the ordering of these entries within each category according to the pattern of the entry. It now remains to be seen what influence he had on subsequent lexicographers, and which of his ideas were adopted and which were rejected.[10]

[10] An edition of the *Dīwān al-adab* is planned by Albert Yūsef Kan'ān, but no date of publication has been announced. See Henri Fleisch, *Traité de Philologie Arabe* (Beirut, 1961), p. x.

Fārābī's influence was felt in both Arabic and Turkic lexicography. In Arabic lexicography it was tied in with Jauharī (d. 393/1003)[11] and his *Ṣiḥāḥ*, or "The Authentic," so called because it claimed to list only "authentic" words. It is known that Fārābī was Jauharī's maternal uncle and that Jauharī studied under him, so doubtlessly Jauharī knew and used the *Dīwān al-adab*.[12]

However, what exactly did Jauharī take from Fārābī? In his introduction to the *Ṣiḥāḥ*, he put forth two claims: (1) to list only authentic material, and (2) to introduce a "new arrangement." The first claim needs no explanation, except, perhaps, a remark that because of various shortcomings of earlier works, many ghost words had crept into the Arabic lexicons.[13] It was these that Jauharī was determined to eliminate. His second claim, however, deserves attention. His "new arrangement" is normally considered to refer to the Rhyme Arrangement, of which Jauharī is, in fact, usually considered the founder.[14] However, this is unlikely, because the Rhyme Arrangement was actually originated by Fārābī and only adopted by Jauharī. What *was* completely new was Jauharī's method of grouping all derivatives of one root together in one place. It must be remembered that Jauharī had only the school of al-Khalīl plus the *Dīwān al-adab* to build upon, both of which arranged the derivatives of one root in various places. Thus, while Jauharī saw the importance of the Rhyme Arrangement as invented by Fārābī, he also recognized how unsuited to a lexicon was Fārābī's division of words into phonological categories and their subsequent arrangement based upon their patterns, and for these reasons he rejected it. Jauharī's system is used in the principal Arabic lexicons, such as the *Lisān al-'arab* ("The Language of the Arabs") of Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), the *Qāmūs* ("The Ocean") of al-Fīrūzabādī (d.

[11] Abū Naṣr Ismā'īl ibn Ḥammād al-Jauharī al-Fārābī. It is not clear whether Jauharī's second honorific, i.e., al-Fārābī, refers to the city of Fārāb where he studied (and/or was born) or to the fact that his teacher was Fārābī, his maternal uncle. This latter usage was not uncommon and one of Jauharī's students, al-Warrāq, was given the honorific "al-Jauharī."

[12] In fact, Krenkow, "The Beginnings," p. 269, states, "As far as I could trace, the Ṣaḥāḥ does not contain anything which is not in the Dīwān al-Adab."

[13] Because earlier lexicographers were not in the habit of indicating vowels, many mistakes and mis-vowelings crept into the language. Jauharī was the first to provide full, explicit explanations for the voweling of entries.

[14] "This system [the Rhyme Arrangement] was used for the first time in the lexicographical work called *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 'The Authentic Compendium', by al-Jawharî . . . ," in Ilse Lichtenstadter, *Introduction to Classical Arabic Literature* (New York, 1976), p. 95.

817/1414), and the *Tāj al-'arūs* ("The Crown of the Bride") of Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1206/1791).[15]

Fārābī's influence was also very strong on one other major work: the first Turkic lexicon, known as the *Dīwān luɣāt at-turk*[16] of Maḥmūd al-Kāšɣarī.[17] The entire arrangement of Kāšɣarī's *Dīwān* is identical to that of the *Dīwān al-adab*. The author even entitled his work after the *Dīwān al-adab fī bayān luɣa al-'arab,* with the important difference that Kāšɣarī speaks of *luɣāt* 'languages, dialects', rather than *luɣa* 'language, dialect'. Clearly, he wanted to compile a comparative lexicon of the Turkic dialects spoken at his time and not just a single dialect — this despite his concentration on the principal Turkic dialect, which he called "Turkiyya" and which was the language spoken in the Qarakhanid realm.[18] To this end he added, after the introduction to his *Dīwān,* three chapters treating comparative Turkic dialectology and the different Turks in general,[19] and a map which is the oldest Turkic map extant.[20] He intended his work to be a kind of handbook of the Turkic peoples of his time, and it can be said that through this work Kāšɣarī did for the Turkic peoples what the Arabic philologists did for the Arabic-speaking peoples — that is, he organized and elucidated their language, genealogies, and cultural tradition.[21]

Although Kāšɣarī does not mention Fārābī's work, his reliance on it is

15 In addition, there was a Turkish translation of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* by Vanquli (d. 1000/1591) which became the first book to come off the Muteferriqa Press in Turkey (1141/1729), and a Persian summary called the *Aṣ-Ṣurāḥ min aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* ("The Clarity from the *Ṣiḥāḥ*") by Abū al-Faḍl Jamāl al-Qurašī in Kāšɣar (681/1282). See also Kraemer, "Studien," p. 217.

16 The *Dīwān luɣāt at-turk* was written in 469/1077 and exists today in a copy made in 664/1266, now preserved in the Millet Genel Kütüphanesi in Istanbul, Ali Emiri, Arabi, no. 4189. I have collaborated with Professor Robert Dankoff of the University of Chicago in preparing an edition, translation, indices, and dictionary of Kāšɣarī's *Dīwān.* The edition will include contributions by Omeljan Pritsak.

17 Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Kāšɣarī (date of death unknown). The honorific al-Kāšɣarī is found only on the title page of his *Dīwān* and is suspect, since the author is from Barsɣān and not Kāšɣar. See further, Omeljan Pritsak, "Mahmud Kâşgarī Kimdir?," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1953): 243–46.

18 See Omeljan Pritsak, "Kara-Hanlılar (840–1212)," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi,* vol. 6 (Istanbul, 1967), pp. 251–73.

19 See Omeljan Pritsak, "Kāšɣarīs Angaben über die Sprache der Bolgaren," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 109 (1959): 92–116.

20 See Albert Herrmann, "Die älteste türkische Weltkarte (1076 n. Chr.)," *Imago Mundi,* 1935, pp. 21–28.

21 See, for example, Robert Dankoff, "Kāšɣarī on the Tribal and Kinship Organization of the Turks," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 4 (1972): 23–43; and idem, "Kāšɣarī on the Beliefs and Superstitions of the Turks," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95, no. 1 (1975): 68–80.

almost total. The introductory section of the *Dīwān luγāt at-turk* closely corresponds to that of the *Dīwān al-adab,* even to identical language and phraseology. The only major difference is the addition of four chapters pertaining to the Turks, which the following list of chapter headings illustrates:

1. (Introduction) (2)[22] (= Fārābī's Introduction)
2. Concerning the Letters on which the Dialects are Based (6)
3. On Deverbal Nouns (8) (= Fārābī's no. 7)
4. On the Scope of Word Patterns (12) (= Fārābī's no. 4)
5. On Nominal Augments (13) (= Fārābī's no. 5)
6. On Verbal Augments and their Formation (13) (= Fārābī's no. 5)
7. On the Order of the Patterns (16) (= Fārābī's no. 6, 8)
8. On the Order of Letters (16) (= Fārābī's no. 9)
9. On Adjectivals that are not Mentioned (17) (= Fārābī's no. 11)
10. On Infinitives that are not Mentioned (18) (= Fārābī's no. 10, 12)
11. On What is Mentioned in the Book and what is not (19)
12. On the Classes of the Turks and an Outline of their Tribes (20)
    Map (22–23)
13. On the Turkic Dialects (24)
14. On Dialectal Differences (25)

Chapter 2, on the letters, is peculiar to the Turks because Kāšγarī describes the phonology of Ṭurkiyya, as well as the Uyγur system of writing and how the Arabic script differs from the Uyγur.[23] Chapters 12, 13, and 14 also pertain exclusively to the Turks and their dialects.

Kāšγarī also arranged his entries according to phonological criteria, but in eight books instead of six. The first six of his books correspond to those of Fārābī, except that Kāšγarī put the Book of Hamz in first place, remarking that "we brought this to the fore, taking an augur from the Book of God Most High" (4), which seems to be a reference to the *Dīwān al-adab.* His two additional books represent Turkic phonological features not found in Arabic: 7. The Book of Nasal (*Kitāb al-γunna*), containing words having the nasal [ŋ] or [nč]; and 8. The Book of Two Unvowelled Consonants Side-by-Side (*Kitāb al-jam' bayna as-sākinayn*), containing words with consonant clusters.[24]

[22] The pagination given in parentheses is based upon the phototypical edition of B. Atalay, *Divanü Lugat-it-türk Tıpkıbasımı* (Ankara, 1941).
[23] See James M. Kelly, "Remarks on Kāšγarī's Phonology, II. Orthography," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 45 (1973): 144–62; and Rahmeti Arat, "Uygur alfabesi," in *Muallim Cevdet Anniversary Volume* (Instanbul, 1937), pp. 665–96.
[24] See James M. Kelly, "Remarks on Kāšγarī's Phonology, III. Structure of the Diwan," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 48 (1976): 151–58.

Kāšγarī then proceeded to divide each book into nouns and verbs, as did Fārābī, and to break them up further based upon the number of radicals (biliteral, triliteral, etc.) following a fixed vowel order. He then listed them according to their patterns (which he also calls *binā',* following Fārābī). All of these entries were arranged according to the Rhyme Arrangement. In general, each book contained entries with the phonological characteristics of its own and subsequent books but not of preceding books, which would already have included those words. However, this procedure was impossible to carry out thoroughly, and hence there are numerous overlappings in the books.

Naturally, the eight books of Kāšγarī treat Turkic words differently from Arabic, because of the dissimilar structure of the two languages, Turkic being agglutinative and Arabic being based upon internal inflexion. This leads to a certain amount of artificial classification of words. However, when the pattern system and the Rhyme Arrangement are employed with Turkic words, a pattern emerges that tends to group together words having a common morph (just as Fārābī's did). This afforded Kāšγarī the opportunity to introduce a grammatical explanation of the representative suffix. These grammatical digressions occur throughout the *Dīwān luγāt at-turk.*[25]

It is perhaps to be expected that just as no lexicographer in Arabic copied Fārābī (save Jauharī, with his adoption of the Rhyme Arrangement), so no lexicographer in Turkic copied Kāšγarī. Perhaps the awkwardness of the system was all too evident or perhaps no one ever saw Kāšγarī's manuscript, although a copy of it done in 664/1266 was in the possession of a certain al-Dārānī (d. 811/1408) who lived in Damascus.[26] It is also recorded in the *Kašf aẓ-ẓunūn* of Ḥājjī Khalīfa,[27] and was also used by Ayıntaplı Bedreddin al-'Aynī in his *'Iqd al-jumān* ("The Pearl Necklace").[28]

What is of interest here is Kāšγarī's almost compulsive reliance on Fārābī. It is clear that Kāšγarī was a capable linguist who had assimilated

[25] Carl Brockelmann has translated two very important grammatical excursuses in the *Dīwān,* points of which are, however, subject to revision. See Carl Brockelmann, "Maḥmūd al-Kašgharīs Darstellung des türkischen Verbalbaus," *Keleti Szemle* 18 (1918/1919): 29–49; and idem, "Maḥmud al-Kāšgharī über die Sprachen und die Stämme der Türken im 11. Jahrh.," *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* 1 (1921): 26–40.

[26] See Rifat Bilge, "Dıvanı Lûgatüttürk'ün Basındaki Makale," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 6 (1936–39): 355–60.

[27] Ḥājjī Khalīfa, *Kašf aẓ-ẓunūn,* ed. by Gustaf Flügel, 7 vols. (Leipzig and London, 1835–58), 3: 305.

[28] Ahmet-Zeki Valîdî, "Mahmûd Kaşgarî'ye ait notlar," *Atsız Mecmua* 17 (1932): 133–36.

the normal linguistic education of his era. In addition, the ingenuous way he fitted Turkic words into Fārābī's system deserves our admiration, despite the method's shortcomings. What, then, kept Kāšγarī from adopting only the elements of Fārābī's system which would fit Turkic, or prevented him from simply going his own way? There is probably no definitive answer to this question, but some conjectures can be made. First of all, Fārābī was probably a fellow Turk, for his honorific indicates that his birthplace was Fārāb. This would have carried weight with a Turkic "nationalist,"[29] as Kāšγarī surely was. A second factor may have been a feeling of inferiority felt by non-Arabs that led to wholesale borrowing from Arabic models. For example, the earliest Persian lexicon, the *Luγat-i Furs* ("Persian Language") of Asādī-i-Tūsī (ca. 459/1066), is modeled on Jauharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*,[30] and subsequent Persian and Turkic lexicography shows a continuing dependence on Arabic models, as do works produced in India. Finally, Kāšγarī may have seen certain advantages to this system which outweighed its disadvantages. The one mentioned above was that he could bring together all items having the same grammatical suffix; this allowed him to insert his own grammatical digressions. Another may have been the existence of a ready-made linguistic methodology, into which Turkic could be fitted with only some adjustment. In any case, Fārābī's influence in Turkic lexicography stopped with the *Dīwān luγāt at-turk*, but in Arabic it continued through the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of Jauharī and subsequent Arabic lexicographers.

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29 See, for example, Kāšγarī's praise of the Turks on pages 2 and 3 of the *Dīwān*.
30 Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1964–69), 2: 273–74.

A Gentry Democracy within an Autocracy: The Politics of Hryhorii Poletyka (1723/25-1784)

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The 1760s were a time of crisis for the Ukrainian Hetmanate. The new autocrat, Catherine II, began a comprehensive assault on the constitutional arrangement that had allowed the Hetmanate to retain its autonomy for over a century, including its own army, administration, system of taxation, and judicial bodies. In response to this imperial challenge, civic-minded Ukrainians considered the best way to buttress Ukrainian autonomy. Perhaps the most original voice in the discussion was that of Hryhorii Poletyka, a wealthy nobleman who advocated a gentry democracy. His proposal was certainly unusual, for the Hetmanate was ruled ultimately by an autocrat who could disregard totally any decisions made by a group of nobles. Moreover, it was indeed an irony of history that 130 years after Khmel'nyts'kyi had swept Polish institutions from the Ukraine and had established a Cossack polity, a "Little Russian patriot" would propose that the only means of maintaining this entity was to reestablish the pre-Khmel'nyts'kyi form of government. Even more bizarre was the fact that Poletyka, for a brief time, emerged as the unquestioned leader in the struggle to preserve Ukrainian autonomy.

To understand the confluence of circumstances that brought Hryhorii Poletyka to the forefront of Ukrainian civic life it is necessary to examine the turbulent events of the 1760s. Just prior to Catherine's seizure of the throne, the Ukrainian elite — composed of Cossack officers, notables, and descendants of the *szlachta* from Polish-Lithuanian times — was taking a more autonomist stand vis-à-vis the imperial government. Although of relatively recent origin, this aristocracy assumed the socioeconomic role of the szlachta of the Polish-Lithuanian period and, to a much lesser extent, adopted its political outlook. The Ukrainian notables began to consider themselves the major representatives of the Hetmanate,

entrusted with the duty of protecting its "rights and liberties."[1] This trend culminated in 1763 with the Council of Hlukhiv, which was called to consider domestic reforms. It was composed of representatives of the szlachta and Cossack officials from all districts of the Hetmanate. In a petition to Catherine II, the Hlukhiv council reasserted that the Ukrainian Hetmanate was a land separate from Russia, having its own borders, its own head-of-state (the hetman), its own government, and its own economic policy. It was connected to the Russian Empire in a special way, through a common monarch, the Russian tsar. But even this "submission" was based on treaties periodically renewed between the Ukrainian hetman and the Russian tsar.[2]

At the conclusion of the Hlukhiv council, Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovs'kyi received news of changes at the imperial court. His political enemies had fallen into disfavor and his allies had emerged victorious. Believing that this was a propitious moment for a political move, Rozumovs'kyi launched his boldest project, an attempt to make the office of hetman hereditary. But the hetman badly miscalculated his position. Because of the strong Cossack tradition for an elected hetmancy, opposition developed within the Hetmanate.[3] Moreover, even prior to the Hlukhiv proposal and the petition for a hereditary hetmancy, the imperial authorities had undertaken a review of the hetman's rule in the Ukraine which yielded negative results.

The critical evaluation of Ukrainian autonomy was due to the fact that it functioned counter to Catherine II's overall views and plans for the empire's government. Setting aside the question to what extent Catherine was an "enlightened" monarch, it can be stated that she believed in a well-regulated or policed state. Her policies provided for governmental super-

[1] The formation of the Ukrainian elite has been described by Lev Okinshevych (Okynshevych), *Znachne viis'kove tovarystvo v Ukraini-Het'manshchyni XVII–XVIII st.*, Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka, vol. 157 (Munich, 1948), and in my forthcoming article, "The Ukrainian Elite in the Eighteenth Century and Its Integration into the Russian Nobility," in *The Role of the Nobility in Russia and Eastern Europe*, ed. by Paul Bushkovitch (Yale Russian and East European Publications).

[2] For an analysis of the Hlukhiv council see Zenon E. Kohut, "The Abolition of Ukrainian Autonomy (1763–1786): A Case Study in the Integration of a Non-Russian Area into the Empire" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1975), pp. 79–92; the petition to Catherine II was published under the title, "Proshenie malorossiskogo shliakhetstva i starshin, vmeste s getmanom, o vosstanovlenii raznykh starinnykh prav Malorossii, podannoe Ekaterine II-i v 1764 godu," *Kievskaia starina* (hereafter KS), 1883, no. 6, pp. 317–45.

[3] The hereditary hetmancy project is discussed in Kohut, "Abolition of Ukrainian Autonomy," pp. 90–92.

vision and regulation of all aspects of life, making government more rational and developing the empire's human and economic potential.[4] Underlying this program was the goal of a unitary state. Since the principles of government were based on reason or on universal precepts, Catherine believed that the same laws and institutions should serve her subjects equally well whether they lived in Moscow, Siberia, or the Hetmanate. National differences, although recognized, were considered insignificant. According to Marc Raeff, "the government's goal was a uniform pattern of administration throughout the Empire, a uniformity which, it was believed, required a single way of life, but not necessarily one language, one religion, or even a single culture on the part of all subjects of the emperor."[5] In this respect, Catherine — like her contemporary, Joseph II — counterposed the new rational order against the ancient "feudal" privileges of separate historical regions. To Catherine, these were antediluvian relics that only served to block rational development.

Thus, it is hardly surprising that when Catherine heard of the Hlukhiv council's petition and the project for a hereditary hetmancy, she immediately recalled Heman Rozumovs'kyi to St. Petersburg, forced him to resign, and abolished the office of hetman. In 1764, she appointed a Russian governor-general, Petr Rumiantsev, to administer the Hetmanate through a Little Russian College composed of four Russians and four Ukrainians.[6] At the same time, Catherine enunciated a clear policy of gradually integrating all the borderlands into the empire: in the future, "when the hetmans are gone from Little Russia, every effort should be made to eradicate from memory the period and the hetmans."[7]

Soon after these events took place, the Ukrainian gentry had an opportunity to express its political views, for, as a nobility, it was invited to participate in Catherine II's Legislative Commission. Approximately 950 Ukrainian nobles participated in the writing of petitions (*nakazy*) and in

[4] For a succinct summary of Catherine's views on government see David M. Griffiths, "Catherine II: The Republican Empress," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 21, no. 3 (1973): 323–44; Erich Donnert, *Politische Ideologie der Russischen Gesellschaft zu Beginn der Regierungszeit Katharinas II* (Berlin, 1976), pp. 1–75.

[5] Marc Raeff, *Imperial Russia, 1682–1825*, Borzoi History of Russia, vol. 6 (New York, 1971), pp. 43–44.

[6] The rule of Governor-General Rumiantsev has been studied by G. A. Maksimovich, *Deiatel'nost Rumiantseva-Zadunaiskogo po upravleniiu Malorossiei* (Nizhyn, 1913).

[7] Catherine's instructions to her procurator-general, Prince Viazemskii, published in *Chteniia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* (hereafter *ChOIDR*), 1885, no. 1, p. 104, and in *Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva* (hereafter *SIRIO*), 7 (1871): 348.

electing delegates to the Legislative Commission Assembly. Since many of them insisted on the full restitution of the Hetmanate's privileges, these elections became stormy. Thirty-six nobles of the Nizhyn regiment were sentenced to death for refusing to retract their demand for the election of a new hetman. Although the harsh sentences were eventually commuted, they show that Governor-General Rumiantsev believed harsh measures were needed to quell the opposition he faced in the initial period of his administration. Despite the repressions and arrests, however, the vast majority of the 950 Ukrainian nobles participating in the assembly signed petitions requesting the continuation of the Hetmanate's autonomy. The nakazy from other segments of the population — burghers and Cossacks — echoed the nobility's concern for the preservation of Ukrainian "rights and liberties."[8]

In addition to the petitions signed by the nobles, burghers, and Cossacks, a nakaz for the Legislative Commission was also prepared by the Little Russian College as a governmental institution. The nakaz declared that the fundamental problem with the Hetmanate was that its laws and customs, stemming from Polish times, were unsuitable for an autocratic state. Changed conditions necessitated reforms in its administration, social organization, economics, and education. The Little Russian College therefore proposed a comprehensive series of reforms which, if implemented, would have seriously weakened the remaining institutions of the Hetmanate and the traditional Ukrainian "rights and liberties."[9] Because of its official origin, the import of the nakaz was particularly ominous. This mobilized the proponents of continued Ukrainian autonomy to refute the charges made therein.

It was during this stormy period when delegates to the Commission were being elected and when petitions were being written that Hryhorii Poletyka first took part in Ukrainian public affairs. His first sojourn on that scene was indirect, taking place at the meeting of the nobility of the Lubny regiment. While not as explosive as the meeting of the Nizhyn regiment, where the nobility was arrested, the Lubny meeting did produce such a staunchly autonomist nakaz that the elected deputy, Colonel Antin Kryzhanovs'kyi, declined his post, refusing to take the nakaz to the upcoming meeting of the Legislative Commission in Moscow. In order to circumvent harassment from the local government, the Lubny nobles

[8] For the nakazy of all the participants from the Hetmanate in the Legislative Commission, see Kohut, "Abolition of Ukrainian Autonomy," pp. 133–207.
[9] This nakaz of the Little Russian College was published in *SIRIO* 43 (1885): 218–37.

decided to elect, in absentia, their fellow nobleman and Lubny property owner, Hryhorii Poletyka, to replace him.[10]

The election of Poletyka as a deputy was somewhat surprising, for until the Legislative Commission of 1767–1769, he did not actively participate in Ukrainian civic affairs. Poletyka, who traced his ancestry back to the pre-Khmel'nyts'kyi szlachta of Poland-Lithuania, graduated from the Kiev Academy and continued his education at the academic gymnasium of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. He secured a position as translator from Latin and German at the Academy of Sciences and at the Holy Synod, received the title of college assessor (*kollezhskii assesor*) in 1757, and was named court councillor (*nadvornyi sovetnik*) after retirement in 1761. Poletyka published his first scholarly works — Russian translations of Aristotle and an article on the origins of Russian education — in 1757. The latter brought him into conflict with Lomonosov and probably contributed to his decision to retire. Poletyka returned to state service in 1764 as the chief inspector of the Naval Cadet School. Many of his ancestors had held positions in the Hetmanate's administration, but Poletyka himself had never held a Ukrainian office and had made his career entirely in Russia. His only connections to the Hetmanate were the estates he held there and the fact that he considered himself a member of the Little Russian szlachta.[11]

Although Poletyka had not participated in Ukrainian civic affairs up to this time, he must already have had a reputation as a staunch defender of Ukrainian autonomy, at least among the Lubny nobles. That this was so is indicated in Poletyka's letter of acceptance to the Lubny nobles, in which he mentions "the righteousness of our goals" and promises to act "out of love for our fatherland."[12] Whatever his reputation, it was insuf-

[10] For an account of the writing of a nakaz and the elections of a deputy by the Lubny nobles, see G. Maksimovich, *Vybory i nakazy v Malorossii v Zakonodatel'nuiu komissiiu 1767 g.*, pt. 1: *Vybory i sostavlenie nakazov* (Nizhyn, 1917), pp. 135–44.

[11] For biographical information on H. Poletyka, see V. Modzalevskii, "Poletika, Grigorii Andreevich," *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, 14: 321–34; *Èntsiklopedicheskii slovar' Brokgauza i Èfrona*, 34: 277–78. Poletyka's genealogy is found in V. Modzalevskii, *Malorossiiskii rodoslovnik*, 4: 115–21; G. A. Miloradovich, *Rodoslovnaia kniga chernigovskogo dvorianstva*, 6 pts. in 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1901), 2, pt. 4: 161–64; Vasyl' Omel'chenko, "Rid Poletyk," *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, 1967, no. 1/2, pp. 59–63. These genealogies cast some doubt about whether Poletyka's ancestor was really a member of the Polish szlachta.

[12] Poletyka's letter of thanks to his electors was published by S. D. Nos, "Blagodarstvennoe pis'mo Gr. Andr. Poletiki svoim vyborshchykam za izbranie v zvanie deputata v Komissiiu dlia sochineniia proèkta novogo ulozheniia," *KS*, 1890, no. 11, pp. 334–35.

ficient to make Poletyka a leader of the Ukrainian deputies when the Legislative Assembly convened in the late summer of 1768.

At first, the undisputed leader of the Ukrainian deputies was Ivan Mykhailovych Skoropads'kyi. A member of one of the most distinguished Ukrainian families, Skoropads'kyi was connected with the highest offices in the Hetmanate. His great-uncle, Ivan Skoropads'kyi, had been hetman (1708–1722); his mother was the daughter of Hetman Danylo Apostol (1727–1734); and his father was the colonel of the Chernihiv regiment.[13] Ivan Mykhailovych Skoropads'kyi was educated at the Kiev Academy and then at Breslau University.[14] After returning to the Hetmanate from Western Europe, Skoropads'kyi held several high-ranking positions and took an active interest in civic affairs.[15]

Governor-General Rumiantsev's reports make it clear that he regarded Skoropads'kyi as the major opposition leader in the Hetmanate.[16] In his final report, written after the deputies had already departed for the second session, in St. Petersburg, Rumiantsev again warned Catherine of Skoropads'kyi's intentions:

> Skoropads'kyi, the leader of all the others . . . , after his manifold elections as deputy and because of his marked abilities, dreams of being elected hetman, and, of course, he strives more than before to defend and get confirmed their Cossack freedoms and rights. . . . They [the Ukrainian elite] did much boasting that they voted as the Livonians at the reading of the nakaz, who seemingly were the only ones with the same intentions as they, to maintain their rights and freedoms, and they [Ukrainians] expect from them [the Livonians] mutual co-operation. . . . He, Skoropads'kyi, is now preparing (as he himself announced) the presentation of a protest nullifying all the articles of the Little Russian College nakaz. The consequence of this will justify my report about him made to Your Imperial Majesty, and will reveal those who are supporting him in this. . . .[17]

In replying to Rumiantsev's letter, Catherine accepted his charges, confirming that "what you have written about Skoropads'kyi is completely

[13] For a history of the Skoropads'kyi family, see Modzalevskii, *Malorossiiskii rodoslovnik,* 4: 661–65; A. Lazarevskii, "Sem'ia Skoropadskikh (1674–1758) — Liudy Staroi Malorossii," *Istoricheskii vestnik* 2 (1880): 710–25; O. Pritsak, "Rid Skoropads'kykh," in *Za velych natsii* (Lviv, 1938), pp. 64–90.

[14] O. Ohloblyn, *Opanas Lobysevych, 1732–1805* (Munich, 1966), p. 47.

[15] Modzalevskii, *Malorossiiskii rodoslovnik,* 4: 666; Pritsak, "Rid Skoropads'kykh," p. 73.

[16] Rumiantsev focused on Skoropads'kyi's activities in three out of his five dispatches to Catherine concerning the elections to the Legislative Commission. All five were published in full by Maksimovich, *Vybory,* pp. 317–32; see report 2–13 April 1767, p. 325; report 3–7 June 1767, pp. 326–29; report 5–28 February 1768, pp. 330–32.

[17] Rumiantsev to Catherine, report 5–28 February 1768; Maksimovich, *Vybory,* pp. 330–32.

justified; here he behaves like a wolf and does not want to have anything to do with our people."[18]

But Skoropads'kyi never delivered his promised attack on the nakaz issued by the Little Russian College. Without explanation, on 7 June 1768, he turned over his post as deputy to Pavlo Rymsha.[19] The Ukrainian leadership, however, was taken over by Hryhorii Poletyka, who held views different from those of Skoropads'kyi and his followers. Skoropads'kyi's sudden changeover was probably due to his untenable political position. Most likely it became apparent to him that the authorities looked with disfavor and alarm at any suggestion of electing a hetman. Many of the Nizhyn nobles who had spoken out for such an election had received death sentences which at that time were being appealed to the Senate (the Senate decision came on 7 July 1768).[20] Skoropads'kyi must also have realized that he was under surveillance and that any move would have been very dangerous for him and his followers. Finally, his private inquiries probably convinced him of the hopelessness of the situation. Hence he resigned his post and left the Legislative Assembly.

Poletyka's first act was to answer the nakaz of the Little Russian College point by point. In a memorandum presented before the Legislative Assembly entitled "Objections of Deputy Hryhorii Poletyka to Directives Given to Deputy Dmitri Natal'in by the Little Russian College,"[21] Poletyka described the treaties by which Little Russia came under the protectorship of the tsar. He enumerated ten benefits to Russia which resulted from this union. In return for such benefits, the tsar always guaranteed Little Russian rights and privileges. Now the nakaz of the Little Russian College was attempting "to introduce into Little Russia such establishments as are in complete opposition to its rights and freedoms, and in this manner violate the sanctity of treaties."[22] Poletyka asserted that the experience of 130 years proved that Ukrainian practices were compatible with autocracy. He did admit that imperfect laws existed and that some abuses, especially by hetmans, might have occurred, but he contended that all reforms should emanate from the Little Russian people, not from the supervisory college.

18 Catherine to Rumiantsev, 16 April 1768, in A. Smirdin, ed., *Sochineniia Imperatritsy Ekateriny II*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1850), 3: 193.
19 M. Longinov, ed., "Materialy dlia Komissii o sochinenii proekta novogo ulozheniia: Spisok gospodam deputatam," *Russkii vestnik* 36 (1861): 42.
20 Maksimovich, *Vybory*, p. 197.
21 "Vozrazhenie deputata Grigoriia Poletiki na nastavleniia Malorossiiskoi kollegii gospodinu zhe deputatu Dmitriiu Natal'inu," *ChOIDR* 3 (1858): 71–102.
22 "Vozrazhenie deputata Grigoriia Poletiki," p. 73.

Poletyka not only attacked the Little Russian College's nakaz for violating local rights, but also attempted to prove that its proposals were unnecessary. Why introduce some foreign model for Ukrainian cities when they could be revitalized by reinstating Magdeburg law and town autonomy? This would also achieve the separation of military and civilian offices. And why replace Cossack officers with regular army officers when all that was necessary was to select worthy Cossack officers who have military experience? Thus, Poletyka adamantly opposed the introduction of Russian imperial practices into the Hetmanate. A strong defender of historical legitimacy, he advocated only such changes as could be justified by former native traditions — a position systematically presented in all his speeches and writings at meetings of the assembly.

The question of Ukrainian autonomy re-emerged during the assembly's debate over the "Project of the Nobility." Of particular concern to the Ukrainians was article 43, which stated that "No one but Russian nobles can utilize these rights in Russia."[23] The implication was unclear. Did the article pertain to the empire as a whole or only to the core area? Would all the foreign nobles in Russia be excluded from noble rights? When debate over the article began, on 21 August 1768, most nobles merely wished to expand it to include foreigners, special groups, and the nobility of other nationalities. The nobles of the Hetmanate, however, were even willing to have the "Project of the Nobility" restricted to Russia proper, as long as it also confirmed "forever" the rights of Little Russia.[24]

Hryhorii Poletyka again defended the rights of the Ukrainian nobility. Speaking on 21 August 1768, Poletyka first presented a thorough critique of the project as a whole and then focused on Ukrainian autonomy in particular. According to Poletyka, if the project did not pertain to the Hetmanate, then it need only confirm traditional Ukrainian autonomy. But if it was applicable to the Hetmanate, then the following rights of the Ukrainian szlachta must be incorporated: (1) all governance in the Hetmanate other than the tsar's direct authority was to be determined by the szlachta; (2) the szlachta alone had the right to legislate, subject only to the tsar's confirmation; (3) all internal management, including taxation and requisitions, was to be directed by the szlachta; (4) Ukrainian civil and military officials were to be elected freely from "native Little Russian szlachta"; (5) a nobleman could not be imprisoned except for the most

[23] *SIRIO* 32 (1881): 585; the entire project appears on pp. 571–85.
[24] Proposed by Volodymyr Zolotyns'kyi of the Kiev regiment, the motion was seconded by most of the Ukrainian deputies; *SIRIO* 32: 304–307. The speech was published in full in *SIRIO* 36 (1882), addendum, doc. 33: 332–39.

severe violations, and if accused of a crime, he was to be summoned to court in accordance with prescribed laws and procedures; (6) the szlachta had full judicial authority over all subjects on its estates; (7) nobles could travel to foreign lands without requiring permission; (8) a nobleman could dispose freely of his movable and immovable property; (9) nobles could fully exploit their estates, for example, mine mineral and ore deposits; (10) the szlachta was to be exempt from all taxes, except a small land tax; (11) nobles had the right to trade on domestic and foreign markets without paying any tariffs or taxes; (12) if a foreigner who had been living on a szlachta estate died without leaving any heirs, all his wealth was inherited by the landlord, not by the state treasury; (13) no troops were to be quartered on the szlachta's estates; (14) the homes of the szlachta were protected from all searches and seizures, and even criminals could not be removed from a nobleman's estate without the owner's permission; (15) the szlachta could collect wood, hunt, and fish on all state property.[25]

In an effort to buttress the claims of the Ukrainian szlachta further, Poletyka presented another memorandum to the assembly.[26] It included excerpts from the Lithuanian Statute which specified the rights of the nobility, as well as summaries of treaties concluded between hetmans and tsars and of other documents which confirmed these rights. Poletyka's efforts received the overwhelming support of the Ukrainian delegates.[27]

Poletyka's defense of Ukrainian autonomy encouraged other privileged areas to make similar demands. The Smolensk nobility also claimed the special rights guaranteed to them upon incorporation into the Muscovite state, and asked for their retention.[28] But it was the Baltic nobility — still smarting from the earlier attacks upon their autonomous rights — that took up the question in earnest. For the next three sessions — held 4, 8, and 9 September 1768 — the nobility from Livonia, Estland, and Finland (Karelia) detailed their cases. Then, on 9 September, after five sessions devoted almost exclusively to the status of the nobility in autonomous regions, General Bibikov, marshal of the assembly, read a single terse statement. It said that the deputies from Livonia, Estland, Finland (Karelia), Little Russia, and Smolensk went beyond their competence in requesting a confirmation of autonomous rights rather than a formulation of the general project for the dvorianstvo. According to Bibikov, the

25 Poletyka's speech was published in full in *SIRIO* 36 (1882): 340–56.
26 Published in *Nakazy Malorossiiskim deputatam 1767 g. i Akty o vyborakh deputatov v Komissiiu sochineniia ulozheniia* (Kiev, 1890), pp. 167–76.
27 *SIRIO* 32: 310–14.
28 *SIRIO* 32: 319.

deputies "could not enter into any discussion dealing with government, and even less on matters dependent solely on the authority of the monarch."[29] Consequently, the marshal was rejecting all the requests submitted by these deputies. It is quite probable that Bibikov was acting on direct orders from Catherine, who was angered by the delegates' continuous demands for the retention of local privileges.[30]

Once the rights of the Hetmanate could no longer be discussed at the assembly, the Ukrainian deputies decided to petition the empress directly. Their petition from "nobles, Cossacks, and townsmen" was apparently composed by Poletyka.[31] It listed the benefits derived by the Russian Empire from the Hetmanate's voluntary union with Muscovy, requested the confirmation "forever" of all Ukrainian rights and prerogatives, and enumerated some of the wishes expressed in the nakazy.[32] It is not known whether the petition ever reached the empress, for the assembly was soon disbanded.

It was probably also at this time that Poletyka wrote a treatise entitled "Historical Information: On What Basis Little Russia Was Under the Polish Republic and by What Treaties It Came Under Russian Rulers and a Patriotic Opinion as to How It Could Be Ordered, so that It Would Be Useful to the Russian State Without Violations of Its Rights and Freedoms."[33] Here, as in his speeches and other writings, Poletyka insisted that Little Russia had always possessed certain rights guaranteed by the Muscovite tsar.[34] To Poletyka, however, these rights were virtually identical with the Polish nobility's "golden liberties." Unlike Skoropads'kyi, who wanted to reinstitute the administrative system prior to 1764 (with some modification), Poletyka wanted to resurrect the administrative, judicial, and social systems of the Ukraine under the Polish Common-

29 *SIRIO* 32: 346.

30 Paul Dukes, *Catherine the Great and the Russian Nobility* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 157.

31 The petition is unsigned and does not indicate the author, but since whole passages are taken from Poletyka's challenge to the Little Russian College, it is probable that Poletyka himself wrote it. Even if someone else did, the ideas and even the wording were Poletyka's.

32 "Proshenie Malorossiiskikh deputatov vo vremia sostavleniia Ulozheniia," *Nakazy*, pp. 177–84.

33 "Istoricheskoe izvestie na kakom osnovanii Malaia Rossiia byla pod respublikoiu Pol'skoiu, i na kakikh dogovorakh oddalas' Rossiiskim Gdriam [*sic*], i patrioticheskoe razsuzhdenie, kakim obrazom mozhno by onuiu nyne uchredit' chtob ona polezna mogla byt' Rossiiskomu Gosudarstvu bez narusheniia prav eia i volnostei," *Ukrains'kyi arkheohrafichnyi zbirnyk* 1 (1926): 147–61.

34 "Vozrazhenie deputata Grigoriia Poletiki," p. 72; "Proshenie Malorossiiskikh deputatov," p. 178; "Istoricheskoe izvestie," pp. 154–61.

wealth prior to the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising. At that time, according to Poletyka, regular diets of the szlachta acted as legislative bodies, consulting on important matters with other estates, while courts of the nobility and town magistrates adjudicated civilian cases. Most of these functions were later taken over by the hetman and the Cossack administration. Poletyka believed that all the misfortunes of the Hetmanate arose from this usurpation of power by the military realm or the Cossack administration.[35]

Poletyka did not reject the Cossack experience totally. On the contrary, he advocated the recognition of Cossack officers as the Ukrainian szlachta and the preservation of the traditional rights of rank-and-file Cossacks.[36] But, in his view, a precarious balance had been upset after the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, when the Cossack system was imposed on all other estates. Instead of any new legislation or the introduction of Russian imperial laws, Poletyka espoused the faithful execution of ancient rights. This would lead to a differentiation between the military, administrative, and judicial systems, and thus alleviate most of the shortcomings in the Hetmanate's governance.[37] In the end, Poletyka envisioned the Hetmanate as a gentry republic, with no hetman and with virtually all executive, legislative, and judicial authority vested in the nobility. His only concession to autocracy was that legislation enacted at the *rada*s or *sejm*s of the nobility be forwarded to the Russian tsar for final approval.

Poletyka's ideas directly opposed the hereditary hetmancy concept presented by Hetman Rozumovs'kyi, a scheme which had failed to obtain the support of the Hetmanate's major families five years before. The gentry republicanism he advocated had certain features attractive to the Ukrainian elite. The Hlukhiv council had clearly demonstrated the Ukrainian elite's predilection for the old Polish-Lithuanian court system, for a parliament with exclusive participation by the nobility, and for the "golden liberties" still enjoyed by the szlachta just across the border in Poland. Yet the same council had also shown a strong attachment to the traditional Cossack system of administration, with some nobles even advocating a hereditary hetmancy. On some points — Ukrainian autonomy and the recognition of the Ukrainian szlachta — they agreed. On others —

35 "Vozrazhenie deputata Grigoriia Poletiki," p. 82; "Proshenie Malorossiiskikh deputatov," p. 181.

36 "Vozrazhenie deputata Grigoriia Poletiki," pp. 94–100; "Proshenie Malorossiiskikh deputatov," p. 177.

37 "Vozrazhenie deputata Grigoriia Poletiki," pp. 79–81; "Proshenie Malorossiiskikh deputatov," p. 181.

the authority of the hetman and the need for the traditional Cossack administration — they conflicted.

Despite these differences in political outlook, the Ukrainian elite at the Legislative Commission rallied to Poletyka's program. The primary reason for their unified support was that Catherine had eliminated, de facto, all viable alternatives. Her harsh rebuke of Hetman Rozumovs'kyi made the concept of a hereditary hetmancy virtually synonymous with treason. Government suppression of the nobles who called for the election of a new hetman and the close surveillance of Ivan Skoropads'kyi clearly indicated Catherine's disapproval of the traditional, elected hetmancy and Cossack administration. Poletyka's gentry republican program was the only untested option left. Moreover, it included two elements which Catherine seemed to favor. First, Poletyka's attitude towards the hetmancy did not differ greatly from Catherine's wish that "when the hetmans are gone from Little Russia, every effort should be made to eradicate from memory the period and the hetmans." Second, Catherine and her advisors believed that the most pressing reform for the Hetmanate was to differentiate "military from civilian administration."[38] Poletyka also called for such separation by insisting on a return to the native practices abandoned after the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising. At a time when the Nizhyn noblemen had been severely punished for demanding a hetman, Poletyka offered the Ukrainian elite an attractive alternative — a program which was clearly autonomist and took fully into account the nobility's political, social, and economic interests, but which avoided an open rift with the Russian administration. This gave Poletyka the role of chief spokesman for Ukrainian rights.

But Catherine's response to the Legislative Assembly's debates indicates that she was uninterested in any form of autonomy, whether it be of the gentry republican or more traditional Cossack type. If implemented, Poletyka's program would have severely circumscribed the Russian imperial bureaucracy, and it would have given the Ukrainian nobility much greater privileges than those enjoyed by the Russian dvorianstvo. Moreover, despite Poletyka's repeated assertions to the contrary, his program was incongruous with the very principles of autocracy. It would certainly have obstructed Catherine's goal of a well-regulated, uniform state. In retrospect, Poletyka's views may seem naive. Yet, they proposed a resolution to the critical question of the day: how to preserve Ukrainian rights and liberties from their continuing erosion by imperial acts and

38 Catherine to Olsuf'ev, no date, *Russkii arkhiv* 2 (1863): 189.

practices? To stem the imperial tide, Hetman Rozumovs'kyi had proposed a hereditary hetmancy, and Ivan Skoropads'kyi had favored maintaining the traditional Cossack system. It was when these proposals had failed but the times still offered some hope that Hryhorii Poletyka championed a gentry democracy as a form of government which could save the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

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Homer, Milton, and Aşık Veysel: The Legend of the Blind Bard

NATALIE KONONENKO-MOYLE

The bard is expected to be blind. Homer was blind and, since Western literature conventionally begins with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* his image colored subsequent conceptions of the epic poet. Not only was Homer himself blind, but Demodokos, the bard he depicted so lovingly in the *Odyssey,* was blind, as well.[1] Milton, when he lost his sight, almost welcomed blindness as a sign of his destiny to greatness. In *Paradise Lost* he explicitly compared himself to Homer, saying that he and the bard of Ancient Greece are equal in Fate and renown.[2] In "The Prophet," Pushkin wrote about the transformation necessary to become a prophet/poet. An essential part of this transformation, of course, was that Archangel Michael blind the future "seer."[3] Although he was not blind himself, Ševčenko chose a wandering blind minstrel as the theme for his famous *Kobzar'*.[4]

All of these instances are related to written literature. Oral poets are perhaps even more consistently associated with blindness. Pictorial representations of Ukrainian bards, such as those in Žemčužnikov's album, portray an old blind man carrying a *kobza* or *bandura,* with a boy at his side to serve as guide.[5] Milman Parry, in planning a book on Yugoslav minstrels, intended to focus on Ćor Huso who, as his name indicates, was blind.[6]

1 *Odyssey* 8. 62–83.
2 *Paradise Lost* 3. 32–55. For a discussion of Milton's blindness by a woman who was herself blind, see Eleanor Gertrude Brown, *Milton's Blindness* (New York, 1934).
3 Aleksandr Sergeevič Puškin, "Prorok" (1826).
4 Taras Ševčenko, *Kobzar'*; see the poem "Perebendja" (1839).
5 L. Žemčužnikov's album, dated approximately 1850, is stored in the Ševčenko Historical Museum in Kiev. Reproductions from the album are printed in volume 2 of Kateryna Hruševs'ka, *Ukrajins'ki narodni dumy* (Xarkiv and Kiev, 1931).
6 See Albert Bates Lord's introduction to *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs,* vol. 1, collected by Milman Parry (Cambridge, Mass., and Belgrade, 1954), pp. 3–6.

The influence of Homer on the legend of the blind bard is important. The legend itself, however, seems to stem from something much more fundamental than the model he established. For one thing, it is prevalent in areas, such as Turkey, where Homer was unlikely to serve as prototype. The Turkish minstrel Aşık Veysel, for instance, achieved fame far beyond that of his equally, if not more, talented contemporaries because his blindness made him appear to be a more "proper" bard. Minstrels who were not blind, like Behçet Mahir, claimed temporary loss of sight in connection with a dream of inspiration that initiated them into their profession. As Behçet tells in his autobiography, he had a dream in which three dervishes offered him a *saz* and called upon him to become a singer. When he refused, they vanished, only to visit his dreams twice more. Upon his third refusal, they cursed him with blindness, from which he suffered for three years until he finally accepted his destiny as minstrel.[7] The reputation of Ćor Huso, at least among his fellow singers, was probably based on a blind bard complex developed independently of Homer's influence. After all, familiarity with Greek classics is not likely among the social strata to which most Yugoslav minstrels belong.

A very important reason for the blind bard legend is a theory of compensation, such as the one articulated by Alfred Adler.[8] Although the theory is fairly complex and has a number of variants, the basic principle is that extraordinary achievement or exceptional ability often results as overcompensation for original deficiency or infirmity. Thus someone deprived of one of his senses will develop acute sensitivity in the others, or a physically weak individual will develop extraordinary mental skills. The version of this thesis applied in literary scholarship, particularly to oral poets, was that a blind bard could better "see" the poetic text with his "mind's eye." At the time that Adler's ideas were most popular, the oral theory of folklore had not yet come into being and epic poets were believed to memorize their texts. Blind poets were believed to be better able to develop the faculty for memory, having been deprived of one of their senses.

Adler's work can partially account for the popularity of the compensation theory in literary scholarship, but the thesis itself existed in critical writings prior to Adler and, as Adler himself noted, it appeared in a

[7] Behçet Mahir related the story in a field recording I made in Erzurum, Turkey, in 1977.

[8] Alfred Adler, "Organ Inferiority and Compensation" (1907), in *The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler*, ed. by Heinz L. Ansbacher and Rowena R. Ansbacher (New York, 1956), pp. 22–30.

variety of myths and other traditional lore.[9] Furthermore, Adler's theory would seem to require that a poet have difficulties with speech or hearing, rather than sight, and that compensation for loss of sight through poetry be only a secondary phenomenon, occurring through confluence or transformation. The archetypical bard, at least, should be afflicted with problems of hearing or speech,[10] like the Hebrew prophets, and a person with difficulty seeing should become a painter, like Guercino de Centa, Piero de la Francesca, Lenbach, Mateyko, and Manet — all artists cited by Adler.[11]

Adler's theory holds that the primary compensation is a direct one (blindness — painters or marksmen; loss of hearing — musicians; stuttering — orators). One would expect, then, the legendary or idealized account of a profession to embody precisely this primary relationship, rather than something conflated or transformed, as in the legend of the blind bard. If one looks to actual minstrels for an explanation for this transformed or secondary association, the answer proves elusive. Minstrels have not been studied extensively. For various theoretical reasons, beginning with the belief that oral poets were merely illiterate, and sometimes inept, performers of written masterpieces created by someone else, the biographies of minstrels have not been recorded frequently or at great length. The data that are available, however, consistently indicate that real minstrels are seldom actually blind.

Because the causal connection between blindness and poetic talent was a widely held hypothesis at the time they began their field work in Yugoslavia, Parry and Lord sought out blind singers. Their work indicated that there was no direct correlation between blindness and the poetic gift. If anything, blind singers tended to be worse than the average, because they belonged to a group who were primarily beggars, not artists, but whose participation in the tradition was nevertheless accepted.[12]

The one exception to these findings was Ćor Huso, the singer mentioned earlier, but even in his case there was reason to suspect his preeminence as a blind poet. Huso lived a generation or so prior to the time when Parry and Lord did their fieldwork. Although his reputation was widespread among minstrels, a number of whom claimed to have been his

9 Adler, "Organ Inferiority," p. 29, mentions the William Tell saga and Norse gods and heroes.
10 J. Lindblom, "Seers and Prophets," in *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 83–95.
11 Adler, "Organ Inferiority," p. 29.
12 Albert Bates Lord, *Singer of Tales* (New York, 1965), pp. 18–20.

pupils, nothing had been recorded of him directly. As Lord notes, it seems incongruous that someone so famous should have been ignored by all scholars working while he was alive. In *Singer of Tales,* Lord offers the possible explanation that none of the collectors ventured into Huso's area.[13] It seems as likely, however, that Ćor Huso was an unexceptional poet whose reputation developed only after his death. The tendency to idealize a minstrel from the past has been documented several times.[14] It may well be that Huso's physical attributes — namely, his blindness — triggered associations which permitted him to undergo just such a transformation into the ideal archetype of the Yugoslav minstrel. If this could happen in modern-day Turkey with Aşık Veysel, it is reasonable to assume that a similar process of glorification could have occurred a generation earlier in Yugoslavia with Ćor Huso.

In the Uzbek tradition, for which a number of biographical sketches have been provided by V. M. Žirmunskij, there is no record of blind minstrels.[15] As for the Ukrainian bards, the number of actual blind minstrels among the *kobzari* and *lirnyky* seems inversely proportional to the number of blind singers depicted in pictures: blind minstrels were about as rare in real life as they were common in paintings. This statement should be partially qualified. Ethnographic studies, especially those dating to the late nineteenth century, indicate that there were a number of disabled men, some of whom were indeed blind, attached to church "hospitals" (not so much medical facilities, as a kind of welfare agency for the needy). One of the activities that the affiliates of these so-called hospitals engaged in to help support themselves was traveling as mendicants and singing religious verses and *dumy*.[16] Although they did participate in the tradition, the blind mendicants should really be classified in a category separate from the *kobzari* and *lirnyky,* who were trained by masters and incorporated into a system resembling guilds. To the extent that we know

13 Lord, *Singer of Tales,* pp. 18–20.

14 Although idealization of minstrels from the past has been observed in Yugoslavia and elsewhere, the most interesting case is Turkey, where certain minstrels have been transformed into the heroes of romantic epics. The relationship between the epic heroes and their historical prototypes is a complicated question that has not been fully answered. See Ilhan Başgöz, "Turkish Folk Stories about the Lives of Minstrels," *Journal of American Folklore* 45 (1952): 331–39. Since the epics follow pretty much the same pattern, it is safe to assume, however, that some idealization has indeed occurred.

15 V. M. Žirmunskij and X. T. Zarifov, *Uzbekskij narodnyj geroičeskij èpos* (Moscow, 1947).

16 Kateryna Hruševs'ka, Introduction to vol. 1 of *Ukrajins'ki narodni dumy* (Xarkiv and Kiev, 1927), pp. v–ccxx.

the history of the famous collections, their singers belonged to the latter category, whereas the mendicants were supported not for their art, but because charity to them was a holy obligation.[17] Mendicants were more picturesque and probably more numerous than the real poets, which may be one reason for the common pictorial representation. Their blindness, however, does not seem to have stimulated the development of their artistic gifts. The Ukrainian situation, therefore, is similar to the one observed by Lord in Yugoslavia: the blind were associated with singing, but there was no causal connection between loss of sight and poetic talent.

Since investigating the legend of the blind bard itself appears merely to lead from one legend to another, it seems advisable to put that investigation aside for the moment and to examine real minstrels irrespective of any legendary considerations. Although the number of biographical studies of minstrels is small, one pattern quickly emerges and always reoccurs. The pattern is that minstrels do not choose their profession willingly, but are forced into accepting it. The circumstances that make it necessary to become a minstrel are very often economic. The biographical sketches given by Žirmunskij show that the majority of famous Uzbek minstrels were orphaned and, having no land, cattle, or other means of making a living, were forced to turn to singing.[18] Several of the singers described by Lord were dislocated by war. Although they had been interested in the poetic art since boyhood, they did not become active minstrels until they were compelled to do so by financial necessity.[19] Behçet Mahir claims that he became a minstrel because of his dream about three dervishes. The truth, which he will himself admit in the proper context, seems to be that he became a minstrel because his family was extremely poor. They were peasants who came to the city of Erzurum to make their fortune, but fared equally badly there. When Behçet started having problems with vision, he was asked to support himself outside the family unit because it was simply impossible for them to feed a non-productive member.[20] Behçet's dream, therefore, may actually be an allegorical representation of what did occur. Aşık Reyhanî, who was Behçet's apprentice, apparently became a minstrel for similar reasons. His parents turned him over to Behçet when he

[17] For the most complete listing of the sources of the various recordings of Ukrainian *dumy*, see the introductions to the individual *duma* texts in both vol. 1 and vol. 2 of Hruševs'ka's work.

[18] Žirmunskij and Zarifov, *Uzbekskij narodnyj geroičeskij èpos*, pp. 23–58.

[19] The biographical information in both *Singer of Tales* and the three volumes of *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs* supports the idea. See, for example, the case of Ahmet Musović.

[20] Based on my fieldwork in Erzurum in 1970 and 1977.

was still a very small boy because he was the youngest son of a very large family and they simply could not afford to feed him.[21] The association between the needy and minstrels, between charity and singing, has already been mentioned in connection with both the Ukrainian and the Yugoslav tradition.

Sometimes the economic problems that force a man into becoming a minstrel stem from physical impairments, one of which is, of course, blindness. Žirmunskij gives a reasonably detailed account of an Uzbek minstrel who had once been a wrestler. As he grew old and began to lose the physical stamina needed for wrestling, he turned to minstrelsy.[22] Behçet's economic difficulties seem to have been aggravated by his physical defects. It should be noted that he is a very small and frail man, not capable of the heavy physical labor needed for most of the rural occupations, such as farming. Müdamî was diabetic and overweight and thus as physically weak as Behçet.[23] The physically disabled from Ukrainian church hospitals have already been mentioned. There are also accounts (which may be semi-fictionalized) of men losing a limb in battle, becoming incapable of normal farm work, and then turning to minstrelsy.

Although economic factors are quite prevalent, they should not be overemphasized. Pressure from other sources can be equally, if not more, compelling. The case of Aşık Sabit Müdamî is a particularly interesting example.[24] Although he became physically weak in later life, neither physical nor economic constraints existed when he first chose minstrelsy as a profession. The operative factors in his case were emotional. His father was an *imam* and, as a proper religious leader, tried to force Sabit to read and memorize the Koran. No matter how much the boy tried, however, he simply could not fulfill his father's wishes. One day the father assigned Sabit a passage from the Koran and himself went to work in the mosque. The boy tried valiantly, as always, but failing to make any progress, went outside to play knuckle-bones with the other children. As luck would have it, the father happened to look out of the mosque window just in time to see what his son was doing. When the father called him to supper that evening, Sabit could tell from his tone of voice that something was amiss and he was reluctant to come home. The father walked to where his son was standing, picked him up by the ears, carried

21 My fieldwork in Erzurum, 1977. The story of Reyhanî was told by Behçet Mahir.

22 Žirmunskij and Zarifov, *Uzbekskij narodnyj geroičeskij èpos*, pp. 53–55.

23 Fieldwork of Ilhan Başgöz in Erzurum and Ankara, 1956.

24 The material below is taken from the tape-recorded autobiography of Sabit Müdamî Ataman, collected by Ilhan Başgöz, Ankara, 1956.

him home in this fashion, put the boy's head between his knees, and beat him on the back and buttocks so severely that the child bled from his nose and mouth for several hours. This extreme physical abuse induced a dream that revealed minstrelsy to Sabit as his calling. All of the relevant data cannot be recounted here, but even this limited information shows that the father essentially forced his son into minstrelsy by pushing another word-mastery task, reading, on him too vigorously. By choosing minstrelsy, Sabit was able to engage in the rebellion/compliance reaction what is supposedly the typical response to excessive parental pressure. He was able to demonstrate that he was capable of word-mastery by becoming proficient in a profession that obviously demands superior verbal skills. And he was able to go against his father by entering a line of work that was an anathema to a Sunni Muslim religious functionary. I cannot cite all of the evidence from Müdamî's biography that shows his awareness of the rebellious nature of his acts here. One statement, however, is worth quoting: in explaining why he hid the fact that he was practicing on a *saz,* the musical instrument played by minstrels, from his father, Müdamî said "You cannot pasture a minstrel's goats with those of an *imam.*"

The factor common to all minstrels, to repeat, is that they are compelled to accept their profession by some kind of external force, be it economic necessity, physical disability, or an emotional crisis that precludes following one of the usual occupations and prompts entering minstrelsy, instead. The fact that minstrels are forced into doing what they do in part reflects the status of minstrelsy as a less than desirable profession. Minstrelsy pays very badly. To give but one example: Behçet, despite being a recognized artist, cannot support himself by performing. He must work as a lackey at Atatürk University, fetching tea, coffee, and supplies — a less than dignified occupation for a man sixty-three years old; in addition, he sometimes works as a street vendor selling socks.[25] Besides being a poor source of income, and an unreliable one at that, minstrelsy is a hard way of life. Minstrels must travel to reach their audiences. Most of this traveling is done in the winter months, because that is when the demands of farming are reduced and the peasants have enough leisure time for entertainment. The traveling itself is difficult, and it entails lengthy separations from the comfort and support of home and family. Even the rewards in prestige are limited. Like others in marginal occupations, minstrels are accorded some respect, while they are simultaneously subjected to suspicion and some ridicule for being unable to follow one of the

[25] My fieldwork in Erzurum, 1970 and 1977.

usual lines of work. To use the example of Behçet again: one minute he is presented to foreigners (like this author) and lauded as a prime example of the creative talents of the Turkish people, the next minute he is dispatched on some menial task.[26]

The other reason why minstrels must be forced into accepting their profession is the belief that they are divinely inspired, that poetry is god-speech, and that the poet is the chalice for the word of God. If it is believed that the real actor in the process of poetic creation is God, with the poet serving only as intermediary, then, of course, the process must be initiated by God rather than by the servant. The active role of God is most unambiguously apparent when the chosen initially resists His will and becomes subject to divine compulsion. The idea of poetry coming to the poet from divine sources rather than from himself is sometimes articulated directly, as in the dreams of the Turkish minstrels, where a supernatural figure, a saint, a minstrel from the past, or an epic hero always serves as active agent. This idea is also expressed explicitly by Milton and Homer. It appears as a literary convention in the nineteenth century, when poets call upon their muse. Quite often, however, divine selection was implied. It is assumed that since fate made it impossible for the minstrel to be anything else, be it by making him poor or physically or emotionally disabled, this must have been ordained by God for the purpose of recruiting His chosen.

The legend of the blind bard does reflect the reality of minstrelsy, only not directly, as had been assumed, but metaphorically. Blindness is a symbol for the various disabilities which force a man into choosing minstrelsy. It also serves effectively as a divine stigma, indicating choice by God. The question that must now be asked is why blindness, in particular, was chosen to have this symbolic value. After all, another physical impairment, such as the loss of a limb, could have been used to represent the problems that compel someone to become a minstrel. Any physical impairment would also have been a visible enough sign of divine intervention. The answer comes from linguistics. As noted by Julian Jaynes and others, thought processes in a variety of languages are conveyed by visual metaphors.[27] We say "I see" to mean "I understand."

[26] My fieldwork in Erzurum, 1970 and 1977.

[27] Julian Jaynes, *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind* (Boston, 1976). See especially book 1, the end of chapter 1, "The Consciousness of Consciousness," and all of chapter 2, "Consciousness" (pp. 21–66). See also book 2, chapter 1, "Gods, Graves, and Idols" (pp. 149–175), for a discussion of the importance of eye-contact in conversation.

Someone who is intelligent is bright or brilliant, whereas someone with the opposite characteristics is dull or dim-witted. Well thought-out ideas are clear and lucid, while poorly conceived thoughts or arguments are obscure and muddled. The list of such visual metaphors could be expanded considerably. Jaynes argues that this tendency to use visual metaphor for thought is independent of linguistic and cultural boundaries because it derives from the nature of modern conscious, as opposed to earlier bicameral, thought. Conscious thought, he claims, is actually "seen" in a "mind-space" and has the dimensions of space and time.[28] If this is true, what better way to symbolize the poet's special thought and his special articulation of thought through verse and imagery than by blindness? As said by Homer, Milton, and others, the poet does not think/see in the ordinary way. What better way to represent this than by deprivation of the organ of ordinary sight?

Although the legend of the blind bard does reflect the reality of minstrelsy, one explanation for the existence of this legend, namely, the compensation theory, does not seem to operate among traditional oral poets. To reiterate, the compensation theory holds that organ inferiority, such as loss of one of the senses, stimulates the compensatory development of other faculties, such as artistic talent. Since physical deficiency is but one of the problems that may prompt a man to take up minstrelsy, the compensation theory cannot be applied to traditional bards directly. It is possible to argue an indirect application, namely, that any hardship — be it physical, economic, or emotional — stimulates artistic sensitivity, because to suffer is to live more intensely. Pain cuts so deeply that it sharpens the ability to feel all other emotions, just as a wound is more sensitive to all stimuli than ordinary flesh. Certainly some modern literary artists, such as Hemingway, have intentionally sought suffering to heighten their artistic talent.

This oblique application of the compensation theory may be valid, but it is necessary to point out that talent is a concept alien to traditional oral poets. Divine selection is important, but whether or not someone has the artistic gift seems to be irrelevant when choosing minstrelsy as a profession. This being true, it may be surprising that there are many talented minstrels. But the number of outstanding oral poets is actually small — there are less than ten in Turkey and about an equal number in Žirmunskij's survey of the Uzbek tradition.[29] Not all peasants are active bearers of all

[28] Jaynes, *Origin of Consciousness*, pp. 21-66.
[29] Žirmunskij and Zarifov, *Uzbekskij narodnyj geroičeskij èpos.*

folklore traditions, as some early collectors assumed. Furthermore, it could be argued that deep artistic sensitivity leads to the emotional difficulties that urge men like Müdamî, perhaps the greatest of the modern Turkish oral poets, to undertake minstrelsy; therefore, those that are particularly gifted would end up as minstrels, anyway. Finally, the disregard for talent explains the tolerance for Ukrainian mendicants and Yugoslav beggars. No one feels that the poor who perform are of the same caliber as the true poets, but their participation in the tradition is readily accepted.

Let me sum up what studying traditional oral poets reveals about the legend of the blind bard. This legend reflects the reality of being a minstrel by serving as a metaphor for the fact that men choose minstrelsy not because they have artistic talent, but because they are compelled to do so by need. The need may be created by a physical disability, as the legend would imply, but it may also be created by economic or emotional problems. The reason blindness is chosen to symbolize this need is the tendency to express thought processes through metaphors involving vision. In addition, blindness serves as a visible stigma which more clearly marks those selected by God.

Part of our modern academic "folklore" is that traditional folk wisdom holds many truths that modern scholarship is still trying to discover. This is valid, but folk wisdom must be read in folk terms. The folk often avoid direct expression and use a proverb or an allegorical tale to convey their thoughts. The legend of the blind bard follows this tendency and acts as a metaphor. As such, it conveys a greater wealth of meaning than any literal statement.

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The Report of an Audience with Maria Theresa

MIROSLAV LABUNKA

An interesting collection of documents relating to the Ruthenian/Ukrainian Uniate church[1] has been preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Nunziatura di Vienna (ASV, NdV), under the general running title "Varia de Ruthenis." This collection consists, according to Eduard Winter,[2] of five volumes (nos. 75–79), and was compiled by Giuseppe Garampi, the papal nuncio in Warsaw (1772–1776) and Vienna (1776–1784).[3] The text published below, "Report of an Audience," is in volume 76, fol. 139r–140v, of this collection. The audience granted by Empress Maria Theresa to the Ukrainian priest Ivan Gutz (or Gudz) took place in Vienna on 26 February 1775.[4] The report is in French, the language in

[1] At present the popular name of this church is the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite. Variations, especially in the last part, do occur; e.g., "of Byzantine Rite," "of Byzantine-Slavic Rite," etc. For earlier names and variations, see Julian Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von den aeltesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, vol. 2: *Von der Wiederherstellung der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von 1595 bis auf die Gegenwart* (Würzburg and Vienna, 1861), pp. 647–48 and passim. Cf. also Michael Ritter von Malinowski, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen bezüglich des griechisch-katholischen Ritus der Ruthenen in Galizien* (Lviv, 1861), p. 306; and Albert M. Ammann, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte* (Vienna [1950]), p. 634.

[2] Eduard Winter, "Nationale und religiöse Kämpfe in Galizien in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Cologne), 59 (1959):27–34.

[3] Winter, "Nationale und religiöse Kämpfe," p. 27. In addition to his activities as a distinguished Vatican diplomat, Garampi is known as a scholar who made lasting contributions to the fields of church history and archive administration. While he was prefect of the Vatican archives, a catalogue of 124 volumes of its documents was prepared. For bibliographical references about G. Garampi, see Ladislaus Tóth, "Zwei Berichte des Wiener Nuntius Garampi über die kirchlichen Verhältnisse um 1776," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterstumkunde und für Kirchengeschichte* (Freiburg), 34 (1926):[330]–331, fn. 1. For biographical data and more recent literature, see the entry about Garampi by J. Wodka in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 4 (Freiburg, 1960), col. 515.

[4] Father Ivan usually spelled his name with the -tz ending. The -dz version, however, is used by Michael von Malinowski (*Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 301 and 714) as an alternative. The latter form was probably the original one, for the name thus spelled means "knot" in Ukrainian. (This meaning is lost when the -tz spelling is

which the audience was conducted; it was written by Gutz himself, who signed his name (*manu propria*) as follows: "Jean Gutz, Chanoine de Léopol du rit grec-catholique" (fol. 140v). Although the text of the report is available in both Polish[5] and German[6] translations, the French original has apparently never before been published. Not many Ukrainians were received by the Romanov or Habsburg rulers, and those few who were rarely left written accounts of such audiences.[7] Therefore, the report is of considerable interest to historians.

The text of the report is in three sections: a short introduction, followed

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followed, which was perhaps Father Gutz's intent.) It is the -tz form of the name that is generally used by historians. Cf., however, Julian Kubinyi, *The History of Prjašiv Eparchy* (Rome, 1970; *Opera Graeco-Catholicae Academiae Theologicae* [hereafter *Opera*], vol. 32), p. 59, who uses the -dz version only.

5 See Michael Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae, gratiam et communionem cum s. Sede Romana habentis, ritumque Graeco-slavicum observantis, cum singulari respectu ad dioeceses ruthenas Leopoliensem, Premisliensem et Chelmensem* (Lviv, 1862), pp. 566–69. The Polish text was prepared by the author himself and can, therefore, be considered another original of the report, rather than a translation. It was the Polish version that Father Gutz sent to Father Anton Levyns'kyi (Lewiński), vicar-general of the Lviv eparchy. See his accompanying letter, ibid., pp. 565–66.

6 See von Malinowski, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, pp. 373–75, Latin summary on pp. 723–24. The German translation was done from the Polish version. Both the Polish and the German translations differ slightly from the French text, e.g., they do not include the text of the "Paletum Executionis" (although it is mentioned), but add a concluding sentence which is absent in the French text. Cf. Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, p. 569. The complete text of the "Paletum" was included in the memorandum which Father Ivan Gutz, following the request by the empress (cf. *infra* the empress's remark under *k* in the report), prepared for Count Wrbna, chancellor of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. A copy of the memorandum is preserved in ASV, NdV, vol. 76, fol. 142r-145v.

7 Information on audiences of Ukrainian ecclesiastic and lay leaders with foreign rulers is difficult to find, since there is no appropriate check-list, inventory of sources related to this topic, or general history of such audiences.

The audience of Father Gutz was considered an exceptional event by the next generation of leaders and historians of the Ukrainian Catholic church. Harasiewicz (*Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, p. 565) called it the "celebris audientia Joannis Gutz apud suam Majestatem." Von Malinowski (*Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, p. 375) said: "Dieser im Archive des gr. kath. Lemberger Domkapitels aufbewahrte Bericht [the reference must be to the Polish version — M.L.] über jene Audienz musste auf die sonst unterdrückten Ruthenen einen erhebenden Einfluss üben."

The report is not of Father Gutz's first audience, since, according to some sources, he was received by Maria Theresa, probably for the first time, on 17 July 1774. Cf. Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, p. 558; and Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed., *Epistolae Leonis Ludovici Szeptyckyj, Metropolitae Kioviensis Catholici (1778–1779)* (Rome, 1970; *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3: *Documenta Romana Ecclesiae Catholicae in terris Ukrainae et Bielarusjae cura PP. Basilianorum collecta et edita. Epistolae Metropolitarum, Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum*, vol. 7), p. 267.

by two separately marked parts (§I and II). Each part deals with one major issue: the first describes the problem of the change in rite (from the Byzantine to the Roman) by the Ukrainian faithful in Galicia, allegedly as Gutz presented it to the empress; the second expresses concern about ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was rumored at the time that Roman Catholic bishops (of Polish nationality) would be granted jurisdiction over Uniate bishops (usually of Ukrainian nationality) in the territories under Austrian domination, i.e., in the newly acquired (from Poland, in 1772) Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. During the audience other issues vital to the well-being of the Uniate church in the realm of Austria-Hungary, especially Galicia, were raised: the education of the clergy, the problem of the cathedral chapter of the regular clergy in Lviv, and the financial status and the mistreatment of the Ukrainian Uniate clergy by Austrian officials (the latter illustrated by the case of Father Cislowski cited in the "Paletum Executionis," which is included in the report).

The objective of the audience was to seek protection and confirmation of the rights and privileges of the Ukrainian Uniate church in Galicia, as well as the improvement of living conditions for its clergy and faithful. Father Gutz was executing this mission on behalf of his bishop, Lev Sheptyts'kyi (Leo Ludovicus Szeptyckyj, bishop of Lviv, 1749–1778, and metropolitan of Kiev and Halych, 1778–1779),[8] as well as the clergy of the Lviv eparchy.[9] Subsequent developments in Galicia and in the Carpatho-Ukraine indicate that the supplications were not in vain. Both Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and her son and successor Emperor Joseph II (1780–1790) became favorably inclined toward the Uniate church. A series of reforms they undertook shaped the church into a nearly new

[8] The official title at the time was "Metropolita totius Russiae" or some variation thereof (e.g., "Archiepiscopus Metropolitanus totius Russiae"). See Welykyj, *Epistolae Leonis Ludovici Szeptyckyj*, pp. 306–313, docs. 125–30, passim; and Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed., *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia (1075–1953)*, vol. 2: *1700–1953* (Rome, 1954; *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 3: *Documenta Romana Ecclesiae Unitae . . . Documenta Pontificorum Romanorum*, vol. 2), p. 527, doc. 830 (letter of Pope Pius VI to Metropolitan L. Sheptyts'kyi, dated 9 May 1778). Cf. Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, pp. 550–51. (In a letter of 27 June 1778 to Sheptyts'kyi, Maria Theresa used the following version of the title: "Erzbischof zu Kijow, Bischof zu Lemberg und Metropolit *graeci ritus uniti* von ganz Reussen"). Cf. also Władysław Chotkowski, *Historya polityczna Kościoła w Galicyi za rządów Maryi Teresy*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1909), pp. 430–31.

[9] Pelesz (*Geschichte der Union*, vol. 2) calls him an "agent" (of the Ruthenians/ Ukrainians, pp. 648–49), and elsewhere a "procurator" (of Bishop and subsequently Metropolitan Lev Sheptyts'kyi, p. 676) at the court of Vienna. Both Harasiewicz (*Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, p. 572), and von Malinowski (*Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*, p. 714) refer to him as a "plenipotentiarius" of his bishop.

institution (as compared to its immediate predecessor, the pre-1772 Uniate church of Belorussia and the Ukraine).[10] It was at about that time that the Uniate church acquired a new hierarchical structure (the metropolitanate of Halych from 1806, and autonomy, albeit limited, from the Roman Catholic church in the Carpatho-Ukraine),[11] developed some specific liturgical features,[12] was provided with a clergy educated in

10 For this period a number of published sources and general works can be consulted. A collection of documents on the Ukrainian church which exists in the Vatican archives (ASV) has, since 1953, been published in Rome by Father Athanasius G. Welykyj and his collaborators in the *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 2, under the general title *Documenta Romana Ecclesiae Catholicae in terris Ucrainae et Bielarusjae*. This major series is subdivided into various subseries, which include similar documents from the same church agencies. The volumes containing documents relating to the period under consideration here are *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 2: (*1700–1953*) (1953); and its *Audientiae sanctissimae de rebus Ucrainae et Bielarusjae*, vol. 2: *1780–1862* (1965); *Epistolae Metropolitarum, Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum*, vols. 5 (1967), 6 (1969), 7 (1971), 8 (1965); *Acta, litterae et decreta Sacrarum Congregationum. Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, vol. 5: *1768–1862* (1955); and its *Congregationes particulares*, vol. 2: *1729–1862* (1957). Volumes 7–8 of the *Monumenta Ucrainae historica* (Collegit Metropolita Andreas Šeptyckyj, ed. by Joseph Slipyj [Rome, 1969–1970]), should also be added here. A great number of documents are found in Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*; von Malinowski, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen*; and Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, vol. 2. The latter is indispensable for general background reading (p. 548ff, passim), as is Ammann, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte*. Cf. also Hryhor Luzhnyts'kyi, *Ukrains'ka tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom: Narys istorii ukrains'koi tserkvy* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 482ff.; and Atanasii V. Pekar, *Narysy z istorii tserkvy Zakarpattia*, vol. 1: *Ierarkhichne oformlennia* (Rome, 1967; *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1; *Opera*, vol. 22), passim.

11 Concerning these developments, see Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, pp. 771–815; Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:548–672; Myron Stasiw, *Metropolia Haliciensis: Eius historia et iuridica forma*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1960; *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1; *Opera*, vol. 12), pp. 101–168 (= pt. 1, chap. 3: "De restauratione Metropoliae Haliciensis") and pp. 193–235 (= pt. 2, chap. 2: "De peculiari figura iuridica metropolitarum Haliciensium"); Isidorus I. Patrylo, *Archiepiscopi-Metropolitani Kievo-Halicienses: Attentis praescriptis M. P. "Cleri Sanctitati,"* 2nd ed. (Rome, 1962; *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1; *Opera*, vol. 16), pp. 49–50 and passim; Eugenius Kaminskyj, *De potestate Metropolitarum Kioviensium-Haliciensium (a. 1596–1805)* (Rome, 1969; *Opera*, vol. 31), pp. 34–36 and passim; Pekar, *Narysy z istorii tserkvy Zakarpattia*, 1:[42], 60–71, 80–81, and [83]–94; and Kubinyi, *History of Prjašiv Eparchy*, pp. 65–93 and passim; A. Duchnovič, *The History of the Eparchy of Prjašev*, trans. by Athanasius Pekar (Rome, 1971; *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1; *Opera*, vol. 25); Basilius (Athanasius) Pekar, *De erectione canonica eparchiae Mukačoviensis (a. 1771)* (Rome, 1956; *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1; *Opera*, vol. 7); and Eduard Winter, "Die Kämpfe der Ukrainer Oberungarns um eine nationale Hierarchie im theresianischen Alter. Nach vatikanischen Quellen," *Kyrios* (Königsberg and Berlin), 11 (1939–40), pp. 129–41.

12 A systematic history of the liturgy of the Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) church is yet to be written. Some information concerning developments during the period under consideration can be found in Meletii W. Solovii, *Bozhestvenna Liturhiia: Istoriia* —

seminaries,[13] received a sound economic base,[14] and was granted a new name — the Greek Catholic church.[15] In this new form it survived in the territories of the Western Ukraine until shortly after World War II.

Not much can be said here about the author of the report. Father Ivan Gutz belongs to the category of luckless historical personalities who have left behind traces of their existence and activities, but have failed to generate interest among biographers or historians. Father Gutz needs, figuratively speaking, to be resurrected from oblivion: at present, he does not appear in the standard Ukrainian encyclopedias or biographical dictionaries.[16] I was unable to find basic biographical data about him.[17] The little information he gives about himself in the report is supplemented here with some data from M. von Malinowski.[18] It is known that following his ordination, Father Gutz spent fifteen years as a private tutor for male students from Polish aristocratic families. He was made a canon of the cathedral in Lviv in June 1771 (referred to in the report). In 1782 he

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rozvytok —poiasnennia (Rome, 1964; *Analecta OSBM,* ser. 2, sec. 1: *Opera,* vol. 20), pp. 91–106.

13 See Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union,* 2:634–43; Amvrosii Andrukhovych, "Videns'ke *Barbareum*: Istoriia Korolivs'koi general'noi hreko-katolyts'koi seminarii pry tserkvi sv. Varvary u Vidni z pershoho periodu ii isnuvannia (1775–1784)," in *Opera,* vol. 1/2 (Lviv, 1935), pp. 40–212; idem, "L'vivs'ke '*Studium Ruthenum,*'" *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Shevchenka* (Lviv, 1921–29), 131, 123–95; 132, 185–217; 136–137, 43–165; 146, 33–118; 150, 1–80; idem, "Istoriia Hreko-katolyts'koi general'noi dukhovnoi seminarii u L'vovi. Chast' I," in *Opera,* vol. 3 (Lviv, 1936), pp. 61–505; M. Labunka, "Die ukrainische katholische Kirche des byzantinisch-slawischen Ritus und die josephinischen Reformen (Die Ausbildung und Erziehung der Geistlichkeit)," (Mémoire, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1955) and Kyrylo Studyns'kyi, *L'vivs'ka dukhovna seminariia v chasakh Markiiana Shashkevycha* (Lviv, 1916). For the preceding time period, see the well-documented monograph by Dmytro Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv (1665– 1784)* (Rome, 1975; *Analecta OSBM,* ser. 2, sec. 1; *Works* [i.e., *Opera*], vol. 29).

14 See the literature listed in fns. 11 and 13. Cf. also the following two pamphlets, inaccessible to me, but listed as nos. 574 and 575 in Isydor I. Patrylo, *Dzherela i bibliohrafiia istorii ukrains'koi tserkvy* (Rome, 1975; *Analecta OSBM,* ser. 2, sec. 1; *Opera,* vol. 33, p. 187): (1) *Historische Skizze über die Dotation des ruthenischen Clerus in Galizien* (Vienna, 1861), 51 p; and (2) S. Morawski, *Uwagi nad broszurą: "Historische Skizze über die Dotation . . ."* (Lviv, 1861), 38 p.

15 For references see the literature listed in fn. 1.

16 He is not mentioned, for instance, in the *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia,* vol. 3 (Kiev [1960]); *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva: Slovnykova chastyna,* vol. 2 (Paris and New York, 1955–57); *Ukrains'kyi radians'kyi entsyklopedychnyi slovnyk,* vol. 1 [Kiev, 1966]; or *Radians'ka entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy,* vol. 1 (Kiev, 1969).

17 He is not listed among the students of the Pontifical Seminary for Ruthenians and Armenians in Lviv (cf. Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries,* p. 266), nor does he seem to have studied at either the College of St. Athanasius or the College of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome.

18 von Malinowski, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen,* p. 301.

was promoted to the *Custos* of the cathedral chapter to which he bequeathed many books. For ten years (1773–1783) he represented his bishop and the clergy of his eparchy in Vienna, where he defended with great determination the rights and privileges of his particular church.[19] Much of his time and expertise was spent in Vienna and later in Lviv fighting the "snatching of Ukrainian souls" (referring to the change in rite) by the Polish Roman Catholic clergy.[20] Following the death of Metropolitan Lev Sheptyts'kyi and, shortly thereafter, of his brother Athanasius (1762–1779), bishop of Peremyšl', Father Gutz figured among the candidates for both the Lviv and Peremyšl' bishoprics, but he was not appointed to either.[21]

The text of the report published below was transcribed from a microfilm copy. In editing the text, I have made certain minor but necessary changes. Orthography was modified to comply with modern French usage, and punctuation was provided where needed for clarity. In a few instances articles were added or deleted, and in other cases a definite article was substituted for the indefinite article, or vice versa, when warranted by modern usage; the same is true of the singular and plural of articles and the prepositions *de, du,* and *des.* Most of the abbreviations were expanded, with the exception of instances where their meaning is certain. These minor changes, intended to make the text more readable, are justifiable for a document that is not of legal or doctrinal significance.

The main text was written on one-half (lengthwise) of each folio page; the other half was used for remarks or notes. In this publication the additions are given in parentheses within the text at places where they logically belong, or where the connection between the text and a remark was indicated in the original. The letters *a* through *n* mark the appropriate place in the text as well as the beginning of the remark or note; only the

[19] von Malinowski, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen,* p. 301.

[20] Cf., for example, Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae,* pp. 603–609 and 672–75. Concerning this problem in general, see Sophronius S. Mudryj, *De transitu ad alium ritum: A Byzantino-Ucraino ad Latinum* (Rome, 1973; *Analecta OSBM,* ser. 2, sec. 1; *Opera,* vol. 26).

Father Gutz was probably the most determined promoter and defender of the right of the Ukrainian Catholic church to have its eparchical chapters of secular clergy. See especially his "Supplex Libellus . . . ut tractatus de clero cathedrali seu capitulis cathedralibus ritus graeci . . . ," addressed to Emperor Joseph II, dated Vienna, 29 August 1783, in von Malinowski, *Die Kirchen- und Staats-Satzungen,* pp. 384–404. Cf. also Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union,* 2: 612–34.

[21] See Chotkowski, *Historya polityczna Kościoła w Galicyi,* 2: 482–84; and Joannes Choma, "Maximilianus Rylo, episcopus Chelmensis et Peremysliensis (1759–1793)," *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni,* vol. 1 (7) (Rome, 1953; its ser. 2, sec. 2), p. 463.

notes that appear at the beginning of the text have no such referral letters. The report is published in full below.

L'Audience de Sa Majesté l'Imperatrice, Reine Apostolique que le Soussigné a eu l'honneur d'avoir, l'an 1775, le 26 février. (fol. 139r)

«Sacrée Majesté, ma très gracieuse Souveraine, l'Evêque de Léopol du rit grec Catholique, très sensible à la bienveillance de Votre Sacrée Majesté envers son rit, dont il a reçu une nouvelle épreuve par la très gracieuse résolution pour l'éducation de deux Clercs au collège de Ste Barbe, et qui sont déjà arrivés, il y a environ trois semaines, m'a donné des ordres de Lui en rendre l'hommage d'une reconnaissance la plus vive. La grâce, si utile à l'Eglise, sera un monument à jamais du très glorieux, très sage, et très religieux empire de V. S. Majesté, et pour nous, Ses fidèles sujets, un nouveau motif d'adresser incessament au Très-Haut des voeux les plus ardents pour la conservation de V. S. Majesté et de Sa très Auguste Famille.»

(En remettant la lettre de remercîment de mon Evêque, j'ai été interrogé sur la santé de deux Clercs nouvellement arrivés et sur leur âge. *Sa Majesté* a donc témoigné, qu'Elle protègera même à l'avenir le rit grec-catholique.)

En conséquence de cela, j'ai supplié la permission de Sa Majesté de pouvoir dire [ce] que j'aurais à dire.

(*Sa Majesté*, avec un air de bonté, me l'ayant permis, — je parlai donc de la sorte:)

«Pendant que Votre Majesté daigne gracieusement protéger notre rit, dont nous goûtons déjà les fruits, d'un autre côté les nouvelles répandues par toute la Gallicie nous consternent beaucoup. Puisqu'on débite publiquement: 1º Qu'il soit permis aux laïcs du rit grec de changer leur rit. 2º Que les Evêques Latins tâchent d'assujettir à leur jurisdiction nos Evêques.»

§ I.

«Ce qui regarde le changement du rit est tout à fait contraire aux intentions du Saint-Siège, comme on le voit par les arrêts de tant de Pontifs, principalement d'Urbain VIII et de Benoît XIV, qui, vus les Actes du Concile de Florence, ont commandé rigoureusement de ne jamais changer le rit grec sans l'agrément du Saint-Siège. Si une fois on se relâchait sur cette discipline, il ne resterait que la populace attachée au rit grec. Car chaque Laïc médiocrement élevé pouvant impunément changer le rit grec, lui préféra toujours celui des Latins à cause des [fol. 139v] avantages tant dans l'Etat Ecclésiastique que Civil.

(*a*. "Cela est très vrai," disait Sa Majesté.)

D'ailleurs, le mépris de notre rit et la quantité de jeûnes rigoureux

(*b.* "Vous en avez assez," disait Sa Majesté, en riant.)

seraient un puissant motif de changer le rit grec.»

(*c.* "Nous aurons, disait Sa Majesté, à présent une meilleure cointelligence avec le Papes.")

Je poursuivais donc: «Je prends la très respectueuse liberté d'avouer à Votre Majesté que moi-même j'aurais dû changer le rit, si je ne m'étais pas gouverné par d'autres motifs. Puisqu'étant dans le rit Latin, j'aurais au moins été sûr de ma subsistence pour l'avenir, n'en ayant à présent pour le titre que 75 fl. d'Allemagne par an.

(*d.* Sa Majesté disait avec admiration: "C'est ne qu'autant (!) que vous avez?")

C'est ce que je devais encore mériter d'avance par l'éducation pendant 13 ans des enfants d'un Seigneur Polonais. N'ayant donc [pas] de motifs de retourner à ma Patrie, et n'étant [pas] accoutumé à labourer la terre, comme le font nos autres Prêtres,

(*e.* "Sans doute," disait Sa Majesté, en riant.)

je suis encore obligé de rester ici en qualité de Gouverneur d'un Cavalier Polonais,

(*f.* Sa Majesté interrogeait: "Qui était ce Cavalier? et de quel gouvernement?")

j'y ajoutais; et je fais en même temps la fonction d'agent de mon diocèse depuis 16 mois, n'en pouvant prétendre aucune récompense d'un pauvre Clergé, quoique j'aurais besoin d'un petit soulagement pour pouvoir me perfectionner dans les langues: allemande, française, et italienne, et surtout dans les choses de mon état.»

(*g.* "Vous savez aussi Allemand et Italien?" reprit Sa Majesté.)

(*J'ai été en même temps interrogé si j'étais un Chanoine.)

Sur cela, j'ai répondu de la sorte: «Sacrée Majesté, il est vrai que j'ai été fait par mon Evêque, mais je ne sais si je dois me le nommer,

(*h.* Sa Majesté, se mettant à rire, disait avec un ton assurant et un air sérieux: "Cela doit se faire et cela sera.")

puisque nous avons bien des obstacles pour pouvoir faire notre chapitre stable.»

J'ai continué après: «Voilà, Sacrée Majesté, les motifs par lesquels les Russiens peuvent être persuadés à changer leur rit. Mais pour prévenir cela, il parait d'être convéniant que Votre Sacrée Majesté fasse faire promulguer du propre mouvement un Edit — que'Elle veut que Ses Sujets observent strictement les arrêts du Saint-Siège, et que les Evêques Latins n'osent accepter aucun à leur rit sans une

dispense du Souverain Pontife, et qu'en même temps ceux qui ont illicitement changé le rit grec soient contraints de retourner.»

> (*i.* Sa Majesté y disait que c'était un point délicat: "Puisque vous avez en votre voisinage des Schismatiques.")

Je poursuivais donc: «Mais pour pouvoir avec plus de douceur retenir les Russiens dans leur rit, il paraît nécessaire de [fol. 140r] les laisser jouir des mêmes droits dont jouissent les Latins, à l'exemple des Russiens de Hongrie, et comme le veulent les vieux Privilèges des Rois de Pologne.» M'arrêtant ici un peu, je continuais ensuite: «J'y ajouterais encore, avec la gracieuse permission de Votre Sacrée Majesté, qu'Elle daigne faire cesser les vexations de nos Prêtres de la part des Directeurs, dont je cite seulement un exemple de l'arrêt de M^{r} Lomkau», lequel j'ai prononcé, comme il suit:

PALETUM EXECUTIONIS

> Cum Popa Ruthenus Firloviensis, nomine Cislowski, praesumpserit propria auctoritate rete quoddam piscatorium vehentibus illud per vim auferre, atque adeo spolium violentum, et quidem publicum commiserit; ideo eidem Popae tres milites Equestres, ex legione Würsembergiana, in executionem mittuntur, quibus dictus Popa Cislowski, donec eidem per Officium Cae.o-Regium Directoratus Districtualis revocati non fuerint, cuilibet eorum singillatim praeter victum et potum quotidie semiduos flor. Polonicales solvendos habet, ipse vero, hoc rete violenter ablatum Domino priori reddet instantanee, salva adhuc poena Personali, quae in publicarum viarum Grassatores a jure est statuta.
> Datt. Rohatini, die 7. 8^{bris}, 1774.
> Jos. Lomkau, Cae.o-Reg. Distr. Brzezanensis Director.
> /L.S./ Cae.o-Regii.

Les réflexions que j'<en> ai faites à Sa Majesté étaient celles qui suivent:
1º L'abstraction faite du fait, dont le Curé Cislowski aurait bien pu se purger, il est aisé de voir par l'expression de M^{r} Lomkau le mépris qu'on a des Personnes Ecclésiastiques du rit grec catholique, car le nom Popa signifie la même chose que *Pfaf* dans la langue allemande.

> ([*j*.] Sa Majesté disait sur cela qu'on donne seulement ce nom aux Prêtres Schismatiques.)

2º Vu[es] les ordonnances de Votre Majesté, émanées depuis deux ans en faveur de Clergé du rit grec-catholique en Hongrie, il est évident que cette façon de

nomme[r] les Ecclésiastiques, et plus encore par une personne dans une charge publique et par écrit, est directement contraire à Sa volonté.
3º Si le dit Curé était un grassateur, comme l'écrit le nommé, on devait s'en saisir pour le faire juger par la jurisdiction compétente selon les lois; s'[il] ne l'était pas, pourquoi le nommer ainsi?
4º Chaque coupable a droit de s'expliquer sur ce qu'on lui objecte, or l'ordonnance de Mr Lomkau ne fait pas voir <ce> qu'on l'ait cité, ou entendu.

> (*k.* J'ai été interrogé de (!) Sa Majesté, si cela avait été arrivé déjà sous Son règne, et si je connait M[r] le Chancelier de Wrbna; que je le Lui donne par écrit.)

J'ai répondu à cela, qu'«avec la permission de Votre Majesté je le ferai par la suite, après en avoir reçu de mon Evêque des informations plus circonstanciées et qu'à présent je n'en fais mention qu'occasionallement (!), et que Votre Majesté soit en informée d'avance.»

§ II.

Je parlais donc sur un autre chef de mon audience, en disant:
1º «L'assujettissement de nos Evêques à la jurisdiction de ceux des Latins n'est aucunement nécessaire, pouvant [fol. 140v] eux-mêmes gouverner leur[s] troupeaux.»

> (*l.* "Cela ne se peut," disait l'Impératrice. "Vous voyez au contraire, que les Evêques de Mounkacs, de Svidnic, et de Fogaracs en ont été exemptés, et celui de Grand-Varadin va encore l'être. J'ai des bons Evêques de votre rit, et vous en avez aussi celui de Léopol; j'ai oublié, comment l'appelle-t-on?")

2º Je continuais: «Que l'assujettissement de nos Evêques ne serait point avantageux à l'Eglise, puisque les Latins ne sont pas tous informés des affaires et de la discipline de notre Eglise.
3º Qu'au contraire, ledit assujettissement ne saurait être que bien désavantageux,

> (*m.* "Sans doute, disait Sa Majesté, puisque les Schismatiques sont tout près.")

car se serait jeter à jamais une semence de mécontentements et de dissensions, aussi bien que rebuter à jamais les Schismatiques de la Sainte Union.»

> (*n.* "Vous avez raison," reprit Sa Majesté.)

J'ai fini donc mon discours en recommendant le rit grec-catholique à la puissante Protection de Sa Majesté Impériale.

Jean Gutz, Chanoine de Léopol
du rit grec-catholique
mpp.

B.

Relation d'une Audience de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale Apostolique
Sur les affaires de Clergé du rit grec-catholique en Galicie.

La Salle College

Власні імена людей в українських загадках

MICHAŁ ŁESIÓW

Загадки це досить популярний вид фольклору, який створювався й уживався народом для розваги та розвитку мислення у вільному часі, передусім під час довгих зимових вечорів. А. Онишук писав у вступному слові до порівняно невеликої збірки загадок у 1911 році: «Збереться де гурток людей — чи то на вечерницях у кого, на хрестинах або весіллю, а вже — біля веселих жартів і пісень — сипляться також *загадочки* одна за одною, наче з рукава.»[1] Видатний український фольклорист В. Гнатюк стверджує, що «загадки се — бистроумні й дотепні питання, в яких повинна критися також відповідь на них.»[2] Загадки належать до найпростіших явищ народної літератури, стоять вони на пограниччі художної творчости та фразеології.

З мовної точки зору загадка вміщається, як правило, в одне речення з питальним відтінком зі своєрідними художними засобами. Філологічна аналіза загадок належить до стилістики, яка вияснює суть тропів, званих метонімією та перифразою.[3]

Дж. Фрейзер на основі багатющого матеріалу, зібраного з різних часів та культур, доходить до висновку, що загадки мали первісно у житті не стільки розважальне, що навіть релігійно-культове значення.[4]

Сучасні загадки мають, назагал, віршовану й римовану форму. Появилося багато різних збірок народних загадок, виданих фольклористами в найрізноманітніших мовах.[5] Українські загадки знаходимо у фольклорних збірках П. Чубинського, Б. Грінченка, М.

[1] *350 загадок молодим і старим на забаву* (Коломия, 1911).
[2] «Українська народна словесність,» у виданні: В. М. Гнатюк, *Вибрані статті про народну творчість* (Київ, 1966), ст. 75.
[3] Пояснення цих термінів знайдемо у словниках: Є. В. Кротевич, Н. С. Родзевич, *Словник лінґвістичних термінів* (Київ, 1957); В. М. Лесин, О. С. Пулинець, *Словник літературознавчих термінів* (Київ, 1965).
[4] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, т. 3 (Нью Йорк, 1911), ст. 154.
[5] *Słownik folkloru polskiego*, pod redakcją J. Krzyżanowskiego (Варшава, 1965), ст. 456.

Комарова, І. Манджури, О. Кольберґа тощо. Найстарішою осібною збіркою українських загадок були *Малороссийские и галицкие загадки,* видані 1851 року А. М. Сементовським (380 одиниць). У другому виданні цієї збірки п. з. *Малороссийские загадки* (Санкт-петербург, 1872) поміщено вже 475 одиниць.

Залишаючи покищо повну аналізу мови загадок на пізніше, хочу на цьому місці приглянутися антропонімії, а точніше — власним іменам людей (*first names*), які появляються в найпопулярніших українських загадках. За основу своєї аналізи беру збірку, видану Академією Наук УРСР у Києві 1963 року п. з. *Українські народні загадки,* в упорядкуванні та зі вступним словом М. Шестопала. Збірка ця поміщує майже 4 тис. (3,795) загадок. Це нове поповнене видання українських загадок першої наукової збірки, яка була видана 1962 року І. Березовським.

Серед антропонімів, які появляються в загадках, зустрічаємо майже виключно імена. Виступають вони в українських документальних (офіційних) або в пестливо-здрібнілих формах, наприклад, *Адам, Варвара, Гаврило*; *Галя, Гапка, Іванко, Стецько*; майже всі вони наслідують форми імен, які появляються у щоденному вжитку. Лише зрідка можна натрапити на псевдопрізвища чи прізвиська, які римою достосовуються до імені, напр., *Іван Бордуган, Ігнатко-Безп'ятко,* або створені на взір прізвищ, вміщаючи в собі елементи, які повинні допомогти у розв'язанні загадки, напр., *пан Димінський* це «дим.»

I

Більшість імен у загадках римується, себто стоїть у римованій позиції. Поява імен у загадці залежить, отже, у великій мірі, від їх фонетично-морфологічної форми, яка полегшує римування з певними формами слів. Придивімося, насамперед, документальним формам імен, яких тут більше, ніж імен зі спеціальними антропонімічними суфіксами. Серед імен, які у загадках виступили, усі майже мають неслов'янську етимологію, майже всі вони були запозичені після прийняття християнства з Візантії, маючи в собі староєврейські, давньогрецькі або латинські корені. Достосувалися вони до української фонетично-морфологічної системи так, що пересічний мовець не підозріває їх, назагал, у чужому походженні.

У досліджуваних загадках виступили в римованій позиції імена з кінцевим елементом *-ило* (ст. -укр. *-илъ* зі ст. -євр. *-ēl,* яке вказує на одне з названь Бога у староєврейській мові): *Гаврило, Данило.* Вони

легко римуються з багатьма формами в українській мові і це, мабуть, головна причина їх появи в загадках. Обидва ці імена виступили в двох подібних загадках, які питають про «гарбуза»:

> У нашого *Гаврила*
> семисаженна *жила*,
> а зверху цвіток (*УНЗ*, 62).[6]
> у нашого *Данила*
> сім саженей *жила* (*УНЗ*, 62).

З наведених прикладів ясно виникає, що «гарбуз» ховається в загадках під іменами *Гаврило* та *Данило*, передовсім, задля фонетичних властивостей цих імен, які можуть римуватися зі словом *жила*. Крім цього, належать вони до популярних народних імен, які за моїм підрахунком належать до часто вживаних: *Данило* стоїть на 29 місці серед чоловічих імен,[7] а *Гаврило* — на 43-ьому. Ім'я *Гаврило* було дуже популярне в народному вживанні, напр., на Буковині, але тепер воно типове серед людей старшого віку.[8] Про їх давню популярність свідчить факт великої кількости прізвищ, основаних на цих іменах,[9] а також їх присутність в українських прислів'ях та приповідках.[10]

Зустрічаємо дві інші загадки з римованим іменем *Гаврило*:

> Сидить *Гаврило*,
> замазанеє *рило* /каганець/ (*УНЗ*, 165).
> У нашого *Гаврила*
> одна нога та *крила*;
> він не ходе й не літає,
> тільки крилами махає /вітряк/ (*УНЗ*, 250).

Оформлення цих імен типово українським закінченням — *о* зблизило їх до українських іменників з суфіксом -/*и*/*ло* типу *точило, вітрило, крило*[11] чи назв людей за різними ознаками з відтінком згрубілости, напр., *дурило, чудило, бурмило*.[12]

До наступної групи чоловічих імен, римованих в українських

[6] *УНЗ* = *Українські народні загадки* (Київ, 1963). Цифра при скороченні означає сторінку цього видання.
[7] М. Лесів, «Наші імена, 21,» *Наша культура* (Варшава), № 6 [242] (1978): 14.
[8] Л. В. Кракалія, «Про словник буковинської антропонімії,» зб. *Питання сучасної ономастики* (Київ, 1976), ст. 182.
[9] Пор.: F. Bogdan, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Canada* (Вінніпеґ і Ванкувер, 1974), ст. 43, 44, 83, 84, 74.
[10] М. Лесів, «Антропонимы в украинском фольклоре (на примере пословиц и поговорок),» *Nomina appellativa et nomina propria* (Краків, в друку).
[11] Пор.: *Курс сучасної української літературної мови*, т. 1, (Київ, 1951), ст. 335.
[12] *Сучасна українська літературна мова: Морфологія* (Київ, 1969), ст. 41.

загадках, належать імена з кінцевим елементом *-ан*: *Іван, Роман, Степан.* Походять вони з різних мов: *Іван* має свою староєврейську етимологію (*Jōhānān,* «Бог змилосердився,» «Бог помилував,» *СВІЛ,* 210),[13] *Роман* походить з латинського *Romanus* «римлянин,» «римський,» *СВІЛ* 224, *Степан* — з грецького στέφανος «вінок,» *СВІЛ,* 227. Кінцевий елемент *-ан* зближує ці імена фонетично до багатьох іменників зі суфіксом *-ан* типу *пузан,* тощо, деяких запозичених слів типу *талан, бур'ян, качан.*[14] Крім цього, належать вони до чоловічих імен, часто вживаних українцями з різних причин.[15] Найважливішою, однак, причиною їх присутности в римованих загадках є їх «кінцівка» *-ан.*

Про «олівець» загадка питає:

Чорний *Іван,* дерев'яний *каптан*;
де носом проведе, там слід прокладе (*УНЗ,* 276).

Роман римується в загадці зі спеціяльно створеним словом, невідомим у щоденному вжитку, *одуван,* що хіба є короткою формою дієприкметника *одуваний,* це натяк на «одуту» форму «горщика»:

Батрак *Роман* ухватив рогами *одуван*
/рогач і горщик/ (*УНЗ,* 186).

Ім'я *Іван* появляється також у загадках в римовій парі зі створюваними спеціяльно для загадки словами *білобран, Бордуган, забіян.*

Про «часник» загадка питає:

Іван-білобран
в білу сорочку вбрався,
під землю сховався (*УНЗ,* 69).

Для чистої рими зі словом *Іван* створено слово *білобран* зі словосполучення «біло вбраний.»

Загадка про «стіл, лаву і стілець» приймає метонімію, створену з імені *Іван* та псевдопрізвиська *Бордуган* зі згрубілим суфіксом *-уга,* «вживаним найчастіше в негативних назвах людей,» напр. *дідуга, хлопцюга, п'янюга*[16] з доданим *-н* для риму з іменем *Іван*:*

[13] *СВІЛ* = *Словник власних імен людей* (Київ, 1976). Цифра при скороченні означає сторінку цього видання.

[14] В українській мові слів з кінцевим *-ан* досить багато. Пор.: *Інверсійний словник української мови,* т. 2: *Методичні матеріали до спецсемінару з українського словотвору* (Одеса, 1973), ст. 256–57.

[15] Пор. Лесів, «Наші імена, 1, 8»; *Наша культура,* № 10 [222] (1976), 5 [229] (1977).

[16] *Сучасна українська літературна мова: Морфологія,* ст. 45.

* Бордуган *is formed, rather, with the expressive augmentative* -уган *suffix, like* дідуган *from* дід, *'old man'. The formative base seems to be the German* Bord, *'board (used as a table)'. — B.S.*

Стоїть *Іван Бордуган,*
Іваниха Бордуганиха,
Іванєтко Бордуганєтко (*УНЗ,* 177).

Від словосполучення *Іван Бордуган* утворено при допомозі суфікса *-иха,* який вживається до формування назв жінок «від назв чоловіків» типу *ковалиха, купчиха, Гнатиха*[17] : *Іваниха Бордуганиха* це «лава» (жіночий граматичний рід), а при допомозі суфікса *'-атко,* який вживається «на означення молодих істот, рідше — малих речей,» напр., *хлоп'ятко, грошенятка*[18] створено форму *Іванєтко Бордуганєтко* (тут діялектна прикмета заміни *-'а* в *-'е*) на означення чогось меншого від стола, себто «стільця.»

Загадка, яка питає про «жменю,» стосує ім'я *Ян,* польський відповідник *Івана,* що інколи появляється і в українських середовищах,[19] у римовій парі з нетиповим для щоденного вжитку словом *забіян*:

Був собі *Ян-забіян*;
за одним махом
сімсот душ забіяхом /жменя і мухи/ (*УНЗ,* 123).

Для жарту та рими з *махом* ужито тут незрозумілої вже форми аористу *забіяхом* (форма І. особи множини відноситься до третьої особи однини).

Степан заступає в загадці «віник,» створюючи нечисту риму, т. зв. асонанс зі співзвучністю лише голосних[20] зі словом *скакав*:

Куций *Степан* по хаті *скакав* (*УНЗ,* 201).

Осібну групу можуть становити імена з кінцевим елементом *-ин*: *Костянтин, Мартин, Северин,* які нагадують собою численні українські присвійні прикметники типу *кумин, сестрин, бабин,* а також відмісцеві назви людей типу *литвин, помор'янин, волинянин, львів'янин* та інші.[21] Згадані імена мають різну частоту вживання в українській мові, усі вони латинського походження: *Костянтин* має в основі лат. *constans, -ntis,* «постійний, стійкий,» *СВІЛ,* 214; *Мартин* від *Martinus,* «присвячений Марсові, тому войовничий,» *СВІЛ,* 217; *Северин* з лат. *severus,* «суворий,» *СВІЛ,* 225.

Про «гребінець» питають у загадці:

17 С. П. Самійленко, *Нариси з історичної морфології української мови,* частина І (Київ, 1964), ст. 28.
18 Самійленко, *Нариси,* ст. 32.
19 Пор.: *СВІЛ,* ст. 76.
20 Пор.: І. Кошелівець, *Нариси з теорії літератури,* вип. 1: *Вірш* (Мюнхен, 1954), ст. 79.
21 Пор.: *Інверсійний словник української мови,* т. 2, ст. 258–59.

Цар *Костянтин*
гонить коні *через тин* (*УНЗ*, 199).

Незалежно від його римування зі словом *тин*, саме звучання імені *Костянтин* нагадує прикметник *костяний*, себто «зроблений з кости.» Про таке звукове співвідношення свідчить інша загадка про «гребінець»:

Костян-дерев'ян
через гору свині гнав (*УНЗ*, 199),

де *костян-дерев'ян* — короткі форми прикметників *костяний* і *дерев'яний*.

Ім'я Мартин римується у загадках також зі словом *тин*:

Ліз *Мартин* через *тин*,
да шапки збувся /гарбуз/ (*УНЗ*, 61).
Дурний *Мартин*
дереться на *тин* /гарбузиння/ (*УНЗ*, 62).
Хлопець *Мартин*
похилився через *тин* /соняшник/ (*УНЗ*, 64).

У цих загадках слово *тин* становить якби половину імені *Мартин* і це полекшує римування саме у такій парі.

Ім'я *Мартин* появилося також у загадці, яка відноситься до «бджіл»:

В темній *хатині*
живуть *Мартини*,
в'яжуть кружевá
без петлі й вузла (*УНЗ*, 119).

Северин виступив у кількох загадках і завжди у римовій парі та поруч слова *син* (у знахідному відмінку: *сина Северина*):

Сидить баба на кію,
дожидає *сина Северина*
із Білай-города /гуска на яйцях/ (*УНЗ*, 106)
[і ще одна версія цієї загадки, *УНЗ*, 107].
Стоїть ган на ганах
на дванадцяти ногах;
кличе *сина Северина*
з-за синього моря /вітряк/ (*УНЗ*, 249)
[і ще одна версія цієї загадки].

В іншому варіянті останньої загадки замість імени *Северин* появилося ім'я *Максим*, яке також зримоване зі словом *син* у знахідному відмінку:

Стоїть кан на канах,
на дванадцяти ногах;

кличе *сина* він *Максима*
аж з-під Києва /вітряк/ (*УНЗ*, 249).

В осібну групу можна звести імена з кінцевим елементом *-ат*: *Гнат* /*Ігнат*/ і *Кіндрат* /*Кондрат*/. Вони також латинського походження: *Гнат* з лат. *ignatus*, 'якого ще не знають', *СВІЛ*, 206; *Кіндрат* з лат. *quadratus*, 'чотирикутний', *СВІЛ*, 213.

Ім'я *Кіндрат*** виступає у загадках завжди у парі зі словом *брат*. Ці загадки відносяться до:

«зерна»:

Мій *брат Кіндрат*
через землю пройшов,
золото знайшов (*УНЗ*, 48).

«буряка»:

Кондрат, мій *брат*,
під землю пішов,
голову найшов (*УНЗ*, 54).

«маку»:

Був *брат Кіндрат*,
попід землю пішов,
стебелиночку найшов,
а в тій стебелинці
мур мурував,
сто стебелинок вимурував (*УНЗ*, 58).

«гриба»:

Кіндрат, мій *брат*,
крізь землю пройшов,
червону шапочку знайшов (*УНЗ*, 70).

«крючків у стіні»:

Два *брата Кондрата*
на стіну деруться (*УНЗ*, 124).

«диму»:

Мій *брат Кіндрат* як став,
то й неба дістав (*УНЗ*, 169).

«льоху»:

Кіндрат, мій *брат*,
пристав до землі і *не знать* (*УНЗ*, 216).

«плуга»:

Мій *брат Кіндрат* попід землю ходить,
червінці знаходить [2 версії] (*УНЗ*, 222).

** Кіндрат *comes from German* Konrad, *'(giving) kin's advice'. — B.S.*

«млина»:

Мій *брат Кіндрат*
на горах, на водах,
на землі, на возі,
на одній нозі [2 варіянти] (*УНЗ*, 248).

«коліс у возі»:

Жило чотири *брати Кіндрати*,
два біжать, два доганяють
і ніяк не доженуть (*УНЗ*, 262)
[знаходимо у збірці ще 3 варіянти цієї загадки].

Це ім'я виступило, як бачимо, у порівняно великій кількости загадок, хоч відомо, що належить воно до рідше вживаних імен у щоденному житті, дуже рідко появляється воно також у інших видах фольклору.

Ім'я *Гнат* виступило у загадках кілька разів, переважно, в асонансовій римі до *не знать*. Загадки з цим іменем відносяться до:

«буряка»:

Товстий *Гнат* — при землі *не знать* (*УНЗ*, 54).

«голки»:

Лежить *Гнат*, при землі *не знать* (*УНЗ*, 195).

«криниці»:

Присів *Гнат*, при землі *не знать* (*УНЗ*, 213).

«льоху»:

Ігнат дупленат,
при землі *не знать* (*УНЗ*, 216).

Імена *Адам, Олена, Пахом, Тит, Владимир* появляються в поодиноких загадках, створюючи з деякими граматичними формами чисті рими.

Адам належить до імен, рідко вживаних українцями, його фонетичний склад, одначе, надається до римування з формою займенника *нам*:

Умер *Адам*, ні Богові, *ні нам*,
ні душа до неба, ні кості до землі
/збитий горщик/ (*УНЗ*, 181).

Олена римується з формою прикметника *зелена*:

Олена зелена, поцілуй — свербить,
болить, і чухати хочеться /кропива/ (*УНЗ*, 85).

Пахом (з гр. πάχυς, 'товстий', і ὦμος, 'плече', *СВІЛ*, 223) римується у загадках зі словом *верхом*, відносячися до:

«сідла»:

> Сидить *Пахом* на коні *верхом* (*УНЗ*, 265).

«окулярів»:

> Сидить *Пахом* на коні *верхом,*
> книги читає, а грамоти не знає (*УНЗ*, 265).

Рідковживане ім'я *Тит* добре римується з дієслівною формою третьої особи однини. Треба при цьому мати на увазі, що загадка появилася у такому діялектному середовищі, де кінцеве *-ть* вимовляється твердо: *гуркотит* замість *гуркотить*:

> Зубатий *Тит* по білій спині *гуркотить*
> /рубель і качалки/ (*УНЗ*, 237).

Ім'я у церковнослов'янській формі *Владимир* римується з *канипіра,* яке не виступає у нормальній мові, але тут затаює «ворону,» частина *-піра* натякає на щось з «пір'ям.»

> Летіла *канипіра,*
> вхопила *Владимира,*
> сіла на морі —
> недалеко туптора
> /ворона з курчам на коловоротті/ (*УНЗ*, 336).

Кілька імен у загадках входить в нечисті (асонансові) рими з деякими формами слів; це імена *Варвара, Катерина, Макар, Пилип, Самсон, Терентій.*

Варвара — «димар»:

> Стоїть *Варвара* вище *сарая* (*УНЗ*, 174).

Катерина — «роса»:

> Ішла *Катерина,* ключі *загубила*;
> місяць видів — недовидів,
> сонце вздріло — зараз з'їло (*УНЗ*, 41).

Макар — «перець»:

> Красний *Макар* по полю *скакав,*
> а в борщ плигнув (*УНЗ*, 153).

Пилип — «пилипівка»:

> Летіло три ворони, кричали в три голоси.
> Перший каже: «Я — Петро,» другий каже: «Я — *Пилип,*» а третій каже: «Я — сам *велик»*
> /петрівка, пилипівка, великий піст/ (*УНЗ*, 290).

Самсон — «огірок»:

> Лежит *Самсон* догори *хвостом* (*УНЗ*, 59).

Рідкісне ім'я в його архаїчній формі *Терентій* (українські народні варіянти: *Терень, Терешко*), яке походить з лат. *terens, terentis,* «набридливий, докучливий» (*СВІЛ,* 227), в одній загадці творить нечисту риму з придуманим слово *тенти* для затаєння значення «сковорода»:

Прийшла кума до куми:
«Дай, кумо, *тенти,*
приїхав *Терентій»* /позичати сковороду/ (*УНЗ,* 336).***

II

Імена у здрібніло–пестливій формі появляються в загадках у римованій позиції. Це утворення з суфіксами *-ко, -ок, -чик, -сь -ка, -очка, -ся, -ушка, -ша, -'а,* які у певній мірі полекшують римування цих антропонімів з різними формами слів. З суфіксом *-ко* фіксуємо імена *Тишко, Стецько, Ігнатко. Тишко* (утворене від *Тихон* з гр. дієприкметника τυχῶν, 'розпещений; який живе в розкошах', *СВІЛ,* 228) римується з іменником середнього роду також зі суфіксом *-ко*: *ушко*:

Сидить *Тишко,* задрав *ушко* /крючок/ (*УНЗ,* 164).

Стецько (від *Стець,* гіпокористичної форми імени *Степан*) римується у загадці з формою здрібнілого іменника також зі суфіксом *-ко*: *личко* (від іменника *лико*):

Череватий *Стецько* вперезався *личком,*
не піде і цар, де он /віник/ (*УНЗ,* 201).

Ім'я *Ігнатко* створює римову пару з незвичайною формою від дієслова *не знати-незнатко.* До речі, *Гнат* (*Ігнат*) у загадках римується, як правило, саме з формою дієслова *не знать* (дивись вище):

Ігнатко при землі *незнатко* /підвал, льох/ (*УНЗ,* 216).

Можна тут згадати про ім'я *Марко,* яке уподібнилося до імен з суфіксом *-ко,* хоч з етимологічної точки зору лише кінцеве *-о* виявляється українським формальним елементом, бо основа імени лат. *Marcus* (можливо від лат. *marcus,* 'молоток', *СВІЛ,* 216). У загадці *Марко* римується з прислівником *шпарко*:

Безкостий *Марко*
перепливе море *шпарко* /п'явка/ (*УНЗ,* 104).

*** Тенти *may be from the Polish* ten-tego, *'you know what', which often conceals obscene words. A man's "borrowing" of something from a woman is a typical trope in folkloric jokes about sex. Cf.* «*Прийшов кум до куми / позичати борони. / Кума ногу пудняла: / 'Тобі, куме, борона!'*» *(a wedding song from Podlachia). — B.S.*

Те саме ім'я виступило раз у загадці зі «суфіксом» *-ок*, аналогічно до польської документальної форми *Marek*, і римується зі словом *ярмарок*:

Їхав *Марок* на *ярмарок*,
купив коня без хвоста,
а приїхав додому —
причепив єму хвоста /голка і нитка/ (*УНЗ*, 196).****

Цей останній приклад може засвідчити про те, що *-ко* і *-ок* в формах імени *Марко* і *Марок* трактуються мовцями, як суфікси.

Зі суфіксом *-ок*, крім наведеної вище форми *Марок*, виступило в загадці ще ім'я *Юрок*, яке творить римову пару з іменником *домок*:

Летить *Юрок*
через Божий *домок*,
летить і говорить:
«Тут моя праця горить»
/*Юрок* — «бджола,» *Божий домок* — «церква,» *моя праця* — «свічки з воску»/ (*УНЗ*, 120).

З суфіксом *-ка* виступило в загадках жіноче ім'я *Гапка* та чоловічі *Савка* і *Яшка*.

Гапка — типово українська здрібніла форма від документального імени *Агафія*, що з грецького прикметника ἀγαθή, 'добра' (*СВІЛ*, 233), римується у загадці зі словом *шапка*:

Хлопець Мартин
похилився через тин,
а дівчина *Гапка*:
«Яка в тебе гарна *шапка*,
ще й жовта ки́тиця
проти сонця світиться!
Як прилетять горобці,
буде тобі, як вівці
від сірого вовка.»
Що це за примовка? /соняшник/ (*УНЗ*, 64).

Савка означає у загадці «зайця,» римується зі словом *лавка*:

Бідному *Савці*
нема долі ні на печі,
ні на лавці (*УНЗ*, 97).

Яшка — від типово російського *Яша*, в основі якого ім'я *Яків* — римується з доробленим саме для рими словом *Семеряшка* (від *семеряга*, 'вбрання з грубого полотна', або 'бідно вбрана людина'); ім'я це означає в загадці «місяць»:

**** *The connection with Polish is clear when one considers the Polish song: "Poszedł Marek na jarmarek, kupił sobie oś," etc. — B.S.*

Їхав *Яшка-Семеряшка,*
за ним бджоли: гу-лю-лю
/місяць і зорі/ (*УНЗ,* 15).

Зі суфіксом *-очка* появилися в загадках імена *Галочка* і *Савочка,* вони римуються зі словами, оформленими таким же здрібнілим суфіксом: *Галочка — палочка, Савочка — на саночках*:

Що таке у *Галочки*:
ниточка та *палочка,*
паличка в руці,
ниточка в воді /вудка/ (*УНЗ,* 244).

Їздить *Савочка*
на мальованих *саночках,*
молоду минає, стару цілує /дятель/ (*УНЗ,* 116).

Макар у здрібнілій формі *Макарчик* (складений суфікс *-чик*) римується у двох загадках з віддієслівними іменниками *підглядчик* та *підрядчик.* У *Словнику української мови,* т. 6 (Київ, 1975), занотовано слово *підглядач,* немає *підглядчика.* Фіксується там слово *підрядчик* у значенні «особа або установа, яка виконує якусь роботу за підрядом, себто за зобов'язанням на замовлення»:

Низенький *Макарчик*
всім попід ногу *підглядчик* /поріг/ (*УНЗ,* 164).

Маленький *Макарчик*
усім людям *підрядчик* /сокира/ (*УНЗ,* 238).

Федось від імені *Федот* (суфікс *-сь*) римується у загадці з займенниковою формою *когось*:

Прийшла, притюпала:
Дайте гугупала
зарізати *когось,*
бо приїхав *Федось*
/позичити ножа зарізати півня, бо старости прийшли/ (*УНЗ,* 336–337).

З суфіксом *-ся* появляється в загадці здрібніле ім'я *Гася* (від імени *Агафія*), римуючися з дієслівними формами з постфіксом *-ся.* Воно затаює значення:

«сіль»:

Лежить *Гася, простяглася,*
вкинь у воду — *злякалася* (*УНЗ,* 152).

«дорога»:

Лежить *Гася, простяглася,*
як устане — неба достане (*УНЗ,* 259).

«хата»:

Стоїть *Гася, надулася,*
полу одкрила, людей впустила (*УНЗ,* 161).

Зі суфіксом *-ушка* виступило ім'я *Марушка,* римуючися з формами іменника *кожушок. Марушка* появляється тут у значенні «цибулі»:

Сидить *Марушка* в семи *кожушках*;
хто на неї гляне, той і заплаче (*УНЗ,* 67)
[занотовано 4 варіянти цієї загадки].

«курки»:

Бігає *Марушка* у ста *кожушках,*
як вітер повіє, то й спина замріє (*УНЗ,* 107).

Параша від імені *Параскева, Параска* (гр. παρασκευή, 'п'ятниця', *СВІЛ,* 249) заступає у загадці «курку»:

У нашої *Параші*
чотириста *рубашок*;
вітер подув — спина гола (*УНЗ,* 107).

Римуються у загадках також здрібнілі імена, утворені при допомозі закінчення *-'а* після м'якої основи /*-я*/: *Галя* (від імени *Галина*), *Настя* (від імени *Анастасія*), *Ваня* (від імени *Іван*):

Галя римується з формою *до Сокаля,* означаючи «цибулю»:

Ішла *Галя* до *Сокаля,*
в трьох кожухах —
і ще змерзла (*УНЗ,* 67).

Настя, утворюючи нечисту риму з дієслівною формою *простяглася,* означає у загадці «дорогу»:

Довга *Настя простяглася,*
якби встала, то би неба дістала (*УНЗ,* 259).

Ваня утворює риму зі словосполученням *на коня*:

Сів *Ваня́* на *коня́,*
не боїться огня /горщик і рогач/ (*УНЗ,* 182).

В іншій загадці *Ваня* виступає у римовій парі зі словом *погаданя,* утвореним від дієслова *погадати* з натяком на те, що треба відгадати значення, яке криється під словом *Ваня*:

Ходить *Ваня-погаданя,*
куди гляне — трава в'яне /коса/ (*УНЗ,* 227).

Власні імена людей появляються у загадках найчастіше у римованих позиціях. В аналізованих загадках таких форм появилося 43, в тому числі 25 українських документальних імен і 18 здрібніло-

пестливих, оформлених відповідними суфіксами. Для порівняння треба сказати, що у неримованій позиції в цій самій збірці загадок виступило тільки 26 різних імен (17 документальних і 9 у здрібніло-пестливій формі).

III

Важливою причиною появи імени у загадці може бути звукова подібність цього імени до назви, яку треба відгадати. До таких можна зачислити, додатково, імена, які вже згадувалися у зв'язку з їх римовою позицією: *Пилип,* бо заступає «пилипівку,» *Гаврило* означає «гарбуз,» *Роман* — «рогач,» *Мартин* «гарбуз, що пнеться на тин,» *Галя* — «цибуля.» Як бачимо, деякі групи звуків повторюються в імені і в здогадуваній назві.

Звернемо тут особливу увагу на ці імена, які не стоять у римованій позиції, але мають дещо з фонетики назв, про які в загадці йдеться. Їх справді небагато, але становлять вони своєрідну групу.

Петро означає «петрівку,» ім'я, отже, становить словотворчу основу назви до відгадання:

> Летіло три ворони, кричали в три голоси.
> Перший каже: «Я — *Петро,*» другий каже: «Я — *Пилип,*»
> а третій каже: «Я — сам велик» (*УНЗ,* 290).

Дуже близьке за звучанням ім'я *Свирид* /з гр. σπυρίς, σπυρίδος, 'кошик', *СВІЛ,* 225/ до назви «свердел, свердло (в млині),» про що запитує загадка:

> Старий *Свирид* у лозі
> дере крупи на одній нозі (*УНЗ,* 240).

Маємо тут аж 4 приголосні, які в цих словах покриваються.

Деяку подібність мають звучання імен до назв, які розв'язують загадку:

Іванко — «віник»:

> Зв'язаний *Іванко* попід лаву скаче (*УНЗ,* 201).

Уршулька — «мишка»:

> Бігла *Уршулька* через Гриньків двір, питалася
> Гринька, чи є Ілько дома (*УНЗ,* 334).

Опанас — «сніп,» крім цього, зав'язаний, *опасаний*:

> Маленький *Опанас*
> личком підперезаний (*УНЗ,* 229).

Імена мають деяку звукову подібність до слів, які характеризують якусь річ, про яку загадка запитує:

Тарас подібний у звуковому відношенні до дієслова *трястися* і тому, можливо, ім'я це появляється у загадках, які відносяться до «риби»:

> *Тарасова* дочка *Тарасом* трясла,
> сімсот сорочок на собі несла (*УНЗ*, 101).

та до «качки»:

> *Тарасова* дочка *Тарасом* трясла,
> сімсот сорочок до води несла (*УНЗ*, 111).

Гринько заступає «півня» у загадці, можливо, тому, що має на голові *гребінь*:

> Бігла Уршулька через *Гриньків* двір, питалася
> *Гринька*, чи є Ілько дома (*УНЗ*, 334).

Гнат замасковує у загадці «колесо,» можливо тому, що є звукова подібність до дієслова *гнати, гонити*, 'швидко бігти, їхати':

> *Гнат Гната* доганя /колеса/ (*УНЗ*, 261).

IV

Деякі імена появляються у загадках, мабуть, тому, що вони належать до найпопулярніших імен. Маю на увазі передовсім ті імена, які знаходимо в неримованій позиції і без спеціяльних звукових асоціяцій. Таких у загадках віднотовуємо кілька, всі вони мають високу частоту вживання серед українців: *Іван, Марія, Петро, Андрій, Степан* (*Штефан, Степанко*), *Фелько, Ілько, Хома, Тиміш.*

Найпопулярнішим чоловічим іменем в Україні було до недавна ім'я *Іван*, тому воно часто зустрічається в текстах всякого рода фольклору. Виступає воно й у загадках у римованих позиціях (дивись вище), і в неримованих, відносячись до —

«язика»:

> Дерев'яшка везе, костяшка січе,
> мокрий *Іван* підкладує /ложка, зуби і язик/ (*УНЗ*, 145).

«диму»:

> Кучерявий *Іван* на гору дереться (*УНЗ*, 169).

«горщика»:

> *Іван*-дурачок сів на коня та й поїхав у вогонь (*УНЗ*, 173).

«олівця»:

> Чорний *Іванчик*, дерев'яна сорочка,
> де носом поведе — замітку кладе (*УНЗ*, 276).

Серед жіночих імен найпопулярнішим виявляється в Україні ім'я *Марія*. Появилося воно також в одній загадці:

Ходила *Марія* по горі,
загубила золоті ключі /роса/ (*УНЗ*, 41).

Ім'я *Петро* та *Андрій* належать до першої десятки найпопулярніших українських імен,[22] тому не дивує їх поява у загадці навіть у неримованій позиції:

Петро — «півень»:

Гарно наш *Петро* співав,
а в базарі не бував (*УНЗ*, 109).

Андрій — «гребінець»:

Андрій вівці в струнку жене (*УНЗ*, 199).

Високу частоту вживання в українських середовищах мають такі імена, занотовані у загадках:

Степан може тут означати:

«гребінець»:

Через гору ряндавий *Штефан* свині жене (*УНЗ*, 199).

«кухоль»:

Маленький *Степанко*, всі його цілують (*УНЗ*, 188).

«віник»:

Підперезаний *Степанко* по хаті скаче (*УНЗ*, 201).

Федько — «кіт»:

Бігла чорнушка попід теплюшку й питається
кордуші, чи є дома *Федько* /миша, піч, півень, кіт/ (*УНЗ*, 335).

Ілько — «кіт»:

Бігла Уршулька через Гриньків двір, питалася
Гринька, чи є *Ілько* дома (*УНЗ*, 334).

Хома — «кінь»:

Чотири брати, та усі горбаті, а п'ятий *Хома* —
і той з хвостом (*УНЗ*, 263).

Тиміш — «горщик»:

Сів *Тиміш* на коні
та й поїхав у погоні /горщик і рогач/ (*УНЗ*, 182).

V

Звертають на себе увагу також імена виняткові, у значенні: рідко вживані у щоденному узусі. До таких можна зарахувати імена, які появилися в аналізованих мною загадках: *Антип*, *Архип*, *Карпо*, *Макар* у здрібнілій формі *Макарничок*, *Мартин*, *Сидір*, *Ягор* (*Єгорка*).

[22] М. Лесів, «Наші імена, 5–6,» *Наша культура*, № 2–3 [226–27] (1977).

Антип (з гр. ἀντίπας, в якому ἀντί, 'за', πας 'увесь, усякий', *СВІЛ,* 200) означає в загадці «капусту»:

> *Антип*-капізок,
> на нім сто різок (*УНЗ,* 52).

Архип (з гр. ἀρχίππος, 'вершник', *СВІЛ,* 201) означає у загадці «молоток»:

> *Архип* на роботу вийшов,
> і кожний почув (*УНЗ,* 238).

Карпо (з гр. καρπός, 'плід', *СВІЛ,* 213) у сполученні зі словом *огородник* означає «поливальницю, коновку»:

> *Карпо*-огородник як нахиляється — дощ іде (*УНЗ,* 224).

Згадуваний уже *Макар* виступив у загадці в нетиповій суфіксальній формі *Макарничок,* означаючи «великого пальця»:

> Чотири читирники, а п'ятий *Макарничок*
> несуть кривулечку через тин та в улечку
> /пальці, ложка, зуби, рот/ (*УНЗ,* 145).

Іменем *Мартин* питає загадка про «язик»:

> Дерев'янки везуть, костянки січуть,
> мокрий *Мартин* обертає —
> ніхто не вгадає (*УНЗ,* 145).

Сидір (у грецькій етимології означало це ім'я «дарунок богині Ісиди,» *СВІЛ,* 226) у загадці означає «засув»:

> Суну, суну *Сидора* за ноги (*УНЗ,* 161).

Ягор — російська народна форма імені *Георгій* з російським яканням[23] у загадці означає «цвях»:

> Щосили б'ють по голові *Ягора,* а він не плаче,
> тільки ногу ховає (*УНЗ,* 242).

Те саме ім'я у здрібнілій формі *Єгорка* означає у загадці «суницю»:

> Стоїть Єгорка в червоній ярмолці; хто не прийде всякий поклониться (*УНЗ,* 71).

VI

Після докладного аналізу антропонімії в українських загадках на основі однієї збірки загальноукраїнського характеру, можна дійти до таких висновків:

1. У переважній більшости це чоловічі імена, які покриваються з

[23] Пор.: Н. А. Петровский, *Словарь русских личных имен* (Москва, 1966), ст. 107.

граматичним родом назв, про які загадки питають; жіночих імен тут вп'ятеро менше.

2. Переважають імена в українській документальній формі, крім церковнослов'янського *Владимира,* польського *Яна* та російських форм *Ягор, Єгорка, Ваня.* Імена у пестливо-здрібнілій формі, оформлені суфіксами *-ко, -ок, -чик, -сь, -ся, -ка, -очка, -ушка* порівняно менш численні, ніх безсуфіксальні.

3. Найчастіше появляються імена у римованій позиції, і тому важливою справою виявляється їх фонетико-морфологічне оформлення, в тому числі і суфіксація, для можливості римуватися.

4. Деяке значення для появи імен у загадках мають звукові асоціяції до назв, про які загадки питають, або до їх окреслень.

5. Для появи імен у загадках виявляється важливою справою їх велика популярність у щоденному вжитку з одного боку, а також винятковість, себто рідкість вживання, через що звертають на себе особливу увагу — з другого.

Цю проблему можна буде у майбутньому висвітлити на ширшому матеріялі усіх збірок українських загадок та їх різних варіянтів, які появилися досі, а також по можливості на ширшому слов'янському тлі. Висвітлення специфіки українських імен, які появляються в загадках, повинно мати значення для дальших студій над ономастикою, в тому числі — над літературною ономастикою та над мовою фольклору.

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History in Poetic Garb in Ancient Arabic Literature

ILSE LICHTENSTADTER

Some years ago, Omeljan Pritsak asked me to examine some Arabic verses by al-Buḥturī containing references to Isḥāq ibn Kundājīq, who had played a role in the Islamic Empire within the period and area of Professor Pritsak's field of research. In particular, he requested me to clarify, from the point of view of classical Arabic poetry and its ways of expressing ideas in a poetic context, whether certain imagery and laudatory phrases in the verses could be taken literally. If so, he asked that I establish how the poet's statements might provide historical and biographical data on Isḥāq ibn Kundājīq, known from historical texts to have led a Muslim army in Egypt and Iraq during the Zanj slave war (870–833), but of whose antecedents in his Central Asian homeland little or nothing was known. The answer I gave, and how it may have helped to elucidate the problem, should eventually be incorporated into Professor Pritsak's own study.

However, this request reopened for me a larger problem which, as I remember, was first broached long ago, in courses by my teacher Josef Horovitz (d. 1931). Horovitz himself had, in fact, published an article touching on the problem of the relation between prose and poetry.[1] He made a list of all the poems inserted into Ibn Isḥāq's *Biography (Sīrah) of the Prophet.* He also made a listing of their authors and of the events with which the verses were connected or which are thought to have prompted them. However, Horovitz only touched upon the poems' value as source material for Muḥammad's life and the extent to which they corroborate or contradict traditional data on the Prophet's life and activities. Erich Bräunlich, among others, touched on the problem of how far Arabic poetry can be regarded as a reliable source for historically valid data or

[1] Josef Horovitz, "Die poetischen Einlagen der Sīra," in *Islamica* (Leipzig), 2 (1926): 308–12.

whether it merely represents a traditional art form.[2] In my doctoral thesis,[3] I established that even in such a highly personal emotion as love, the Arabic poet was forced to cast his feelings into limited, highly stylized and stereotyped images and figures of speech. This convention and limitation, in particular, make establishing historical veracity in poetry extremely difficult.

In the present context another factor is noteworthy. Historical works frequently record two versions of the same event. One of them is a prose tale which describes occurrences extensively and in full detail. It reports names of participants and localities, often in minute detail, relates incidental episodes with all accompanying circumstances, and frequently offers variant accounts by eyewitnesses or reporters. There then follows a poem or series of poems which is said to have been composed in connection with the same event recorded in prose. The poems are said to have been uttered by participants during the action, or to have been composed later to praise a hero or to commemorate the event. Still other poems were recited in much later times by someone who wanted to eulogize a scion by praising his ancestor.

The problem with these poems as historical sources is that they often mention what actually happened only vaguely or refer to it in general terms and typical, stereotyped formulas which leave the reality to guesswork. This is true, in addition to the already mentioned *Sīrah,* of historical works such as al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* (Annals) or al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (Genealogies of the Aristocracy) and other, even later, works. It is also eminently characteristic of the so-called *Aiyām al-'Arab,* the tales about the battle days of the Arabs that deal mainly with pre-Islamic events.

Whether we call these works Arabic historiography or Arabic literature, by adding poems to their records they continue a very ancient tradition in Semitic literature. From the earliest times, Semitic literary works show the same mixture of prose and poetic narrative. To study the problem at hand, therefore, we must go far back into the past, at least as far as the Old Testament. There we find various places where poetic passages supplement the prose account, just as happens in various branches of Arabic literature many centuries later. In the historical parts of the Old Testament,

[2] Erich Bräunlich, *Bisṭām ibn Qais, ein vor-Islamischer Beduinenfürst und Held* (Leipzig, 1923). For the problem as a whole, cf. also F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952); 2nd ed. (1968), pp. 19ff.

[3] I. Lichtenstadter, "Das Nasīb der alt-arabischen Qaṣīde," in *Islamica* 5 (1931): 17ff.

four main types of poems occur in connection with actual events: (1) poems that take up the prose tale in poetic form — e.g., the so-called Deborah Song (Judges 5); (2) songs of praise, e.g., Moses' and the Children of Israel's Song after their rescue from Pharaoh's army at the Red Sea (Exodus 15); (3) poems of thanksgiving or prayer — e.g., Hannah's giving thanks to the Lord for ending her barrenness (1 Samuel 2); and (4) dirges, the most beautiful of which is David's elegy on the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Samuel 1: 19ff.). These are, in fact, also the poetic categories most frequently found in Arabic classical poetry. Another characteristic Arabic class of poetry, that of *hijā'* (vituperation), is hinted at in Balak's demand that Bileam hurl curses at the Children of Israel encamped opposite Balak's army; the curses are, however, turned into blessings by God's grace.

Judges 4 and 5 can be looked upon as the prototype of what much later became the general character of the *aiyām al-'arab,* i.e., presenting an event in prose as well as in verse. They deal with the battle between the Children of Israel and Jabin, the king of Canaan, and their victory over his general, Sisera. The prose account in Judges 4 involves the prophetess and woman-judge Deborah, and Barak, the man she entrusted with the task of defeating the enemy; it gives a detailed description of the events leading to the defeat of Jabin's army and the death — by a woman's treachery — of its leader, Sisera. Judges 5 is Deborah's and Barak's triumphal song after Sisera's defeat and death, which is generally considered to be the oldest surviving passage of the Old Testament and one of the oldest examples of the Hebrew language (and, one may add, of Hebrew poetry). Comparing the detailed prose account with the song, it is striking that the song's opening, psalm-like phrases, although containing the names of Deborah, Barak, and Jael, and their enemy Sisera, could have been uttered at almost any victory of the Children of Israel over their foes, as a hymn praising God and his instruments. Only the concluding verses divulge the details of Sisera's death that are the mainstay of the prose tale. In addition, the poem hints at the distress of the slain man's mother waiting for the son who will never return. This motif is not mentioned in the prose chapter, but it is similar to episodes in the later *aiyām* tales and their poems.

The second type of Old Testament poetry that is prominent in ancient Arabic poetry is the *marthīyah* (dirge) occasioned by the death of a beloved relative or of any other hero fallen in battle. The best known Old Testament example of the type is David's lament on the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Samuel 1: 19ff.), the former an admired rival, the latter a

beloved friend. This is one of the most poetic and moving chapters in the historical books of the Old Testament. It differs in one characteristic element from its Arabic counterparts: the mourner is a man, whereas the Arabic *marthīyah* is always uttered by a woman. Fine examples of this type of poem are those in Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīrah* composed by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's daughters on the death of their father, the Prophet's grandfather. Other famous poems of lament are those of al-Khansā' on the death of her brother Ṣakhr,[4] which were assembled into a *dīvān* already in classical times.

A comparison of the prose account of the two heroes' death in battle with the lament of David shows that the poet does not refer to the battle itself or to the manner in which the heroes met their fate, but expresses only his grief over the loss of his liegelord and his friend. This is couched in the form of *fakhr* (praise) familiar from Arabic poetry. Were it not for the introduction to the chapter (verses 1–14) or the prose account in 1 Samuel 31: 1–13, no detail of their tragic death could be derived from the elegy.

In contrast to these two examples, Moses' hymn of thanksgiving at the Red Sea (Exodus 15) emphasizes the details of the miraculous rescue of the Children of Israel by God's grace. Even if no prose account were available, it would be possible to reconstruct from the poem a fairly accurate picture of the course of events at the Red Sea. This statement leads to the question: which is the original version, the poetic or the prose one? Was the poetry composed before the prose account, or was it in fact, as it asserts, a hymn composed in praise and thanksgiving by the actors in the prose tale? This is, indeed, the very crux of the problem that occasioned the present essay.

One fact becomes evident. The examples from the Old Testament contain elements dominant also in their Arabic counterparts, in particular, the *fakhr* (glorification) and the *marthīyah* (lament). In the Arabic poems, the heroes are praised for their courage and generosity, their valor, dependability and willingness to help the needy and the oppressed, and their readiness to assist their allies in war. The dirges, too, contain these praises, but add expressions of grief and lament, visualizing children bereft of a father, a mother left childless (one remembers Deborah's touching picture of Sisera's mother waiting in vain for the return of her son), and a people left leaderless. They may, in passing or perhaps

[4] N. Rhodokanakis, *Al-Ḫansā' und ihre Trauerlieder,* Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 147, no. 4 (Vienna, 1904).

sometimes more extensively, hint at the circumstances in which the hero met death. However, from the *marthīyah* or, for that matter, the *fakhr* alone a full account or biographical sketch of the hero could not be derived. For that, only the prose tale can, after careful analysis, serve.

This is especially true for the *Aiyām al-'arab* tales dealing with the warfare between the Arab tribes in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times. They are found mainly in the ancient collections of Arabic poetry, which abound in allusions to the heroic battles the poet or his ancestors and his tribe fought, or which are full of *hijā'*, that is, abuse and taunting of their enemies. Since the poems lack specifics, these allusions needed amplification already in early times. This the compilers of the *dīvān*s and other collections, such as the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, provided by adding commentaries based primarily on the oral traditions gathered by the famous scholars on whose authority the stories were told.[5] Thus the *aiyām* tales were collected and added as commentaries to the poems for the expressed purpose of amplifying and clarifying the allusions to events of by-gone times, the memory of which had been lost to later generations, including the one in which the poet's oeuvre was assembled and published in a *dīvān*.

The best example of this process is the so-called *Naqā'iḍ*, or the versified provocations and taunts the two renowned poets of Umaiyad times, Jarīr and al-Farazdaq, hurled at each other.[6] Already at the time of their compilation, these poetic forms needed extensive annotation, for the authors constantly referred to long-forgotten misdeeds of their adversary's tribe or ancestors or exploits of their own. The commentaries provided the traditional reports of the respective events; these, in turn, mentioned other personalities or situations which required further elucidation.

That much can be taken at face value. However, the more crucial problem remains, namely, what was the relationship of the verses to the commentary, and which had priority? The story told about Ṣa'ṣa'ah, an ancestor of al-Farazdaq who lived in 'Umar's time, offers a good illustration. In his poems al-Farazdaq boasted of being the descendant of Ṣa'ṣa'ah, the renowned "Reviver of the girls-buried-alive" (*Muḥyī al-maw'ūdāt*). In two places the commentary explains this nickname: Ṣa'ṣa'ah is said to

[5] See I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische-Studien*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1889–90; reprinted in one volume, Hildesheim, 1961). Translated into English by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern as *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols. (London, 1966, 1971); cf. especially vol. 1, chaps. 4 and 5.

[6] *The Naḳā'iḍ of Jarīr and al-Farazdak*, ed. by A. A. Bevan, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1905–1912).

have redeemed new-born baby girls who were destined to be buried alive. The explanation in *Naqā'iḍ* (p. 264, line 14f.) simply states: "Ṣa'ṣa'ah is the Reviver of the girls-buried-alive — he revived before the Mission (*mab'ath*) of the Messenger of God — may God bless him — one hundred and forty girls. The tale about Ṣa'ṣa'ah is that whenever a woman gave birth to a girl he redeemed her daughter lest she be buried alive." However, in a second passage, the story is told at greater length, with some details reminiscent of folkloristic motifs.[7] While searching for two strayed she-camels, Ṣa'ṣa'ah happened to reach a camp where a woman was about to give birth after having been in labor for three days. When a girl was born instead of the hoped-for boy, the father was ready to bury her alive. Ṣa'ṣa'ah interceded, giving the man as ransom the two she-camels he had found with their new-born offspring and promising to add the camel he was riding after his return home. He is said in this passage to have redeemed ninety-six girls before Islam arrived and Allāh banned the barbaric custom. Other sources report an even higher number of girls saved — as many as two hundred and ninety-six.

Farazdaq's poems do not mention his grandfather's noble deeds, other than calling him by laudatory epithets such as *Ṣa'ṣa'ah al-Wa'īd* or *Muḥyī al-Maw'ūdāt.* Without the stories told by the commentator, nothing more would be known of him. The longer version, however, has all the earmarks of later invention and embellishment done to enhance the poet's reputation together with that of his illustrious ancestor. The influence of the Qur'ānic *āyah* and the Prophet's horror of that pagan custom is obvious in the way the story is told. Thus it cannot be regarded as authentic history, although it may be based on an actual event. Female infanticide was doubtless practiced in Arabia during the Jāhilīyah, and therefore one can safely assume that Ṣa'ṣa'ah did redeem a girl child or even many.

In general, the character of the *aiyām al-'arab* tales differs somewhat from Ṣa'ṣa'ah's story. The tales that explain the days of battle mentioned in the poems claim to be history, although a great deal of folklore, romance, and traditional epos have slipped into them.[8] Yet, they cannot be dismissed as having no reference to historical actuality. The poems that must be considered in the context of this investigation are inserted in the commentaries to the *aiyām* referred to in the *dīvān.* A good example, with

[7] The first passage is in *Naḳā'iḍ,* 1: 264, lines 14ff.; the second is in *Naḳā'iḍ,* 2: 697, lines 4ff.

[8] W. Caskel, "Aijām al-'arab, Studien zur altarabischen Epik," in *Islamica* 3, suppl. (1929).

repeated insertion of poetry, is offered by the story of the *Yawm Shi'b Jabalah,* the Battle in the Ravine of Jabalah, which, with the *Yawm Dhu'l-Qār* and the *Yawm Kulāb,* was the most renowned "battleday" in pre-Islamic Arabia.[9] It is also rather serviceable for this investigation, since the report about the events leading to the climactic battle is more homogeneous than many of the *aiyām* tales.

The character of the poems varies. There is a biting *hijā'*(satire) against Ibn Qahwas, a famous leader, standard bearer, and "Horseman of the Arabs" who had joined the "noble" alliance against the Banū 'Āmir, but apparently fled from the battle. The poem is ascribed to Dukhtanūs, the daughter of Laqīṭ, the leader of the alliance who himself was killed after a valiant fight. The prose text only mentions Ibn Qahwas by name as a nobleman and standard bearer. The poem, however, is full of spite and vituperation, accusing him of cowardice and humiliating him. Dukhtanūs is also the author of several other poems in the story, one of which praises another participant for not deserting the cause and some of which lament the death of her father in the battle. One of these has a touch of spontaneity in expression, but the others could easily have been composed at some later time, for they conform more to the style of the *marthīyah.* The exception mentions the dastardly deed of Laqīṭ's capturers, who beat him after he had already died. Thus, we would know that detail even if we had only the poem and the prose narrative had not mentioned the circumstance. Its mention in the prose tale was obviously added only as an afterthought, and we may assert with some degree of certainty that the detail was derived from the poem, not vice versa.

There are a number of *rajaz* poems in the Shi'b Jabalah tale. Since *rajaz* is a simple meter, it is fairly easy to utter such verses in a state of excitement, be it exhilaration or fear during battle. These verses lack artistry and show no sign of later artful refinement. All the poems "recited" in connection with this battle and contained in the report on it give the impression of their authors' personal involvement, even if they may not have been pronounced right on the spot. In fact, one example explicitly states that the poet was 'Āmir b. aṭ-Ṭufayl, who was born at the height of the battles in the ravine. The poem is also found in his *dīvān.*

Prose and poetry are closely interwoven and complement each other in the Shi'b Jabalah tale. That is to say, if we had *only* the poems, we could dimly visualize one or another episode, identify a number of the com-

9 The story is translated in I. Lichtenstadter, *Introduction to Classical Arabic Literature* (New York, 1974), pp. 160ff.

batants on either side, and learn the names of some of those fallen in battle. Without the prose narrative, however, neither a detailed knowledge of the course of events, nor a feeling of the passions roused by the hostilities, nor the byplay and the reactions of friend or foe on either side could be elucidated from the poems. Only together do they produce a vivid and full picture of the historical events and the personalities involved in them.

The poetry inserted into the *Sīrah,*[10] although it does carry on the *aiyām* tradition, as Horovitz asserted, presents a different aspect. The prose reports assembled in the work are based on reminiscences transmitted from generation to generation. Their authenticity rests on eyewitness accounts. In the course of time much legendary embellishment accrued, apparently already in the original work of Ibn Isḥāq (d. A.H. 150/51, A.D. 767/768) and increasingly in the revised edition of Ibn Hishām (d. A.H. 218/A.D. 833). The latter expunged some facts that, in his own words, might have offended certain influential people; in particular, he had in mind the ʿAbbāsides, who had become the rulers in his time. Their ancestor, the Prophet's uncle, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, remained hostile to his nephew's mission and seems to have been taken prisoner at Badr with others of the Quraish.[11] When brought before the Prophet, he maintained that he had secretly professed Islam but was forced to hide this fact from his people. It is striking that Ibn Isḥāq does not mention any specific time of ʿAbbās's conversion, nor gives an account of the circumstances in which it occurred, although he usually did so when an outstanding Meccan became a Muslim. Considering this omission of a politically important fact in both the original and the revised versions, the freedom with which unflattering, even compromising facts about the Prophet himself and his close Companions were retained by Ibn Hishām, even to this day, is noteworthy. Apart from the "court poet" Ḥassan b. Thābit, a Medinian whose poetry constantly sings the praises of the Prophet and his Companions, the large number of *hijā'* or *hijā'*-like poems in the *Sīrah* directed against the Prophet and his attack on traditional customs and values is remarkable. Stranger still is the fact that they have escaped pious Muslim censorship to this day. Even such an outstanding leader as Khālid b. al-Walīd, an early convert to Islam and a hero of the conquest, did not

[10] *Al-Sīra al-nabawīya li-Ibn Hishām,* 4 vols. (Cairo, 1936–); *Das Leben Muḥammeds nach Muḥammed ibn Isḥaḳ,* ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1858–60; reprinted Leipzig, 1901). In this article, references are to the translation by A. Guillaume, *Sīrah. . . , the Life of Muhammad* (Oxford, 1958).
[11] Guillaume, *Sīrah,* p. 338.

escape censure for having left the battle of Mu'ta when the going got rough for the Muslim side.[12]

The most interesting example of this impartiality is the story of Hind bint 'Uqba and her women, who avenged her father, slain by Ḥamza, after Ḥamza's death at Uḥud by cutting open Ḥamza's belly and devouring his liver. The verses with which she proclaimed her triumph are amongst the wildest in Arabic poetry, and their authenticity cannot be doubted. The same can be said about the verses of vituperation accompanying Ibn Isḥāq's report of the annihilation of the Banū Qaynuqā' and the killing of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf at that time.[13] These verses were suspected of being forged already at an early time, so the fact that they escaped censorship throughout the centuries is striking. Horovitz explained the inclusion and survival, in prose as well as in poetry, of Ibn Isḥāq's attack on these venerated figures as due to the forceful influence of the pre-Islamic *aiyām*-style on the development of the *Sīrah.*

The inserting or quoting of poetry in prose works, be they of historical or *adab* (literary) character, continued for many centuries. Thus, not only the histories of early Islam and of the Umaiyads and 'Abbāsides, but also works dealing with various parts of the empire (such as Maqrīzī's history of Egypt) adhered to that style. It was also imitated in purely popular literature, e.g., in the *Alf Layla wa-layla* (Arabian Nights), where many poems alleged to have been composed by famous ancient poets appear. Horovitz examined the poems' authenticity,[14] but was unable to substantiate their claim to ancient authorship except in a very few cases. Most are clearly the products of much later times and cannot be attributed to any famous poet. Their appearance even in popular stories, however, reflects the strength of a style that demanded adherence, partly for its entertainment value and partly because it was a traditional art form.

This leads the investigation back to the initial problem: how far can any specific detail or information contained in a poem be taken as a reliable historical datum? Although utter skepticism is not called for, great caution must be applied. Each story and report in poetical form must be examined individually for credibility, and a decision must be reached on the basis of that examination. One factor in particular must be investigated, namely, the priority of the prose report over the poem, or vice versa. In the *Sīrah,* a

[12] Guillaume, *Sīrah,* p. 537.
[13] Guillaume, *Sīrah,* p. 364ff.
[14] J. Horovitz, "Poetische Zitate in 1001 Nacht," in *Festschrift für E. Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), pp. 375–79.

number of poems were obviously influenced by later legends and they must therefore be ruled out as a primary historical source. Others, especially those of a religious character, were already influenced by the new theology introduced by Islam; still others were edited in the light of these new religious ideas and substituted the new terms (e.g., *ar-Raḥmān*) for the pagan gods or interpreted the ancient term of "Lord of the Ka'bah" as referring to the one and only God of Islam. On the other hand, a fairly large number of the names of ancient deities is still retained in some poems, especially in those that deal, in fact, with the old religious customs that were abolished by the Prophet.

From this examination, it can be concluded that poetry as well as prose cannot be taken at face value. Both types must be scrutinized very carefully in order to extract the kernel of historicity they contain. However, poetry presents the greater difficulty, since it is bound far more by rigid rules of expression and structure, as has been shown by several modern scholars,[15] but was already evidenced by such indigenous critics of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry as al-Bāqillānī.[16] However, both the classical and the modern scholars formed their criticisms and made their analyses ex post facto, that is, on the basis of tradition long established and religiously followed by the ancient poets. Thus their evaluations (e.g., that of Imra'al-Qais' *Mu'allaqah* by al-Bāqillānī) lack artistic sensitivity. The criteria by which the historian judges the reliability of a poem for his research are different from those of the rhetorician or "art critic." The historian must use *all* available sources, i.e., histories, reports in geographical and biographical dictionaries, the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *Fihrist,* etc., to supplement the available data. For the evaluation of Arabic poetry in modern times, Gustave von Grunebaum's investigations are invaluable. If proper caution is used, poetry cannot be entirely excluded; in fact, it must be taken into consideration for the elucidation of historical facts, provided that its poetic framework and artistry are given due attention.

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[15] Renate Jacobi, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde,* Akademie der Wissenschaften und Kultur, Veröffentlichung der Orientalischen Kommission, vol. 14 (Wiesbaden, 1971).

[16] W. Heinrichs, *The Hand of the Northwind: Opinions on Metaphor . . . in Arabic Poetics,* Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 54, no. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1977); idem, "Die antike Verknüpfung von Phantasie und Dichtung bei den Arabern," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden), vol. 128, fasc. 2, (1978); see the sections on al-Bāqillānī's *I'jāz al-Qur'ān* as translated and annotated by Gustave E. von Grunebaum in *A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism* (Chicago, Ill., 1950).

The Opening Scenes of the *Dumy* on Holota and Andyber: A Study in the Technique of Oral Traditional Narrative*

ALBERT B. LORD

One of the most vexing and important problems in the study of oral literature is the role of memory in that literature's composition and transmission. Certainly, the shorter genres — such as proverbs, riddles, incantations, and even lyric and praise songs — remain more easily in the memory. This is especially true, of course, if memorization of a fixed text is the goal. The concept that all texts of a literary nature are fixed entities is so engrained in literary studies that when scholars are faced with oral traditional texts in several variants, they try to explain the variations by an "original" altered in the course of oral transmission. From that viewpoint, oral transmission begins with a fixed original which is memorized more or less well; it is maintained that sometimes the text has been altered, because otherwise many variants are inexplicable. Moreover, the process so described allows for the exercise of some creativity on the part of the transmitter. This kind of oral transmission differs little, if any, from manuscript transmission. It does not account, I believe, for the variations that are found in truly oral traditional texts of the same traditional song.

Memory seems to work differently in non-narrative than in narrative genres. That is to say, the units of composition and what is remembered are of different length and of different kind. In non-narrative, all the units or essential ideas tend to be short and unconnected, or to be gnomic or lyric in nature. In narrative, the essential idea is a story (or part of a story) and the units vary greatly in length.

Composition and transmission of stanzaic verse may differ from that of stichic verse. The case for ballads may not be the same as that for epics. The Ukrainian *dumy,* unlike most ballads, have stanzas of varying length. It is better to speak of them as strophes. They resemble the *laisses* of the

* I wish to express here my profound admiration for Omeljan Pritsak's scholarship, and my deepest appreciation for his assistance and encouragement.

Old French *chansons de geste*;[1] the closest comparable material in Slavic literature is the Bulgarian *epos*,[2] and in Romance, the Romanian ballads.[3] These three traditions, in fact, form an isogloss of this feature from the Ukraine to Bulgaria. The *dumy* provide excellent material for studying the composition and transmission of oral traditional strophic narrative song.

In this paper I propose to examine the variants of parts of two *dumy* to determine their degree of textual correspondence. In doing so, I pose the question: does any one variant seem to be memorized from any other? Or, alternately, do any two variants seem to be memorized from the same original? If neither is the case, what is the relationship between the variants?

* * *

The *duma* of Cossack Holota—no. 14 in the classical collection of Kateryna Hruševs'ka[4] — is presented in five variants (see the texts on pp. 583–588). If we were to compare the opening lines of these variants and to ask what exactly were the "original" lines that have been transmitted, we would be at a loss for an answer. It might be possible to give the meaning of the original lines and the ideas they embodied, but not the exact lines themselves.

The longest of the variants (E), collected in 1852 and published in 1856, has ninety-nine lines. The oldest (A) dates from the third quarter of the seventeenth century and has forty-six lines; it is also the oldest *duma* text that we possess. A composite text, using parts of E, C, and B, was published by Kuliš in 1874, but for all scholarly purposes this is an invalid text, a creation by Kuliš, not that of any traditional singer; I have, therefore, ignored it. As Hruševs'ka pointed out, the variants differ so much that it is difficult to see clearly the "governing physiognomy" of the *duma*. This conclusion is dramatized graphically if one compares the passages

[1] For a discussion of Old French *laisse* construction, see Jean Rychner, *La chanson de geste: Essai sur l'art épique des jongleurs* (Geneva and Lille, 1955).

[2] Although Bulgarian epic songs are printed in non-stanzaic, or non-strophic, form, they are actually sung in stanzas of varying length.

[3] For a presentation of Romanian ballad texts in strophes as they are actually performed, see Al. I. Amzulescu, *Cîntece bătrînești* (Bucharest, 1974).

[4] Kateryna Hruševs'ka, ed., *Ukrajins'ki narodni dumy*, vol. 2 (Xarkiv and Kiev, 1931). This work is indispensable for any study of the *dumy*. It not only presents the variants, but also gives a complete history of each text. I am grateful to Professor Pritsak and the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University for having provided me a copy of this invaluable publication many years ago.

comprised by A, lines 1–22; B, lines 1–24; C, lines 1–21; D, lines 1–18; and E, lines 1–59. Immediately striking is that four of the five variants are of roughly the same length, whereas the fifth is more than double the longest of the first four. None of the passages is either copied or memorized from any other, although they are all the same song, not in text but in general narrative content.

In addition to the introductory lines, there are two "set pieces" in the passages quoted. One is the description of the Cossack (A, lines 1–7; B, 15–23; C, missing; D, lines 3–7; and E, lines 6–19); the other is the conversation between the Tatar and the Cossack (A, lines 10–23; B, 12–23; C, 8–?; D, missing; and E, 46–59). Each of the set pieces is missing in at least one variant, and the second is also doubtfully present in C. In short, not only are the texts of the variants not fixed, but the thematic content, too, may vary; nonetheless the song remains the same.

The description of the Cossack occurs in A, D, and E as the second element in the song, immediately after the mention of the Cossack riding across the Kylyian steppe. In these three variants the description is followed by the introduction of the Tatar. The B variant has a somewhat different arrangement. The first four lines depict a *kozačen'ko* out hunting, finding no wild prey, and, in addressing the Jalyna valley, complaining about his futile, long hunt. This incident has no parallel in the other variants. In B it is followed by the familiar setting of the Kylyian steppe with which A, C, and E begin, and a negative comparison, which introduces the Cossack Holota: "It is not a bright falcon flying, but it is Cossack Holota, the wretched one, riding on a good horse." A Tatar approaches him and Holota asks what he wants — his hat, his shoes, etc. — and *here* the description occurs. In A it is also the Cossack (unnamed, although in line 1 he is characterized as *netjaha*) who begins the conversation at this same point; this is, however, our second set piece. The several items in the description in B, as a matter of fact, are introduced by *čy*, as in the conversations in A and E. Having the description as part of the conversation in B is perfectly reasonable, but it transforms the song, or at least this part of it, into a humorous one. Variant B closes with two lines that refer back to its first four lines, in which the hero addresses Savur mound and comments on what booty he has captured there — meaning, of course, the Tatar. This version, dating to 1836, is a natural oral traditional form of the basic story of an encounter between a poor Cossack and a Tatar, in which the Tatar is captured. The first set piece, the description, is not only present, but plays a double role: it also represents the second

"set piece" — or part of it, since our text is fragmentary — in that it includes the first section of the conversation.

Hruševs'ka says that the differences between variants A and C are fewer than between all the other variants.[5] Since our two set pieces are missing in C but are present in "ideal" form in A, Hruševs'ka's statement is questionable. C begins with the usual setting on the Kylyian steppe (line 1), or, at least, by the city of Kylyia; this corresponds to the first three lines in A. The description of the Cossack that appears in A, lines 4–6, is missing in C. From the city the Tatar sees the Cossack riding, has a pair of horses saddled, and pursues him (lines 2–7). In A the Tatar (old and bearded, as in C and B, or gray and bearded, as in E) pursues the Cossack with two horses. In C the story continues: the Tatar tells the Cossack that he will capture him and his black horse and sell him in Kylyia for silver (lines 8–12). This corresponds to the second part of the conversation set piece. Its first part, linked as it is with the description of the Cossack, is missing in C, whereas A has the entire set piece. Up to this point, variants C and A do not evidence any very close correspondence.

In both A and C the conversation continues after the Tatar has stated what he wants, namely, the Cossack. In C the Cossack (who here, as in A, is not named) replies that the Tatar is poor in understanding, does not know Cossack ways, and has something to give him. The speech is interrupted by the motion of the Cossack, which causes the Tatar to fall from his horse. Then the Cossack speaks again: he will not be captured by the Tatar and sold in Kylyia. Instead, he will sell one of the Tatar's black horses and drink the proceeds in the tavern, and on the other black horse he will ride about in Kylyia: "ride, ride, ride, and remember the one and only God!" The structure of this section, that is, two speeches by the Cossack to the Tatar which are interrupted by the Cossack's action, is like that in variant A. It is, I believe, this structure that Hruševs'ka had in mind when she said that A was closer to C than to any of the others. On the other hand, the details of the two variants are dissimilar.

In the first of the two speeches in A — only three lines in length, compared to the seven lines in C — the Cossack advises the Tatar, essentially, to catch him before he captures the Tatar. Between the speeches comes the most significant action of the songs. In A, as the protagonists approach the river Witka, the Cossack strikes the Tatar and takes his horses. The text of the passage is:

[5] Hruševs'ka, *Ukrajins'ki narodni dumy*, 2:5.

Do ryczki do Witki przymykaie,
Nakoliszki prypadaw,
Semipiadnyi piszczał z plezy zdyimaw,
Dwoma kulkami nabywaw,
Z Tatarynow zartowaw,
Zoboch koni pozbywaw,
Słowami promowlaw:

The corresponding action in C covers two lines:

Jak stav jomu hostynci posylaty,
Stav Tataryn, z konja poxyljaty.[6]

In both variants, at this point the Tatar is overcome, but their details and treatment are very different.

Both variants end with a comparatively lengthy speech by the Cossack — thirteen lines in A and eleven lines in C. In A the Cossack boasts that the Tatar, who had wanted to capture him and take him to Kylyia to be sold, has now been unhorsed and cannot threaten anyone. The Cossack will now gather the treasure and take it to the Cossack army, where he can boast and drink to his victory. The Cossack's statements in A are very different from those in C, as summarized above, although the general idea is very similar.

It seems evident now that there was no fixed text of the *duma* that was the basis for A, B, and C. Nor could one say that A "developed into" either B or C. C does not have even the two set pieces of the other variants. Yet, there is still enough similarity for us to recognize that the three variants are the same *duma.* Actually, we are gradually seeing that what traditional singers, and therefore the "tradition," mean by "same" is not what we mean by that word: our concept implies a sameness of text, whereas theirs refers to a sameness of general story.

The final two variants of no. 14 are the shortest (D, with eighteen lines) and the longest (E, with ninety-nine lines). D does not have the familiar setting on the Kylyian steppe as the first element; instead, it starts simply, with "There was a Cossack Holota." It shares the second line with E (although not word for word, of course): "Ne bojavsja ni ohnja, ni vody, ni lyxa, ni vsjakoho bolota." The second element in D is the "set" description of Holota, which covers five lines. The action of the song begins in line seven. A Tatar comes to Holota near the city of Tjahynja in the Čerkenja valley. He stops the horse, lets it graze, and shouts loudly and arrogantly that he wants to fight with the Cossack Holota: "I will go to fight with the

[6] Here and in other transliterations from the Ukrainian variants, the orthography has been modernized. For the original orthography, see the texts on pp. 583–594.

Cossack Holota and to capture him alive." Cossack Holota, as he travels in the Čerkenja valley, captures the Tatar with his wife and strikes him in the chest with his mace. The text is apparently incomplete, so we might expect another speech by the Cossack.

While this is obviously the same song as variants A to C, it shares scarcely a single line with them. It has the name Holota in common with B and with E, and the "fearing" line in common with E. It shares some of the "set" description, i.e., the hat, with B and E, and a wife and a mace with E, but that is about all. Variant D, then, is most instructive, not because of what it shares, but because of what it does not.

On the other hand, variant E has everything that appears in the others, and more. It is this variant that was translated by George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina and published, together with the original text, by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University (1979).[7] It is distinguished by a greater elaboration of elements than any of the other variants; its narration, therefore, is the most leisurely. Variant E elaborates on the role of the wife of the Tatar, and relates a conversation going on between husband and wife as the Tatar looks out and sees Holota. This conversation is in reality a forerunner to the "set" conversation between the Tatar and Holota, the *čy* of the latter echoing that of the former. After the conversation between the Tatar and his wife comes a description of the Tatar's actions. He puts on rich garments, high boots, and a velour cap, and then mounts his horse. This description of him balances that of Holota. A third element not found in the earlier variants is Holota's donning of the Tatar's clothes after overcoming his adversary.

The singer of E was a fine story teller. He had an expert command of the language, formulas, images, and thematic units of the tradition to which he belongs. The Tatar's conversation with his wife and the exchange of clothes add much to the song, but these are traditional elements, not the singer's own invention. For instance, the Tatar speaks to his wife with a traditional image, a widely used negative comparison, "It is not an eagle flying over the open fields — It is Cossack Holota riding his fine horse!" A form of this same negative comparison appears in variant B: "It is not a bright falcon flying, it is Cossack Holota, the wretched, riding on his fine horse."

[7] *Ukrainian Dumy*, trans. by George Tarnawsky and Patricia Kilina (Toronto and Cambridge, 1979). It is gratifying to have the *dumy* available in English at last, with the original on facing pages. Professor Natalie Kononenko-Moyle's introduction to the volume is also a great asset.

In his very useful book *Ukrainskie narodnye dumy,*[8] B. P. Kirdan devotes particular attention to a comparison betwen variants A and E — that is, the earliest and the latest variant. Most of his comments are well taken. However, I question two of his points. The first is the premise that the *duma* had one form in the late seventeenth century which changed into that of E in the nineteenth. The second is his interpretation of the description of the Cossack in variant A. Let me address the second point first.

Kirdan suggests that there is no irony in the description of the Cossack in variant A, that to the *duma*'s singer and his audience the *šaty dorohi* were, literally, "rich clothes."[9] I confess that that does not seem to me to be an apt way of characterizing a caftan of coarse cloth, beaver boots, and foot cloths of whatever kind *bawełnianyi* may be. It is true that the earliest variant (A) does not mention a hat with holes in the description, whereas E does have the three elements of dress given in A. The caftan and the boots are found in B, without the footcloths, and E adds laces. D mentions only the hat with holes, which is included in all but A. Let me schematize these elements for convenience of reference, recalling that the description does not occur at all in variant C:

A	B	D	E
1. sermiazyna po kolina	4. sermjaha semylatnaja		1. Try semyrjazi lyxyji
2. postoły bobrowyi	2. postoly bobrovy		2. postoly vjazovi
3. onuczy bawełnianyi			3. unuči kytajčani
	3. šovkovy voloky		4. voloky šovkovi
	1. šapka byrka	1. šapka byrka	5. šapka byrka

If one considers the *voloky šovkovi* as part of the unit around *postoly,* then the *šapka byrka* is the only element not found in the seventeenth-century text. This does not mean, however, that the element did not exist in the tradition of the description at that time. The reason that we have singled out the *šapka byrka,* or sheepskin cap, on a par with the caftan and boots is that at every occurrence it is accompanied by three other lines and sometimes by more:

B	D	E
Čy na svoju šapku byrku,	A na jomu šapka-byrka —	Pravda, na kozakovi šapka byrka,
Ščo šovkom šyta,	Izverxu dirka,	Zverxu dirka,
Vitrom podbyta, —	Solomoju šyta,	Travoju pošyta,

[8] B. P. Kirdan, *Ukrainskie narodnye dumy* (Moscow, 1962).
[9] Kirdan, *Ukrainskie narodnye dumy,* p. 225ff.

A sverxu dirka?	A vitrom pidbyta,	Vitrom" pidbyta,
	A kolo okolyci ničohosen'ko katmaje . . .	Kudy vije, tudy i provivaje,
		Kozaka molodoho proxoložaje.

These lines form a closely knit unit, based on the rhymes *byrka/dirka, šyta/pidbyta.* In other words, the pejorative comment about the cap seems to be an integral part of the headgear itself. That *šapka* is a negative element is beyond doubt. It is the possible ambiguity about the caftan and the boots that allows Kirdan to suggest his interpretation of *šaty dorohi.* In linguistic terms, one would say that the *šapka* is clearly "marked," but that the other elements are not. Its presence would indicate that the elements were implicitly pejorative. My point is that its absence does not mean that the other elements are necessarily positive.

If only variant C from the nineteenth century were extant, one might argue that the description in A had been lost. If only variant D had survived, it could be said that the elements in A's description were lost and a new element was added. Variants B and E prove how wrong we would have been to come to any such conclusions. If the only reason for considering the description in A to be without irony is that the overtly ironic elements are not present in it, then Kirdan's suggestion, true as it might be for non-traditional songs, is not necessarily valid.

In looking at the five variants of no. 14, we can see, then, that although they all tell essentially the same story, they could not all have descended from the same fixed original. Moreover, we cannot say what the exact content of any previous variants may have been, nor predict the contents of any future variants with any degree of accuracy. When we say that the five are variants of the same song, we mean not of any given text of the song, nor even of any particular version of it, but of the song as narrative, as a story. The story is told in the traditional meter and diction, the traditional formulas, themes, and thematic clusters. As Kirdan remarked, it is clear that the traditional diction and meter in the second half of the seventeenth century was the same, or at least much the same, as that of the mid-nineteenth and even of the twentieth century. The history of a narrative song in pure oral tradition is twofold: first, there is the history of its story, and second, there is the history of its traditional style. In a certain sense, its text has no history because it is not fixed until it is written down or recorded. The text's history is the history of its parts and their previous configurations.

We know that in the second half of the seventeenth century someone sang, dictated, or wrote down a song about an encounter between a Cossack and a Tatar. That song may have been sung many times before, but

we know nothing about it until the moment when a particular performance was set down. We are extremely fortunate to have that moment in the Ukrainian singing tradition preserved in writing. One hundred and fifty years or so later, four more songs on the same subject were written down from or by traditional singers. What is the relationship between the seventeenth-century song (A) and the four nineteenth-century ones (B, C, D, E)? We can answer that question by simply describing their similarities and differences and inferring that the elements present in the oldest text but missing in the newer ones were lost "in oral transmission," and, conversely, that those present in the newer texts but not in the oldest one were added by singers "in oral transmission."

These statements seem to be so perfectly logical that denying them seems tantamount to defying reason. If we were dealing with a nontraditional song written by an author in a literary tradition, the methodology just described would be appropriate. But our texts are moments in oral traditional literature, and that is a different matter. The relationship between A and the later songs is a far more complex one than that of the orally transmitted literary text. And that complexity is reflected especially in a comparison of their similarities and differences.

The first element in A shows the Cossack vagabond riding on the Kylyian steppe, waving his arms and carefree. Variant B tells of a Cossack walking on Savur Hill who sees nothing unusual and addresses the Jalyna valley thus: "much as I have walked along you, I have not seen anything wondrous." Clearly, these four lines of B have little, if anything, in common with the first lines of A. Then in B come the lines: "On the steppe of Kylyia, on the road of the Horde, it is not a bright falcon flying, but Cossack Holota, the wretched, riding a good horse." Of these lines, the first, "on the steppe of Kylyia," is common to variants A and B and constant in the other three. The carefree Cossack vagabond corresponds to the wretched Holota in B, but the actual words are different. From the viewpoint of the oral transmission of a literary text, B is inexplicable from A. Textually, they are different songs. In oral tradition, however, they are the same song.

Variant C begins "By Kylyia a Cossack (*kozačen'ko*) is riding (*huljaje*), and from Kylyia a Tatar watches." So far, A is related to B and C by the figure of a Cossack moving in some relationship to Kylyia. The opening two lines of D depict only the figure of Holota; there is no motion nor any mention of place. There is, however, an added element: "He was not afraid of fire or water or mischance or any kind of bog." This element seems to correspond to the Cossack's carefree manner in variant A. The

fifth variant, E, in four lines depicts the Cossack Holota riding along the steppe of Kylyia, on the road of the Horde, "fearing neither fire, nor sword, nor the third bog." The same occurs in D. There is practically no continuity between the opening lines of A and those of any of the nineteenth-century variants, but there is a continuity in an essential idea: that of the Cossack, fearless or carefree. Also, the seventeenth-century variant A and three of the four nineteenth-century texts place the action near Kylyia.

To rephrase the question asked earlier: if we were to conclude that variant A is *the* form of the *duma* in the seventeenth century, which of the four variants is *the* form of the *duma* in the nineteenth century? Our reply must be predicated on the realization that our seventeenth-century text is only *a* form of the *duma* at that time, and that it was surrounded by many other forms, the exact shape of which we will never know. Similarly, we could not predict the text of any of the four nineteenth-century texts from A or from any other contemporary text. The "logic" of the traditional process moves not from a fixed text to its variants with changes — "variations," if you will — but from one expression of an essential idea in traditional diction to another expression of it in traditional diction. The differences — which are not, strictly speaking, variations — that appear are, in part, the differences in traditional diction expressed by various singers, at various times, in various places. By diction, indeed, I mean the formulaic language of an individual singer at a given instance and even under given circumstances.

It would be as illogical to say that the absence of the line about fear in the seventeenth-century text means that the line never occurred in the *duma* in that century, as it would be to assume that the absence of the adjective *bawełnianyi* in E means that it never occurred in the *duma* in the nineteenth century. Although we cannot know for sure, it is more "logical" for oral tradition to suppose that the elements did occur than they did not. Actually we are fortunate to have more than four forms of the opening lines and of the description from the nineteenth century. This, too, is a phenomenon of oral literature rather than of written literature, because the opening with its description "belongs" — or, more properly, is used in — two distinct *dumy*.

* * *

The *duma* on Xves'ko Gandža Andyber — no. 20 in the Hruševs'ka collection — and that on Holota are related in several ways. It, too, has five variants (see the texts on pp. 588–594). Their openings are generally similar and most give a similar description of their protagonist. One variant,

D, uses the name Holota rather than Andyber. The name Holota is an important link between the two songs. In no. 20 the protagonist is characterized as *netjaha* (or *letjaha*) and *bidnyj,* and "Holota" is in keeping with these designations. The heroes of the two *dumy* are at least of the same type, if not necessarily the same person. The stories of the two *dumy,* however, are quite different. One is an encounter of the Cossack with a Tatar, the other is a confrontation between the Cossack and three rich men in a tavern.

Only the opening of no. 20 concerns us here, because it alone has a direct parallel in no. 14: both *dumy* open with a Cossack described in much the same way walking or riding on the Kylyian steppe. After this they diverge. The two *dumy* thus present an excellent example of a traditional theme in a repeated passage, with a high degree of verbal correspondence, useful in more than one song. We have considered the opening scene with its description of the Cossack in the variants of no. 14. Let us now look at the four or five additional variants of that theme in no. 20.

The relationship between variants A and B is complex, but since they have the same opening lines, we can treat them together for this portion of the text. They introduce the song in four lines, after which the singer embarks on the description of the hero:

> *Oj*! on the steppe, the Kylyian steppe,
> The beaten highway of the Horde,
> There wandered, wandered, a poor Cossack
> vagabond for seven and four years,
> So that he wore out three black horses from under him.

Of the other variants D comes closest to these lines. Note that it combines the first two lines into one:

> *Ej*! On the Kylyian steppe, the beaten highway of the Horde,
> Wandered Cossack Holota.
> He feared neither fire, nor water, nor bog.
> He wandered seven years and four,
> And wore out four black horses from under him.

Besides the arrangement of the lines, the main differences in D are: (1) the presence of the idea of the Cossack's fearlessness (which we saw in no. 14, variants D and E); and (2) the absence of the designation of the Cossack as a "poor vagabond." The idea is, however, found in connection with the name Holota. By contrast, in A the hero's name does not appear until line 126, and in B, not until line 99, and in both of these variants it is Andyber, not Holota.

Variant E has the shortest opening, with only two lines:

On the steppe of Čyhyryn, the Kolejin highway,
There rode Cossack Letjaha. He was all dressed up.

Note that here, too, as in variant D, the Cossack's name is given at the beginning. But, like "Holota," it is not a real name, for "Letjaha," of course, means "vagabond," and in line three of A and B the word is used as a common noun. That the vagabond was "all dressed up" (*ubrany*) is an added idea — or, at least, one not found in A, B, C, or D — which introduces the description that follows.

Variant C begins not by indicating place, but by stating the hero's name and telling us what he is doing:

The Cossack Xves'ko Dendyberja was wandering, wandering
Seven years and four.
In the twelfth year he returned
He rode about the city of Čerkasy.
He sought and inquired for
The tavern maid Nastja Horovaja,
The tavern keeper of the steppes.

There follows immediately, as in the other variants, the description of the Cossack. Variant C begins the action of the song in the tavern, placing it before the description. I have schematized the elements of the openings as follows:

Element	A, B	C	D	E	No. of cases
1. Place	x	-	x	x	3
2. Cossack wandering	x	(1) x	x	x	4
a. Wretched	x	-	x	x	3
b. No fear	-	-	x	-	1
c. 7 plus 4 years	x	(2) x	x	-	3
d. 12th year	-	(3) x	-	-	1
e. Wore out three or four horses	x	-	x	-	2
3. Description	x	(5) x	x	x	4
4. Second statement of place	x	(4) x	x	x	4

The numerals in parentheses indicate the order of the elements in variant C. The scheme shows that the essential elements in the variants are (1) a Cossack wandering, and (2) a description of the Cossack. The next item, the Cossack's entering a city, begins the specific action of the song.

The essential idea of each section can be expressed in different ways, depending on the singer, the musical or rhythmic line, and so on. Words in the line may be repeated, or the idea may be spread over two lines.

These are the elements of the performance. Optional added elements, such as those in 2a–2e in the scheme above, can also vary the song.

Expanding our inquiry to the opening lines of the five variants of no. 14, we can illustrate further some of these characteristics of oral style. First, one of those variants (D) has no indication of place. This was also true of no. 20, variant C. The earliest variant of no. 14 (A) begins with "Oj! from the steppe of Kylyia rides a Cossack vagabond." This line in itself contains the two essential ideas of the scene. This is true also of variants B and C of no. 14, but not of any variants of no. 20. In the two instances where there is no indication of place (no. 14, D, and no. 20, C), the wandering Cossack appears in the first line, occupying the whole of it. The latest variant of no. 14 (E), on the other hand, indicates place in two lines: "Oj! on the steppe, the steppe of Kylyia, / On the beaten highway of the Horde." This also happens in variants A and B of no. 20. On the other hand, variants D and E of no. 20 express place in one line: "Ej! On the steppe of Kylyia, on the beaten highway of the Horde" (D), and "On the steppe of Čyhyryn, the Kolejin highway" (E). It is not surprising that in cases where the indication of place occurs in lines 1 and 2, the wandering Cossack appears in line 3 (no. 14, E, and no. 20, A and B), and that where place is indicated in the first line, the wandering Cossack is found in the second (no. 20, variants D and E).

What are the various forms that the wandering Cossack takes? When he occupies the whole line we find:

(1) Buv sobi kozak Holota (no. 14, D)
and (2) Ščo kozak Xves'ko Dendyberja hulja i pohuljaje (no. 20, C)

These are the first lines in their variants. Note, incidentally, that in variant D of no. 14, the Cossack is not "wandering" at all: he simply "is."

When the Cossack appears in the second half of the first line, preceded by an indication of place, we find:

(1) . . . idet kozak netiaha (no. 14, A)
(2) . . . huljav kozačen'ko, huljav (no. 14, B)
(3) . . . kozačen'ko huljaje (no. 14, C)

In line two the wandering Cossack takes these forms:

(1) Huljav kozak Holota (no. 20, D)
(2) Tuda proježdžav kozak Letjaha. On ubrany. (no. 20, E)

And finally in the third line we have:

(1) Oj! Tam huljav kozak Holota (no. 14, E)
and (2) Ej! Huljav, huljav kozak bidnyj letjaha sim hod i čotyry (no. 20, A, B)

Only variant B of no. 14 remains to be considered. This is a special case, as you may remember, because it has two openings. The first is:

> Da na Savur-mohyli, huljav kozačen'ko, huljav.

For three lines afterwards, the variant pursues its own traditional song. The Cossack, out riding, finds nothing strange and says so to the Jalyna valley. A break in the text follows. The singer had, in reality, begun another song. With line 5 the song of Holota begins:

> Oj! na poli na Kilijan'skim
> Na šljaxu na Ordyn'skim
> To ne jasnyj sokol litaje,
> To kozak Holota, serdečnyj, dobrym konem huljaje;

Here we have the now familiar two-line opening, followed by a traditional negative comparison, leading up to our wandering Cossack. This text is remarkable in several ways. It begins by putting the Holota story (no. 14) in the frame of a hero riding and wondering. It closes with a reference to the same image. For after Holota has captured the Tatar the song ends with Holota's words echoing those of the introduction. Lines 2 to 4 are:

> "Da ne jakoho dyva ne vydav;
> "Oj, dolyno-Jalyno! skil'ky ja na tobi huljav
> Da ne jakoho dyva ne vydav.

The last two lines of the song go:

> "Oj ty Savur-mohylo! skil'ky ja huljav
> Da takoy dobyči ne dobuvav.

The singer, despite a second beginning, showed that the song of Holota could be fitted into a different traditional frame. That traditional frame might well have become a common frame for Holota. Whether it did we cannot say, because we have no other text with that frame. But the absence of a recorded text does not, as we now know, mean that other variants of this type did not exist. Moreover, the negative comparison is, as I have mentioned earlier, a traditional figure. In both the wondering frame and the negative comparison, then, we see a traditional song in flux, exhibiting the dynamism of traditional composition and recomposition.

Just as we found a number of elements clustering around the Cossack in no. 20, so we find some in no. 14. The earliest of these is in variant A of no. 14, lines 2 and 3:

> Rukoiu machaie
> Ny o czym nedbaie.

If this has any correspondence in any of the other variants, it is with the

"he fears not" lines of no. 14, D (line 2) and E (line 4), and of no. 20 (D (line 3). The only other elements found in no. 14 but not in no. 20 are in variant B, where the Cossack is characterized as *serdečnyj,* and, in the same variant, the line about "riding on a good horse." The additional elements given in the scheme above (p. 580) are peculiar to no. 20 in its published variants.

* * *

Our survey of the opening lines of these two related *dumy* presents a graphic example of traditional composition. The basic idea is one of passage, and the essential element is a Cossack riding. Usually a place is given, but it is not always the same. Clustered around the essential element are varying numbers of modifying elements, such as that the rider was a fearless Cossack, or that he had been riding for seven and four years and had worn out four horses. Nothing in the texts is rigid and fixed. The final form of any performance is unpredictable, although the elements that will go into it are well known.

Just as we cannot predict what the next performance will be like, we cannot reconstruct any past or "original" performance. This is what is meant by the "fluidity" of oral traditional song texts. Their stories are retold and their texts are ever recomposed. Not memory, but the natural process of language itself — dynamic, creative, ever in movement — is the basis of traditional composition and recomposition. The Ukrainian *dumy* provide excellent illustrations of these fundamental principles.

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DUMA NO. 14

A.

Oy od Pola Kiliymskoho idet kozak netiaha,
Rukoiu machaie,
Ny o czym nedbaie.
Oy u ioho sermiazyna po kolina,
Na nium postoły bobrowyi,
Onuczy bawełnianyi,
Napotym piszczal semipiadnaia za pleczyma.
Az hde sie wziaw Tataryn stary borodaty,
Na dwoch koniach łysawych sa nim uhaniaie.
Az do nioho kozak promowlaie:

"Staryi Tataryne borodaty,
Czoho ty za mnoiu uhaniaiesz?
Czy na moi zbroi iasnyi,
Czy na moi koni woronyi,
Czy na moi szaty dorohyi?"
Szczo promowyt staryi Tataryn borodaty do kozaka Zaporowskoho:
"Ne nabihaiu na twoi koni woronyi,
Ani na twoi szaty dorohyi,
Ne nabihaiu ia na twoiu zbroiu iasnoiu,
Tylko ia nabihaiu na tebe, kozaka mołodoho.
Kołib tebe myni sudyw Byh uziaty,
Ne zarykaw by ia sie w Kily za tebe szłykom czerwonciuw braty".
Az promowyt k niomu kozak Ukrainski:
"Stary Tataryne borodaty,
Ne tak to mene treba wziaty,
Treba zo mnoiu w Kilymskom polu pohulaty".
Do ryczki do Witki przymykaie,
Nakoliszki prypadaw,
Semipiadnyi piszczał z plezy zdyimaw,
Dwoma kulkami nabywaw,
Z Tatarynow zartowaw,
Zoboch koni pozbywaw,
Słowami promowlaw:
"Tataryne staryi,
Ne budu ia złyi
Takiy na tebe, iak ty na mene.
Iak ty mene chotyw braty,
Do Kily mie przywodyty.
Chotyw czerwonyi za mene szlykami braty.
A teper, Tataryne, zartu kozackoho neznaiesz,
Ta y z konie sie wałaiesz,
Niczomu sie sprotywlaiesz.
Teper budu skarby twoie braty,
Do wuyska do taboru kozackoho prybywaty,
Budu Kilymskoie Pole wychwalaty,
Sczo maiu zdobyczy z wuyskom kozackimi propywaty".

B. Голота

Да на Савуръ могилѣ, гулявъ козаченько, гулявъ,
Да не якого дива не видавъ:
«Ой долино-Ялино! скôлько я на тобѣ гулявъ,
Да не якого дива не видавъ!»
. . . .
Ой на полѣ на Киліяньскôмъ,
На шляху на Ордыньскôмъ:
То не ясный соколъ лѣтае, —
То козакъ Голота, сердечный, добрымъ конемъ гуляе;
Ой ставъ Татаринъ къ нему пріѣзжати,
Порошку на полку посыпати,
Сердечного козака Голоту сѣче да рубае,
Голота нагайкою стрѣлы отбивае:
«Ей ты, Татарюго, сѣдый, бородатый,
На що ты уповаешъ?
Чи на свою шапку бирку,
Що шовкомъ шита,
Вѣтром подбита, —
А сверху дирка?
Чи на свои постолы бобровы,
Що шовковы волоки —

Въ одну сталь
Съ валу?
Чи на свою сермягу семилатную?
Ей старый, бородатый, да кому Богъ поможе . . . . .»
. . . .

(Козакъ беретъ въ плѣнъ Татарина, и приводитъ на веревкѣ в таборъ войсковой къ своему начальнику).

«Ой ты Савуръ могило! скôлькô я гулявъ,
Да такои добычи не добувавъ!»

C. Схватка съ Татариномъ

Ой де́-сь, ой де́сь за Килимомъ-городомъ козаченько гуляе;
А зъ Килима-города Татаринъ поглядае.
Загадавъ Татарынъ Татарцѣ пару коней сѣдлати,
Да того козаченька доганяти.
Якъ вибѣгъ Татаринъ, старый бородатый,
На розумъ небагатый,
Выбѣгъ того козаченька доганяти.
«Ты козаченьку молодый,
Пôд тобою кониченько вороный!
Колибъ я тебе пôймавъ,
Ябъ тебе у Килимъ-городъ запродавъ,
И срêбныû за тебе гроши побравъ!»
А козаченько оглядаеться,
И карбаче́мъ одбивается.
«Ой ты Татаринъ, старый бородатый,
Да на розумъ небагатый!
Ти мêжъ козаками не бувавъ,
И козацъкоû каши не, ѣдавъ,
И козацькихъ жа́ртôвъ не знаешъ . . .
Де-сь у мене бувъ зъ кулямы гаманъ,
Яжъ тобѣ гостинця дамъ».
Якъ став ёму гостинцû посылати,
Ставъ Татаринъ, зъ коня похиляти.
«Ой ты Татаринъ, старый бородатый,
Да на розумъ небагатый!
Ище ты мене не пôймавъ,
Да ўже въ Килимъ-городъ запродавъ,
И срêбныû за мене гроши побравъ!
Отъ теперъ твого одного коня вороного
Поведу до шинкарки пропивати,
А другимъ твоûмъ конемъ воронымъ
По Килиму-городу гуляти!
Ой, гуляти, гуляти, гуляти,
Да единого Бога споминати!»

D. Про козака Голоту

Був соби козак Голота,
Не боявся ни огня, ни воды, ни лыха, ни всякого болота.
А на йому шапка-бирка —

Изверху дирка,
Соломою шыта,
А витром пидбыта,
А коло оќолыци ничогосенько катмае . . .
(Татарын)
Пидхо́дыв к Голоти пид город Тяги́ню,
На Черке́ню-долыну,
И стано́выть свого коня, попасае,
И на охотне вiйсько клыче-поклыкае . . .
Да ище вин думае-гадае,
Щоб козака Голоту извойоваты . . .
«Що я козака Голоту пойду войоваты,
И буду жывцем його браты» . . .
Колы-ж козак Голота на Черкени-долыни гуляе,
И Татарына из Татаркою жывцем у плин забирае,
Да Татарына ке́лепом у груды потягае . . .

E. Дума о козакѣ Голотѣ

Ой по́лемъ, по́лемъ Килиімськимъ,
Та шля́хомъ би́тимъ Горди́нськимъ,
Ой тамъ гуля́въ коза̀къ Голо́та.
Не боітця ні огня́, ні меча́, ні тре́тёго боло́та.
Пра́вда, на козако́ві ша́ти дороги́і —
Три семиря́зі лихи́і:
Одна недо́бра, друга́ него́жа,
А тре́тя й на хлів незго́жа.
А ще, пра́вда, на козако́ві постоли́ вязо́ві,
А уну́чи китайча́ні —
Щи́рі жіно́цькі рядня́ні;
Воло́ки шовко́ві —
Удво́е жіно́цькі щи́рі вало́ві.
Пра́вда, на козако́ві ша́пка би́рка,
Зве́рху дірка,
Траво́ю поши́та,
Вітромъ підби́та,
Куди́ віе, туди́ й провіва́е,
Козака́ моло́дого́ прохоложа́е.
То гуля́е козак Голо́та, погуля́е,
Ні го́рода, ні села́ не займа́е, —
На го́родъ Килию́ погляда́е.
У го́роді Килиі Тата́ринъ сидить борода́тий,
По гірницяхъ похожа́е,
До Тата́рки слова́ми промовля́е:
«Тата́рко, Тата́рко!
Ой чи ти ду́маешъ те, що я́ ду́маю?
Ой чи ти ба́чишъ те, що я́ ба́чу?»
Каже: «Тата́рине, ой сіди́й, борода́тий!
Я тількі ба́чу, що ти передо мно́ю по гірницяхъ похожаешъ,
А не зна́ю, що ти думаешъ да гада́ешъ».
Ка́же: «Тата́рко!
Я те́ бачу: въ чи́стімъ по́лі не оре́лъ літа́е:
То коза́къ Голо́та до́бримъ коне́мъ гуля́е.
Я его́ хо́чу живце́мъ у ру́ки взя́ти
Да въ го́родъ Килию́ запрода́ти,

Ище жъ нимъ передъ вели́кими пана́ми баша́ми вихваля́ти,
За ёго́ мно́го червóнихъ не лічачи бра́ти.
Дороги́і су́кна не мірячи пощита́ти».
То тée промовля́въ, — дорогé пла́ттє надіва́е,
Чóботи обува́е,
Шли́къ ба́рхотний на свою гóлову надіва́е,
На коня́ сіда́е,
Безпéчно за козакóмъ Голóтою ганя́є.
То козакъ Голóта дóбре коза́цький зви́чай зна́е, —
Ой на Тата́рина скри́ва, якъ вóвкъ, погляда́е.
Ка́же: «Тата́рине, Тата́рине!
На віщо жъ ти ва́жишъ:
Чи на мою́ яснéнькую збрóю,
Чи на могó коня́ воронóго,
Чи на менé, козака́ молодóго?»
«Я», ка́же, «ва́жу на твою́ яснéнькую збрóю,
А ще лу́чче на твогó коня́ воронóго,
А ще лу́чче на тебé, козака́ молодóго.
Я тебé хóчу живцéмъ у ру́ки взя́ти,
Въ горóдъ Килию́ запрода́ти,
Передъ вели́кими пана́ми баша́ми вихваля́ти
И мнóго червóнихъ не лічачи набра̂ти,
Дороги́і су́кна не мірячи пощита́ти».
То коза́къ Голóта дóбре зви́чай коза́цький зна́е,
Ой на Тата́рина скри́ва, якъ вóвкъ, погляда́е.
„Ой", ка́же, Тата́рине, ой сіди́й же ти, борода́тий!
Либóнь же ти на рóзумъ небага́тий:
Ще ти козака́ у ру́ки не взявъ,
А вже за ёгó й грóші пощита́въ.
А ще ж ти міжъ козака́ми не бува́въ,
Коза́цькоі ка́ши не іда́въ
И коза́цькихъ звича́івъ не зна́ешъ".
То тée промовля́въ,
На присішкахъ ста́въ,
Безъ міри пóроху підсипа́е,
Тата́рину гости́нця въ гру́ди посила́е.
Ой ще коза́къ не приміри́вся,
А Тата́ринъ икъ лихій ма́тері съ коня́ покоти́вся.
Вінъ ёму́ віри не доніма́е,
До ёгó прибува́е,
Кéлепомъ міжи́ плечи гріма́е,
Коли́ жъ оглéдитця, ажъ у ёгó й ду́ху нема́е.
Вінъ тоді дóбре дбавъ,
Чóботи Тата́рські истяга́въ,
На свои коза́цькі нóги обува́въ;
Одéжу истяга́въ,
На свои коза́цькі плéчи наділа́въ;
Ба́рхотний шли́къ издийма́е,
На свою́ коза́цьку гóлову надіва́е;
Коня́ Тата́рського за поводи́ взя́въ,
У гóродъ Січи́ припа́въ,
Тамъ собі пъе-гуля́е,
Пóле Килиімське хва́лить-вихваля́е:
„Ой пóле Килиімське!
Бода́й же ти літо й зіму зеленіло,
Якъ ти менé при нещасли́вій годи́ні сподоби́ло!
Да́й же, Бóже, щобъ козаки́

пили́ та гуля́ли,
Хоро́ші ми́слі ма́ли,
Одъ ме́не більшу до́бичу бра́ли,
И неприя́теля підъ но́зі топта́ли!"
Сла́ва не вмре́, не поля́же,
Отни́ні до віка!
Дару́й, Бо̀же, на мно́гі літа!

DUMA NO. 20

А. Про Хвеська Кганджу Андыбера

Ой полем, полем Кылыи́нськым,
Бытым шляхом Ордыи́нськым,
Эй гуляв, гуляв козак бидный летяга сим год и чотыри,
Да потеряв з-пид себе тры кони вороныи.
На козаку бидному летязи
Тры серомязи,
Опанчына рогожовая,
Поясына хмеловая;
На козаку бидному летязи сапъянци —
Выдны пьяты и палци,
Де ступыть — босои ногы слид пыше;
А ще на козаку бидному летязи шапка-бырка, —
Зверху дырка,
Шовком шыта,
Буйным витром пидбыта,
А околыци давно немае.
Ище-ж то козак бидный летяга до города Кылыи прыбувае;
Та не пытаеться де-б то статы,
Коня попасты, —
А пытаеться, де корчма новая,
Шынкарка молодая,
Настя кабáшна:
Тая на нас, на бидных летяг, хоч зла да й обашна.
Городом Кылыею иде́,
Слухае, прыслухаеться:
Чы не радыться хто на славне Запорожже гуляты;
Аж тильки радяться, поражаються
Тры дуки-сребраныкы
На кабак итты
Меду да оковытои горилкы попываты.
Тоди-то козак добре дбав,
Попереду соби у кабаку кватеру
Крей грубы сидае; [займав;
Плечы свои козацьки прыгривае.
Тогды дуки-сребраныкы у кабак ухождалы,
У стола сидалы,
По цебру меду, оковытои горилкы постановлялы.
Первый дука сребраныка Гаврыло
Добгополенко Переясловськый
А другый Войтенко Ниженськый,
Трейтій Золотаренко Черниговськый.
Ище-ж бидного козака летягы не вытають
Ны медом шклянкою,
Ны горилкы чаркою;
То козак бидный летяга на дукив сребраныкив скоса поглядае;
То одын дука сребраныка був обачный,

Гаврыло Довгополенко Переясловськый:
Из кармана людську денежку выймав,
Насти кабáшній до рук добре оддавав,
А ще стыха словамы промовляв:
„Эй, каже, ты шынкарко молода, ты Насте кабашна!
Ты, каже, до сых бидных козкакив летяг, хоч злая, да й обашна:
Колы-б ты добре дбала,
Сю денежку до рук прыймала,
До погреба одходыла,
Хоч норцовóго пыва уточыла,
Сьому козаку бидному летязи
На похмиллє жывит його козацькый скрипыла".
Оттогди-то Настя кабашна денежку прыймала,
До погреба одходыла,
Меду да оковытои горилкы вточыла,
Козаку бидному летязи коновку в рукы втеребыла.
Оттогди козак бидный летяга, як узяв коновку за ухо,
Оглядыться, — аж и в дни сухо.
Оттогди-то козак бидный летяга,
Як став у соби хмиль козацькый зачуваты,
Став коновкою по мосту погриматы;
Сталы в дукив сребраныкив
Из стола чаркы й шклянкы литаты:
Оттогди-ж то козак бидный летяга,
Як став у соби билшый хмель зачуваты,
Став з-пид панчы́ны рогожовои,
З-пид поясыны хмелóвои,
Щирозлотный обушок выйматы,
Став шынкарци молодій за цебер меду застановляты;
Сталы дукы сребраныкы
Одын до óдного стыха словамы промовляты:
„Эй, шынкарко молода,
Настя кабашна!
Нехай сей козак бидный летяга
Не маеться в тебе сеи заставщыны выкупляты;
Нам, дукам сребраныкам,
Нехай не зарекаеться волы поганяты.
А тоби, Насти кабашній, груб топыты".
Оттогди-то козак бидный летяга,
Як став сіи слова зачуваты,
Так вин став по-конець стола сидаты,
Став чересок вынیматы,
Став шынкарци молодій,
Насти кабашній,
Увесь стил червинцямы устылаты.
Тогди дукы сребраныкы,
Як сталы в його червинци зоглядаты,
Тогди сталы його вытаты
Медом шклянкою
И горилкы чаркою.
Тогди й шынкарка молода
Настя кабашна
Истыха словамы промовляе:
„Эй козаче, каже, козаче!
Чы снидав ты сьогодни, чы обидав?
Ходы зо мною до кимнаты,
Сядем мы з тобою поснидаем,
Лы пообидаем".
Тогди-то козак бидный летяга
По кабаку похождае,
Кватыру очыняе,

На быстрыи рикы поглядае,
Клыче, добре поклыкае:
„Ой рикы, каже, вы рикы нызовыи,
Помошныци Днипровыи!
Або мыни помочы дайте,
Або мене з собою визьмите!"
Оттогди одын козак иде,
Шаты дорогыи несе,
На його козацьки плечы надіе;
Другый козак идé,
Бóты сопьянóви несе,
На його козацьки ногы надіе;
Трейтій козак идé,
Шлычок козацькый несе,
На його козацьку главу надіе.
Тогди дукы сребраныкы
Стыха словамы промовлялы:
„Эй не есть же се, братци,
Козак бидный летяга,
А есть се Хвесько Кганжа Андыбер,
Гетьман запорозькый!
Прысунься ты до нас, кажуть, блыжче,
Поклонымось мы тоби ныжче;
Будем радыться,
Чы гаразд добре на славній Украини прожываты".
Тогди сталы його вытаты
Медом шклянкою
И горилкы чаркою.
То вин тее од дукив сребраныки прыймав,
Сам не выпывав,
А все на свои шаты пролывав:
„Эй шаты мои, шаты!
Пыйте, гуляйте:
Не мене шанують,
А вас поважають;
Як я вас на соби не мав,
Ныхто мене й гетьманом не почытав".
Тогди-то Хвесько Кганжа Андрыбер,
Гетьман запорозькый,
Стыха словамы промовляв:
„Эй козакы, каже, диты, друзы, молодци!
Прошу я вас, добре дбайте,
Сых дукив сребраныкив,
За лоб, паче волив, из-за стола вывожайте,
Перед окнамы покладайте,
У тры березыны потягайте".
Тогди-ж то козакы, диты, друзы, молодци,
Добре дбалы,
Сых дукив сребраныкив за лоб бралы,
Из-за стола, паче волив, вывождалы
Перед окнамы покладалы,
У тры березыны потягалы,
А ще стыха словамы промовлялы:
„Эй дукы, кажуть, вы дукы!
За вамы вси лугы́ и лýкы,
Нигде нашому брату козаку летязи статы
Й коня попасты!"
Тогди-то Хвесько Кганжа Андыбер,
Гетьман запорозькый,
Хоча помер,
Дак слава його козацька не вмре, не поляже
Теперешнього часу,
Господы утверды й подéржы
Люду Царського,
Народу хрыстыянського,
На многая лита.

B.

[Ой полем, полем Кылыйнськым,
Бытым шляхом Ордыйнськым,
Эй гуляв, гуляв козак бидный летяга сим год и чотыри,

Да потеряв з-під себе тры кони вороныи.
На козаку бидному летязи
Три серомязи,
Опанчына рогожовая,
Поясына хмеловая;]
Ище боты сапъянóви;
По мужычи — постолы лутóви;
А ще оборы шовковыи,
По жоночи — валовыи,
У-трое несуканы.
[А ще на козаку бидному летязи шапка-бырка, —
Зверху дырка,
Шовком шыта,
Буйным витром пидбыта,
А околыци давно немае.]
Тоди-ж то вин до города Кылыи прыбував,
Городом Кылыею проижджав,
Слухав, прослухав:
Чы не радыться хто, порадыться на славную Украину гуляты;
Аж ныхто не радыться, на поражаеться на славную Украину гуляты,
Тильки радяться тры дукы сребраныкы
До Насти кабашнои меду да оковытои горилкы пидпываты:
Первый дука сребраныка Ниженськый Войтенко,
А другый Черниговськый Попаденко,
А трейтій Грыцько Коломіець.
Тоди-ж то воны до Насти кабашнои у кабак ухождалы,
Мед да горилку оковытую подпывалы.
Тоди-ж то козак бидный летяга у кабак ухождае,
Коло грубы сидае,
Козацьки свои бидныи плечы согривае.
Тоди-ж то одын дука сребраныка велыкее мылосердые соби мав,
Людську денежку з кармана выймав,
Да Насти до рук добре оддавав,
А ще стыха словамы промовляв:
„Эй Насте кабашна!
Ты, каже, для сых бидных козакив летяг, хоч злая, да й обачна.
Велю тоби до погреба одходыты,
Хоть норцового пыва уточыты,
Сьому козаку бидному летязи
На похмелье жывит його козацькый скрипыты".
Тоди-ж то Настя кабашна сама до погреба не одходыла,
Служебку повирну посылала:
„Эй служебко, каже, ты моя повирна!
Велю тоби до погреба одходыты,
Хоть норцового пыва уточыты,
Сьому козаку бидному летязи
На похмелье жывит його козацькый скрипыты."
Тогди служебка повирна до погреба одходыла,
Дви бочкы помыновала,
Да у трейтьои бочци горилкы оковытои вточыла,
Козаку бидному летязи коновку в рукы втеребыла.
[Оттогди козак бидный летяга, як узяв коновку за ухо,
Оглядыться, — аж и в дни сухо.
Оттогди-ж то козак бидный летяга,

Як став у соби хмиль козацький зачуваты,
Став коновкою по мосту гриматы;
Сталы в дукив сребраныкив
Из стола чаркы й шклянкы литаты:]
Оттогди-ж то вин поблыжче их сидав,
Щырозлотный обушок з-за пазухы выймав,
Насти кабашній за цебер меду застановляв.
Оттогди-ж то дукы сребраныкы стыха словамы промовлялы:
„Эй козак ты бидный летяга!
Не подоба сього обушка
Насти кабашній
застановляты,
Подоба тоби нам, дукам сребраныкам, волы поганяты,
А Насти кабашній груб топыты.„
Оттогди-ж то козак бидный летяга на дукив сребраныкив
Великее пересердые мав,
Коло окна сидав,
На окно поглядав,
А ще стыха словамы промовляв:
Эй рикы, каже, рикы нызовыи,
Помошныци Нистровыи!
[Або мыни помочы дайте,
Або мене з собою визьмите!"
Оттогди одын козак иде́,
Шаты дорогыи несе,
На його козацьки плечы надіе;
Другый козак иде́,
Бо́ты сопьяно́ви несе,
На його козацьки ногы надіе;
Трейтій козак иде́,
Шлычок козацькый несе
На його козацьку главу надіе.]
Тогди-ж то дукы сребраныкы
Сталы на козаку бидному летязи дорогыи шаты зоглядаты,
Сталы його медом и оковытою горилкою вытаты.
Тогди-ж то вин меду и горилкы не пидпыває,
Тильки на свои шаты злывае,
А ще стыха словамы промовляе:
„Эй шаты, каже, мои шаты дорогыи!
Не мене шанують,
Вас поважають;
Як я вас на соби не мав,
Да и честы од дукив сребраныкив не мав".
[Тогди-то Хвесько Кганджа Андыбер,
Гетьман запорозькый,
Стыха словамы промовляв:
„Эй козакы, каже, диты, друзы, молодци!
Прошу я вас, добре дбайте,
Сых дукив сребраныкив,
За лоб паче волив, из-за стола вывожайте,
Перед окнамы покладайте,
У тры березыны потягайте."
Тогди-ж то козакы, диты, друзы, молодци,
Добре дбалы,
Сых дукив сребраныкив за лоб бралы,
Из-за стола, паче волив, вывождалы,
Перед окнамы покладалы,
У тры березыны потягалы,
А ще стыха словамы промовлялы:
„Эй дукы, кажуть, вы дукы!

За вамы вси луги́ и лу́кы,
Нигде нашому брату козаку летязи статы
Й коня попасты!"]
Тогди-ж то дукы сребраныкы
Стыха словамы промовлялы:
„Эй не есть ты козак бидный летяга,
А есть ты Хвесько Кганжа Андыбер,
Гетьман запорозькый."
Тогди-ж то Хвесько Кганжа Андыбер
Гетьман запорозькый
Умер, и т. д.

C. Хвесько Дендеберя

Що козак Хвесько Дендиберя гуля й погуляє
Сім год и чотирі,
На дванадцятий год повертає,
Хвесько Дендиберя по городу Черкасах гуляє,
Ой шукає — питає
Шинкарки Насті Горовойі,
Кабашниці степовойі.
На Хвеську Дендиберi три одежини: одна погана,
Другая подрана,
А трейтяя узловатая, хмеляная.
На козаку нетязі постоли боброві,
Личаніі, вйазові,
Онучі китайчаніі,
Біли рядняніі,
Шапка бирка,
А з верху дірка,
Хутро голе, околиці біс-має,
Вона дощем покрита,
А вітром на славу козацьку підбита. . . .

D. Про козака Голоту

Эй полем килиїмскім, битим, шляхом Ординьськимь
Гуляв козак Голота.
Не боявся вуон ні огню, ні води, ні болота.
Гуляв сім літ і чотирі
Та потиряв спуд себе чотирі коні воронії

* * *

А на козаку на голові опанчина рогозова,
Поясина хмеліова,
Сапоги сапьянові,
По мужичі — постоли лутові,
Оборі шовкові —
У трое із валу не суканії.

* * *

На козаку на Голоті шапка-бирка,
А з верху дірка,
Шовком шита,
Буйним вітром пудбита,
А вокруги околиці не має. . . .

E. Дума про козака Нетягу

Полем Чигринським шляхом колеїнським,
Туда проєжджав козак Летяга. Он убрани.
Була в його шапка бирка зверху дирка,
Шовком пошита, в'ітром пудбита
Да не було в його неєкої.
Козак убрани (був): свитина рогозиновая, поєсина воловиная,
Чоботи були в його юхтови, до дванацети ушок,
А на прозваніє лутови. . . .

On *Akanje* and Linguistic Theory

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The map of modern East Slavic dialects shows three major zones differentiated by the treatment of unstressed vowels. In the south (Ukrainian with a band of transitional Ukrainian-Belorussian dialects) and the north (most North and north Central Russian dialects) there is a distinction between pretonic *a* and *o*; in the central zone (Belorussian with south Central and South Russian dialects) unstressed *o* does not occur. For *o*-speakers, *sová* 'owl' and *travá* 'grass' have quite different vowels; speakers from the central zone pronounce identical vowels, e.g., *savá travá* or *səvá trəvá* or *syvá tryvá.* This non-differentiation, traditionally called *akanje* (R *akan'e,* Br *akanne,* U *akannja*), is obviously a major criterion for classifying modern dialects, the more so because it sets off *a*-speakers (as we may conventionally call them) from the entire rest of the Slavic world (cf., e.g., Czech, Slovene, Serbo-Croatian *sova, trava*).

What is the age of this systematic contrast between stressed and unstressed vowels? The documentary evidence is clear: not before 1339 do actual spellings imply with reasonable certainty that akanje was part of the language of any scribe. Linguistic historians, on the dubious assumption that there is a necessary lag between an innovation in pronunciation and its reflection in spelling, speculated that akanje arose a century or two earlier. The influential Šaxmatov, for example, attributed it to his hypothetical East Rus'ian (*vostočnorusskoe nareč'e*) of the twelfth century. Durnovo more prudently posits it "before the fourteenth century." Scholars agreed that akanje was a new dialect feature that arose in a central region of a common East Slavic language which had long since been distinct from both its immediate West Slavic neighbors and its more distant South Slavic cousins.

In the last three decades, some of the most prolific writers on topics in Slavic linguistics have declared themselves in favor of the proposition that akanje is a heritage from prehistory, say, the eighth century: André Vaillant, George Shevelov, Vladimir Georgiev, Fedot Filin. Let us dub this putative early process *proto-akanje.* If it indeed began in the seventh

century, as Filin (1972, p. 142) would have it, this important new dialect feature can hardly be called *drevnerusskij*, but implies, rather, a subdivision of late Common Slavic. It substantially weakens the accepted notion of a common East Slavic as the language of, say, the Slavs ruled by Jaroslav and his sons in the eleventh century.

The first step in the general argumentation is to rule the documentary evidence out of court as irrelevant. Let us, for the moment, accept this proviso without discussion. Proto-akanje then stands as a purely speculative proposal; it can be examined and evaluated only in the light of linguistic theory. Now, what unites the four disparate scholars who are the chief proponents of proto-akanje is the lack of a consciously elaborated theory of what a language is and the possible ways languages can work. They appear to share a belief that what a speaker knows about his language is essentially an enormous list of individual words.[1] Phonology has as its domain the individual phonological word. In describing a linguistic system, an *état de langue*, they of course find it necessary to talk about morphology and the alternations of distinctive sounds called morphophonemic by structuralists, but such considerations are brought into discussions of phonological history only when problems arise that cannot be solved on the purely phonetic level. A further important theoretical concept for these scholars is that distinctive phonological units are items like *t* or *č*, *o* or *a* or *ä*. Faced with a change of *a* to either *o* or *e*, they offer no explicit means for deciding what is ordinary and what requires special explanation. Of course, they operate with tacit assumptions that often are valid because they actually result from observation of many concrete facts. It is characteristic, however, that the treatment of materials is atomistic and the unspoken assumptions often change subtly as the analyst's attention moves from one set of data to another. Though they occasionally make reference to systems, they lack firm principles that make it possible to present the facts in a coherent and systematic fashion. This in turn makes it almost impossible to compare competing proposals in order to evaluate their relative merits.

Let us adopt a different theory. First, what a speaker knows is not

[1] Their work precedes the revolution in linguistic thinking that began in the 1950s, and it ignores the new requirements that no discussion can be fruitful unless major premises and procedures are explicitly stated. Thus the reader is forced to attempt to discover the tacit underlying theoretical assumptions, often a difficult task precisely because the conflicting notions are not based on consciously selected and defined principles. (For a defeatist assumption that may be shared by the linguists under discussion, see fn. 21 below.) Lightner 1966 gives a useful comparison of some theoretical principles on the basis of Slavic materials.

individual words, but rather morphemes — individual meaningful elements categorized as roots, derivational formants, grammatical desinences, and the like. The morphemes are made up of phonological segments of the type /sov-/ or /trav-/, but these symbols are merely shorthand representatives for combinations of the basic building-blocks of phonology, that is, distinctive features.[2] In terms of standard descriptions of R, /o/ and /a/ share the features /-consonantal, +syllabic, -high, +back/, but differ in that /o/ is /+round/ and /a/ is /-round/.[3] Each morpheme is assumed to possess a number of specific features that determine, among other things, the morphological (including accentual) possibilities of combining with other morphemes. Thus, to oversimplify, a Russian "knows" that /sov-/ and /trav-/ belong to the *a*-declension and are desinence-stressed in the singular and stem-stressed in the plural. Application of rules of selection and combination lead to the forms /sov-á sóv-y/ and /trav-á tráv-y/. Only then do the more superficial rules that govern pronunciation apply. It is at this stage of active derivation or generation that rules of akanje operate: any unstressed non-high vowel becomes [-round], and (at least in some positions) [+low]. This change of two features is the essence of akanje.

Going back to Common Slavic, most analysts accept that Indo-European *o* and *a* had become *a*, while *ō* and *ā* had merged into *ā*, creating a single pair of vowels sufficiently characterized as /-high +back/ and either long or short, with /rounding/ a subordinate or redundant feature.[4]

2 The domain of phonology ranges from phonetics and distinctive features through distinctive segments (systematic phonemes) to morphemes and the rules governing their compatibility with other morphemes; this includes — with some reservations — morphology. Space permits only the most general statement of my assumptions. They constitute a particular combination of decisions based on one of the major variants of generative theory that have grown out of considerations most systematically set forth by Chomsky and Halle in 1968. As to refinements and elaborations pertinent to historical linguistics, I have been most influenced by subsequent work by Morris Halle and Paul Kiparsky. I am grateful to Professor Halle for constructive comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

3 Further, stressed *ó* of surface forms is phonetically [-low], while stressed *á* is [+low]; questions of the hierarchy of distinctive features and of their redundancy at various levels of derivation or generation can only be hinted at here, important though they are in decisions concerning changes in vowel systems.

4 In the face of the fact that every vowel must phonetically possess or lack rounding (and degrees of height, lowness, backness, etc.), many observers fail to understand the notion of rounding (or any other quality) as a non-essential specification. Yet the assumption that the essence of the two distinctive units is fully defined as *non-high, back,* and either *long* or *short* can be very productive. When investigators confine themselves to dealing with fully defined phonetic units, they find it necessary to specify these two Common Slavic vowels by means of combinations of the *o* and *a* symbols, such as *å*, *a°*, or *o*. They have to explain "loss of rounding" as a later development. Our

Thus one can posit /sav′ā/ and /trāv′ā/, /s′avȳ/ and /tr′āvȳ/[5] for approximately the eighth century. Now, the Vaillant-Filin hypothesis posits that *a* became rounded to *o only* under accent in the dialects ancestral to

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theory, like any consistent scientific theory, attempts to make assumptions which allow one to find order in the seeming chaos of the raw data. The distinctive features, and the conventions governing their combinations, allow us to delimit the significant character of ComSl /ā a/ as merely low and back, thus allowing for considerable phonetic variation in actual pronunciation. The evidence is strong that / -long/ was automatically associated with [+round], while / +long/ required the redundant surface specification [-round], i.e., [sovā] but [trāvā].

As a concrete illustration of the principle, it may be worthwhile here to point out once again a parallel which can be observed. In Hungarian, the features /round/ and /back/ and /long/ are all distinctive for at least some vowels, so that / -back -round/ *e é* are opposed to / -back +round/ *ö ő* and / +back +round/ *o ó* (also in the / +high/ series *i í* vs. *ü ű* vs. *u ú*). Here / +back/ entails / +round/. But the / -high +low/ vowels are short *rounded a* and long *un*rounded *á*: rounding is clearly present as a phonetic feature of the short vowel but absent in the long vowel, yet it is not distinctive. The rounded vowel of the singular *fa* 'tree' automatically is unrounded when it acquires length in the plural *fák*. On the other hand, if a / -back/ vowel is / -high -round/, the feature /low/ is redundant, so that the stem-final vowel in *kefe* 'brush' is automatically and non-distinctively a low vowel (approximately as in Eng. *fat*), but in the plural *kefék* it is markedly higher (cf. Eng. *fake*), cf. Lotz, p. 26. Relatively early borrowings (attested 12th–14th c.) show that Hungarians perceived Slavic *o* as / +low/ and therefore usually equivalent to H *a*: e.g., *kalács* 'Torte, Kuchen' < Slk *koláč* or SC *kòlāč*; *asztal* 'table' (borrowed recently into SC as *àstāl*, with unrounded vowels) < *stol*; *patkó* 'horseshoe' < Slk *podkóv* or SC *potkov*. They used their *o* for / -low/ Slavic vowels, e.g., *káposzta* 'cabbage' < *kapusta*, *csoda* 'miracle' < *čudo*, *oszlop* 'pillar' < **stъlpъ*. Cf. Kniezsa, passim.

5 It would be preferable to write *w* instead of *v*, but here I will follow traditional symbolization of traditional examples. The accent placement, moreover, is not to be taken as representing a theory of early Slavic accent, but is a formulaic representation of a possible forerunner of types found in the Russian words.

6 For a recent statement, see Wexler, p. 78. Georgiev and, to some extent, Vaillant and others believe that the non-development of unstressed *o* also characterized some Slovenian and Bulgarian dialects, and the rule is assumed to have operated in early South Slavic dialects. Cf. bibliography in Wexler, p. 84. A particularly obtuse discussion is provided by Filin, pp. 97–149; it is surprising that he dismisses without serious discussion the factual information adduced by such competent specialists as Jakob Rigler of Ljubljana and Pavle Ivić of Belgrade. Filin fails utterly to comprehend the theoretical issues involved. The facts of South Slavic dialects offer nothing at all to the solution of the questions of East Slavic akanje.

This is not the place to confront the problems of the exact nature of late Common Slavic accent. It must be noted, however, that the most plausible hypotheses agree that surface "accent" included syllables with distinctive high tone and those without it (not to mention those with "neoacute"). The advocates of proto-akanje lump them all together, without comment. For example, with high tone, N sg **sel′a*, **g′arxy*, cf. R *seló*, *goróx*, Br *sjaló haróx*; without it (using Garde's symbol for surface accent placement), N sg **(′)gardy*, **(′)palje*, N pl **(′)galvȳ*, **(′)kastī*, NA sg n **(′)nava*, pl m **(′)pradālī*, cf. R *górod*, *póle*, *gólovy* (but Br *halóvy*), *kósti*, *nóvo*, *pródali* (but Br *pradáli*). What physical properties do these investigators envision as constituting the common denominator of these "accented" syllabics?

means that pre-Belorussian[7] had *savá* and *travá* but *sóvy* and *trávy*. From now on, each speaker of the language must carry in his head all words like "savá" somehow encoded with the information that the stem-vowel becomes *ó* in the plural. Perhaps several forms of the paradigm are stored in the memory-bank.

Is this really the way modern Russian and Belorussian work? Are forms like R [gəlavá, góləvy, galóf, galófkə] encoded separately? Surely it is more plausible to assume that the standard morphophonemic spelling is closer to what a speaker "knows." Let us suppose it is enough to encode an abstract root we can symbolize as /golov-/, supplemented by rules that will add a stressed desinence /a/ or a stressless desinence /y/, or a pre-stressing zero-desinence or suffix (or similar device). The processes yield formulas (of the type *golov-'a, g'olov-y, gol'ov-Ø, gol'ov-Øk-a*) which are then subject to rules of precisely the type foreigners learn when they study Russian, rules enabling one to produce phonetically precise pronunciation from conventionally-spelled representations. Surely Russians consider [kórətkə, karótkə, kəratkó] "the same word, but with the stress on different syllables": the reality is underlying /korotko/, plus the placement of the stress and the superficial pronunciation rules.[8] But let us go back to early Slavic.

Early prehistoric Slavic vowel segments can be fully defined in terms of three features: high, back, and long. The history of the development to the later systems reconstructable from historical and comparative evidence demonstrates an increase in the basic vocalic inventory by the successive addition of significant values for the features low, tense, and rounded. Accent played no role in the essential definition of vocalic segments; its function was at the level of the phonological word. With this framework in mind, let us attempt to compare the Vaillant-Shevelov-Georgiev-Filin hypothesis of proto-akanje no later than ca. 950 with the traditional view that akanje arose no earlier than ca. 1100, and possibly as late as ca. 1300.

Either hypothesis can handle without reference to accent three of the four old vowel-pairs in stating the shift from the early quantity-defined

[7] This unsatisfactory but useful term is Wexler's; he chose it with reluctance after thoughtful consideration of several alternatives; Wexler, pp. 58–59.

[8] Similarly, the different pronunciations of E *laboratory* (or *Caribbean*) are determined by the accentuation *láboratòry* or *labóratory* (*Càribbéan* vs. *Caríbbean*) and pronunciation rules, applied to an underlying form that is fairly adequately symbolized by the conventional spelling. Russian spelling is obviously more accurate and consistent in this regard than English spelling. Belorussian orthography, on the other hand, has to allow variant spellings that give the reader no choice of accent: *koratka* and *karotka*.

system to the quality-based system of late Common Slavic. Thus /ī i ȳ y ē e/ → /i ь y ъ ě e/, whereby the long vowels became /+tense/. The new tense vowels could then develop a distinction between long and short /ī i ȳ y ě̄ ě/.[9] Surely ancient *$\bar{a}$ and *a underwent the same process, but with an added complication.

For the traditional hypothesis, the development of the non-high back pair /ā a/ can be stated in terms of the mobilization of the previously redundant feature /low/, converting a two-level system, as defined in terms of tongue-height, to a three-level system. For pre-East Slavic, the natural tendency for a long non-high back vowel to be tense and maximally open came to be an obligatory part of the definition: /ā/ → /+low/. As a corollary, the three other non-high vowels /a e ē/ → /-low/.[10] The short /a/, now distinctively non-low, is even more likely, by the strong tendency observed in hundreds of vowel-systems throughout the world, to be phonetically rounded. Still, however, the need to define it as *significantly* /+round/ lies in future requirements of the various dialects; the phonetic rounding very likely present in actual pronunciation was assigned by a redundancy rule. The whole process is perfectly natural.[11]

Under the proto-akanje assumption, however, matters are less in accord with expectations. The /-high +back +long/ vowel becomes /+low/ with no limiting factors at all. Its short counterpart /a/ does the same *only if* it is *un*accented; if accented, it joins the other vowels as /-low/. Theoretically, such a development is not impossible, but it is considerably less natural and thus notably more complicated in formal

[9] This was surely a complex process, during which the formerly redundant assignment of [±tense] became distinctive as old long vowels shortened — under differing circumstances in different dialects — and had to be specified / +tense -long/. Readers will understand that I am omitting reference to the old diphthongs and other important matters because my aim here is chiefly to formalize the elements that are most significant for the question of proto-akanje.

[10] Space does not allow exploration of the difference between this utilization of /low/ and the simpler formulation underlying pre-Lechitic (not to mention some South Slavic ancestral) dialects: a /-high/ vowel → /+low/ if long, /-long/ if short. This produces a *$\check{e}$ that is very open, whereas the *$\check{e}$ of pre-East Slavic must have been relatively closed. In general, maximally open front vowels tend to become closed.

[11] It is generally true that long vowels are phonetically tense, with well-defined articulation very close to the outer limits of the available space in the buccal cavity: it is natural for $\bar{a}$ to be maximally open and relatively back. Back vowels are, by and large, phonetically rounded — especially if they are not maximally open. The feature /rounding/ is likely to be redundant unless a system possesses a contrast between front (i.e., /-back/) rounded and unrounded vowels (cf. fn. 4 for Hungarian), a situation which began in some north Common Slavic dialects at a time investigators have not positively determined.

terms.[12] Just why should accent be crucial in this system at this particular juncture? Why did this one dialect deviate in such an odd way from all sister dialects?[13] Unless new and strong positive evidence in favor of proto-akanje can be adduced, there is no reason to abandon the far more plausible traditional hypothesis.

The often atomistic procedures of the proponents of proto-akanje make it difficult to understand how they might connect different processes. If proto-akanje had occurred, one would expect eleventh-century N pl *gólavy* and N sg *galavá*; to account for modern forms, one needs to posit old G pl *galóvъ* and diminutive *galóvъka*.[14] At an earlier stage, as most investigators would surely agree, these forms must have had an unaccented root, i.e., /galv-'y, galv-'yk-ā/. To get the attested forms, we need the sequence *galav'y* → *galav'ъ* → *gal'avъ* → *galóvъ*; that is, (1) polnoglasie, (2) jers become unaccentable and accent retracts, and only then (3) does proto-akanje occur. Since polnoglasie is unlikely to have occurred before 850, all these processes belong in the final prehistoric period of about 850–1050.[15] It is less clear how proto-akanje is supposed to have

12 Proper formulation depends on our ability to define the units involved. Let us, for the moment, set aside skepticism and assume that the proponents of proto-akanje can give a satisfactory answer to the question posed above, at the end of fn. 6; that answer will give content to a feature /accented/ which we must utilize here on an *ad hoc* basis. Compare the rules. Rule A states that *ā* becomes /+low/, while *a e ē* remain /-low/. **Rule P** states that *ā* and also unaccented *a* become /+low/, leaving accented *a* with *e ē* as /-low/.

$$\text{(A)}\quad \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\ \text{-high}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \langle\text{+low}\rangle_a \quad \begin{array}{l} |\underline{\hspace{3em}}\\ \langle\text{+back}\rangle_b\\ \langle\text{+long}\rangle_c\end{array} \quad \text{Condition: } a \equiv b \text{ and } c.$$

$$\text{(P)}\quad \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\ \text{-high}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \langle\text{+low}\rangle_a \quad \begin{array}{l} |\vdash\underline{\hspace{3em}}\\ \langle\text{+back}\rangle_b\\ \langle\text{+long}\rangle_c\\ \langle\text{+accent}\rangle_d\end{array} \quad \text{Condition: } a \equiv b \text{ and } (c \text{ or } \tilde{c} \text{ and } \tilde{d}).$$

The statement of proto-akanje requires both a larger number of distinctive features and a far more complex set of conditions. It is therefore less highly valued.

13 Vaillant and others speak of the influence of the Baltic substratum, an attractive thought in view of the remarkable coincidence of Belorussian (and, to some extent, Russian *a*-dialects to the east) with territories believed by archaeologists and onomasticians to have been occupied by Balts as late as the sixth to seventh century. The precise mechanism of this influence remains to be elucidated, however. Just how could Baltic dialects affect precisely the development of one accented (or, conversely, one unaccented) vowel?

14 In this discussion I will not try to indicate degrees of hypotheticalness or my bias as to degrees of plausibility. The presumed underlying forms will be enclosed in slants.

15 Wexler's exposition comes under the headings of Changes 8, 9, and 7; it is not clear that the numbers necessarily represent temporal sequence. In a synopsis that summarily lists all possible changes and assigns approximate dates to them, Shevelov, p.

affected *o* of later origin. Surely the textual evidence affirms the existence of *kъrmъ* and *kъrmiti* (and we can suppose the contrast of root-accent and suffix-accent), of *pěsъkъ* (by tradition assigned accent on penult) and *začatъkъ* (accent surely on antepenult). Unless this evidence, too, is ruled out and explicit accounts of other theoretical forms are provided, the advocate of proto-akanje is obligated to formulate supplements to the usual rules for the lowering of the jers in order to yield accented *ó* but unaccented *a* at the moment of the jer-shift (cf. Br *kórm* but *karmíc'*; *pjasók* but *začátak*).[16] Presumably it would be possible to account for this with reference to rules of vowel reduction which resulted from alternations in the vowel system after the changes caused by proto-akanje. Yet such rules do not seem to be part of the general theory espoused by advocates of proto-akanje. All these problems fall away if we assume **kórm, *kormíti, *pěsók,* and **začátok,* along with **gólovy, *golová, *golóv,* and **golóvka* as valid for all non-northern dialects of Rus' in about 1200, and that the development of a systematic reduction in unstressed vocalism began no earlier than about 1150 and quite possibly well after 1200. We assume that the shift from the older tone-defined accentual system to the newer stress-defined system was a prerequisite for akanje.

Šaxmatov and others believed that the first stage of akanje was a shift of unstressed *o* to an unrounded shwa-like vowel for which various symbols have been used. Later, then, this "reduced" vowel opened to *a.* While not impossible, this is an unnecessary step. What is involved is a reduction

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634, labels the three 29, 32, and 33, with the estimates of mid-9th c. for (1) and (3) but early 9th c. for (2). Another type of example supports the order (2), (3): the Belorussian river name *Lótva* and its Lithuanian equivalent *Latuvà* (Wexler 91). This implies a pre-Br **lat'yvā* > **l'atъvā* > **lótъva* if we accept proto-akanje. Let me note here that there really is no need for the traditional — but quite hypothetical — intermediate stage where weakened jers were unaccentable but remained syllabic. The distinctive feature was surely high *pitch* rather than *stress* (i.e., intensity, force). What is involved in the change of accent is most probably a significant tonal melody; the contour of that melody, first involving a word containing a jer (or several jers), remains essentially unchanged even though it adapts to a phonetic structure containing fewer syllables. The principle has been vividly demonstrated by work done on African languages by George N. Clements at Harvard University. Thus it may be preferable to assume that **golov'ъ(ka)* and **let'ъva* (after the new quality-based system has emerged) would first develop alternate pronunciations **gol'ov(ka)* and **l'otva,* and then these latter forms would become the only possible shapes.

16 Wexler does so in his Change 9, with no comment on the relationship of this rule to proto-akanje. He says nothing specific about dating, but the context implies 9th-10th c. This means that he fully excludes the 11th-12th c. Rus'ian manuscripts as at all pertinent for Belorussian. Shevelov dates the loss of the jers in Belorussian to about 1200 (p. 459). It was not among the tasks of his book to account for the details of the new vowel-zero alternations that arose with the jer-shift; it is, however, an important task for the historian of Belorussian and Russian.

in the number of distinctive features required to define unstressed vowels: /rounded/ is no longer significant. When /o/ becomes [-rounded] it could theoretically stay at the same mid-level as a shwa, but its behavior in the pertinent dialects tells us that it also becomes [+low], i.e., it merges with *a*.[17] Akanje is a particular instance in the total system of contrast between stressed and unstressed vowels whose common denominator encompasses rules which must make reference to the presence or absence of stress. Proto-akanje supposes this new role of stress to have prehistoric status; I submit that it began to operate no earlier than 1150.

The remarkable thing about the interplay of stressed and unstressed vowels in Russian and Belorussian akanje dialects is the rarity of deviations from etymology in the myriad records of variant forms of one and the same word. In contrast, such Slovene dialect forms as *n'aγa* and *k'asmat* for older *nog'a* and *kosm'at* imply first a shift of pre-tonic *o* to *a*, and then a period of variation between the old *kasm'at* and the new *k'asmat*: the etymological *o* has disappeared entirely. Now, discussions of East Slavic akanje continually refer to etymological forms. What

[17] Because of conflicts in understanding the term *reduction*, some investigators object to using it for this shift of qualities (e.g., Wexler, p. 81). Yet as long ago as 1929 Jakobson (pp. 92–93) pointed out the essence of this particular manifestation of limitation of qualities that is linked with lack of stress, and he backed it up with a reference to Meillet's discussion, even earlier, of kinds of reduction. As I use it here, reduction means a smaller number of contrasting unstressed vowel units as opposed to the larger number of stressed vowels, from either the historical or the descriptive point of view. What is important is that I am talking about the whole system, defined in terms of distinctive features; discussions of individual surface phonetic units can be meaningful, I maintain, only with reference to the whole phonological structure.

Reduction is often taken to mean a curtailment of a vowel's intensity or duration, or both; usually this also involves a concomitant shift of tongue position (along the high-low and/or back-front axis) and therefore vowel quality. Further, it *may* mean loss of rounding.

The historical progress of reduction in this set of meanings is not necessarily the same as *reduction* applied to the contrast between an unstressed vowel and its stressed counterpart in a synchronic system. The discovery of an *a*-dialect where unstressed [*a*] is measurably longer than the stressed *ó* with which it alternates (e.g., the type *sav'é* vs. *sóvy*) is interesting precisely because it is an example of how the non-distinctive feature of length is automatically and predictably determined by system-particular rules dependent on stress and vowel quality. The superficial phonetic facts are important as indicators of past development and potential future change. However, contrary to Čèkman's opinion (p. 156), this system in no way invalidates the "reduction theory" of the origin of akanje, i.e., that old pretonic *o* became a relatively short unrounded centralized vowel before opening to *a* (and then, in this northwest Belorussian dialect, lengthening).

It is essential to distinguish between the different uses of the term. Difficulties arise because investigators fail to specify which parameters they have in mind when speaking of individual "reductions"; it often appears that they are unaware that misunderstanding is possible.

meaning does this have for the speakers of these dialects? How are we to explain the fact that while Russian allows *kórótkó* (to use the symbolization of some handbooks) and Belorussian has *kóratka* and *karótka*, there seem to be no cases of ?*kárətkə* or ?*karátkə* or comparable parallels? In the nineteenth century, the oblique plural cases of Russian nouns like *volná* and *sestrá* substituted stem-stress for desinence-stress. Why is it that we *always* find [vólnəm] and [s'óstrəm] and *never* **[válnəm] or **[s'éstrəm] (or **[s'ístrəm])? Appeal to the analogical force of N pl *vólny/sëstry* can be made only when the explicit mechanism involved is provided, a demonstration I have not found in the literature.[18] Indeed the problem is never mentioned in discussions of either akanje or proto-akanje. Again, I submit that what is involved is underlying /voln-/ and /s'ostr-/ plus rules that provide first the segments of the desinences and then the accent, thus either /voln-'am/ or else /v'oln-am/. Only then do the superficial rules of pronunciation apply, to spell out the phonetic detail of the dynamic and productive process of vowel reduction.

There are, to be sure, a few cases where newly-stressed *á* occurs for etymological *o* in Russian dialect present tense forms, e.g., *lávit* 'hunts' and *sálit* 'salts' for standard *lóvit* and *sólit*; *o*-dialects with older accent patterns have *lovít* and *solít.* One might assume [lav'ít] → [láv'it] by a purely phonetic shift of stress; this is to be expected if the vowel is "really" *a.* Yet it is far more common to find the opposite phenomenon — hypercorrect stressed *ó* for etymological *a,* as in *plótit* or *sódit* for standard *plátit* 'pays' and *sádit* 'seats'. In such forms the underlying stems have changed from older (and standard) /plat-/ and /sad-/ to /plot-/ and /sod-/. Examples from any other verbal paradigm or any non-verbal paradigm (except substandard *pal'tó*: *pól'ta*) seem to be virtually absent.[19] The rarity of analogical or restructured forms in the face of con-

[18] A descriptive theory should be able to account for the behavior of the loanword present in the R coll. or dial. pl. *pól'ta* or *pól'ty* 'overcoats' (sg. *pal'tó* < F *paletot*). Pre-generative linguists are ordinarily very vague on this problem. The generativist maintains that the borrowed stem is perceived or restructured as /pol't-/ plus neuter declensional desinences and the stress pattern of *seló.*

[19] Data are hard to come by, and since these verb-stems are ordinarily discussed within a narrow morphological framework (e.g., Orlova, pp. 118–24, with literature), possible parallels from other categories are at best hinted at in footnotes. Orlova correctly states that the mobile stress in these verbs is relatively new. For a change in stem under older mobile stress, the only example I have encountered is *-mjáleš'* for expected *-méleš'* 'mill', i.e., restructuring /m'el'-/ into /m'al'-/, with loss of the etymological shape of the root. Dialect Belorussian has some instances of hypercorrections of the type *plótit/sódit* (Orlova, p. 123). The *é* in the adverbial *hlédzjačy* (to *hljadzéc'* 'look') and in a series of verbs for (or beside) *á*, e.g., *dahlédzec'/dahljádzec',* may belong here, but it may be borrowed from southern dialects where *a* often rises to *e*

siderable evidence for a good deal of shifting of stress in individual words and morphological categories is, I submit, strong evidence for the relatively recent origin of vowel reduction (including akanje) in Russian and Belorussian, and at the same time evidence that the non-reduced vocalism is maintained in the "real" or underlying system of all dialects with akanje.

What about written records? The disconcerting fact that akanje is not reflected in any sort of writing until very late is discounted by believers in proto-akanje for two closely related reasons. They declare that eleventh- and twelfth-century texts were all produced in (or by scribes from) areas where no akanje ever existed — that is, the pre-Ukrainian zone (presumably chiefly Kiev and Galicia-Volhynia) and the north (Novgorod-Pskov). For much later texts they fall back on the notion that akanje areas imitated traditional spelling, continually reinforced by the influence of scribal usage from such prestigious cultural centers as Kiev and Novgorod.

This explanation simply will not do, although the argument for the first centuries of Rus'ian literacy (insofar as evidence has survived) may be valid. However, it is an exaggeration to state that scribes were able to follow arbitrary norms without revealing some of their own speech habits in instances where local speech was not well represented by usual spelling. It is well known, for example, that eleventh-century scribes strove valiantly to avoid their own *č* (from **tj*) in favor of Slavonic *šč* — and failed. The second scribe of the Archangel Gospel of 1092 wrote not only *skrъžъčetь* (for *-šče-*) but — in what must have been a particularly bad moment — he unjustifiably put down *č* for his own *šč* < **stj* (*otpučati* for *otъpuščati* 'let go'). The comparative rarity of violations of such norms attests to the diligence of many scribes, but at the same time tells us that indeed these men were following rules they had learned. If *a* was the "real" surface form of the old non-high short back vowel in unaccented position, it is remarkable that not a single reliable instance revealing the "true" pronunciation appears before 1300; nor are there hypercorrections, with *o* written for etymological *a*. Early records from the Belorussian area show that scribes could not learn Kiev or Novgorod usage of the letter *ě*, confusing it ubiquitously with *e*. What magic saved them from difficulties

after a palatalized consonant. (R *kótit* beside *kátit* does not necessarily belong here, but represents a blending of the two old apophonic root forms **kat* and **kāt*, to be expected in **kot-i+* but **kat-aj+*; but once /kat-i+/ came into being, a hypercorrect /kot-i+/ could be created.) What is surprising is that there are not a great many more instances of "false etymologies" in modern *a*-dialects, even if akanje began as late as 1300.

with *o* vs. *a*?[20] I submit that it is the fact that akanje did not exist in the speech of most of them, but arose in the pronunciation of subsequent generations.

The hypothesis of proto-akanje is too weak to be worthy of further attention.[21] Investigators must turn to a study of full systems, not separating what happens to vowels after hard consonants (akanje proper) from the behavior of vowels after soft consonants (jakanje). Manuscript evidence from the fourteenth to sixteenth century must be gathered very carefully in order to establish a more reliable factual basis for elaborating a clearer history. Each system should be meticulously described in formal terms, so that meaningful comparisons can be made. Halle provided the basic tools as long ago as 1965. It is time to put them to work.

Proto-akanje seemed to guarantee at least one major criterion for a prehistoric dialect within the East Slavic area, but it has proved to be an unnecessary and methodologically unjustified construct. Frustrating though it may be, we must recognize the fact that no linguistic data before about the thirteenth century give more than a hint of dialect divisions in Rus' before that time. Yet common sense tells us that linguistic homogeneity could simply not have existed over such an enormous territory. However, unless new facts come to light, we must make do with vague statements.

[20] If we accept relatively late akanje, then we can assume that the traditional orthography (with continuing influence from prestigious *o*-speakers and cultural centers) allowed the scribes to learn their spelling as a morphophonemic system analogous to that of modern Russian. But even here we would expect errors and hypercorrections. I submit that the documents should be taken seriously as evidence of the time and place of the appearance of akanje. There is no valid reason to insist that a scribe of less than first-rate competence would avoid an error based on his own speech simply because his father or grandfather happened not to have the same pronunciation. Wexler, a believer in proto-akanje, states that the gradual expansion of akanje during the Belorussian period "can be documented both from contemporary and historical data" (p. 80). It is a great pity that he did not give us this documentation.

[21] Even Šaxmatov's far weaker claim for twelfth-century akanje was justly characterized by van Wijk in 1935 (p. 654): "diese Theorie schwebt jedoch vollständig in der Luft, den Zeugnissen der Sprachdenkmäler gegenüber hat sie keinen Wert." Unfortunately, however, he was wrong in predicting "sie wird wohl noch kaum von jemand akzeptiert" — he did not foresee that some linguists would abandon the effort to organize the chaos in terms of principled theories. (Nor, may I note, did I anticipate the declaration, made by a reader of the typescript of this paper, that language, being a social human phenomenon, *is* chaotic, although not without certain "trends and partial regularities which can be studied." Now, it is obvious that linguistic patterns, like all patterns of human behavior, show many exceptions and oddities. Yet every language and dialect I — and most other investigators — have studied has turned out to be highly structured; therefore I — and most investigators — expect all dialects to be highly structured. Exceptions, after all, can be defined only in terms of statable regularities; the oddities merely make the search for underlying structure more fascinating.)

Surely northeastern dialects of Rus' failed to distinguish the reflexes of expected **č* and **c*, and possibly the second regressive palatalization did not operate in part of the same region. Perhaps the extreme southwestern dialects still had palatal stops (of the *ḱ*/*ǵ* type) for **tj*/**dj*, or else **č* and a hushing affricate **ǯ* for the **ž*, that we must attribute to the vast majority of East Slavic dialects. Nevertheless, it remains clear that most of the Slavs in Monomax's empire spoke variants of a single language — a language set off from neighboring Polish[22] by a series of important phonological features: lack of nasal vowels, closed reflex of **ě*, rounded pronunciation of jer,[23] a different prosodic system, polnoglasie, different treatment of **tirt*, etc., hushing reflexes of **tj*/**dj*, palatal *l* for **j* after labial. It continues to be linguistically meaningful to call this language simply East Slavic. The major processes of differentiation which led to modern dialects — among them vowel reduction, including akanje — may well have been developing, but their results were still well in the future.

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22 Direct contact with Slovak seems unlikely for this period; in any case, differences between East Slavic and Slovak must have been significant.

23 The back jer was surely rounded in all dialects, cf. *lob, son* < **lъbъ*, **sъnъ*. A rounding of the front jer in syllables before a back vowel may be assumed to account for items like R Br *lën*, U *l'on* < **lьnъ*, but considerable dialect variation remains to be accounted for, cf. R *pës* but Br U *pes* < **pьsъ*.

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Vienna as a Resource for Ukrainian Studies: With Special Reference to Galicia

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There exists a rather widespread myth among scholars of Eastern Europe that Vienna, the once powerful capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the repository for a wide variety of archival and printed materials dealing with the peoples of the Habsburg state, was largely depleted of its rich holdings after World War I. Supposedly, most material pertaining to countries that had just arisen in whole or in part from the ruins of the Habsburg Empire — Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary — was "returned" to those new states in the 1920s. Hence, in Austrian and East European scholarly circles, one frequently hears the uninformed response: "Such material is not in Vienna any longer. It is in Cracow, or Prague, or Budapest." Fortunately for the student interested in modern Ukrainian history, especially in nineteenth-century Galicia, the above supposition is indeed largely a myth.

This is not to say that materials were not sent from Vienna to Poland or Czechoslovakia as a result of international treaties carried out in the 1920s. Certain archival materials were removed. But many still remain in the capital of the old Habsburg Empire, and this study will outline briefly what printed materials can be found there for the study of Ukrainian Galicia.[1]

[1] A subject worthy of discussion is archival holdings in Vienna on Galician Ukrainian subjects. Although beyond the scope of this study, it is still useful to note that each of the six divisions of the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv has material on Galicia. Of greatest importance are the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (for foreign affairs and internal political developments), the Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (for education and religious affairs), and the Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (for economic developments).

General descriptions of Vienna's archives can be found in Arthur J. May and Marrim L. Brown, "Austria," in the *New Guide to the Diplomatic Archives of Western Europe*, ed. by Daniel H. Thomas and Lynn M. Case (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 3–19; and in the section "Austrian State Archives," in the *Austrian History Yearbook* 6–7 (1970–71): 3–77. A comprehensive description of the oldest and most important archives is Ludwig Bettner, ed., *Gesamtinventar des wiener Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchivs*, 5 vols. (Vienna, 1936–40).

1. *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (Austrian National Library, I, Josefsplatz, 1). Given its present name in 1922, this institution is the successor to the Hofbibliothek (Imperial Library) founded by the Habsburgs in the sixteenth century. By the nineteenth century, the Hofbibliothek served as a national depository library, because an imperial decree of 1808 required that at least one copy of every publication that appeared on the territory of Austria-Hungary be sent to this library.[2]

The so-called "old catalog," which was actually recopied onto modern cards and made available to the public for the first time in the 1960s, contains 1.3 million author/title cards for books printed between 1501 and 1929. An estimated 156,000 volumes (12 percent) of this collection, together with another 44,000 volumes published since 1930, can be classified as Slavica.[3] Of these, the printed materials (books, pamphlets, journals, newspapers, yearbooks, schematisma, etc.) originating from Ukrainian Galicia are both quantitatively as well as qualitatively impressive. And since Habsburg Austria was for several decades the only place where Ukrainian culture was permitted relatively unhampered development, this material has significance for Ukrainian studies well beyond the confines of Galicia.

Perhaps the most impressive part of the Nationalbibliothek's Ukrainian collection consists of newspapers and journals.[4] For instance, of the 209 titles listed in V. Ihnatijenko's comprehensive bibliography of news-

[2] For general descriptions of this institution, see Ernst Trenkler, "The History of the Austrian National-Bibliothek," *Library Quarterly* 17 (1947): 224–31, and Josef Stummvoll and Rudolf Fiddler, "National Library of Austria," in the *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, vol. 2 (New York and London, 1969), pp. 119–27.

[3] Stanislaus Hafner, "Slavica der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek," *Österreichische Osthefte* 5, no. 2 (1963): 161–65. Only the collection of books since 1930 has a subject catalog (the "Schlagwort" or "key word" catalog), which contains the headings "Galizien," "Lemberg," and "Ukrajina." Since after 1930 the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek accepted the cataloging procedures adopted in Germany, the books and serials in both the "old" and "new" post-1930 catalogs are arranged according to the initial noun in each title. Thus, *Halyčko-ruskjij vîstnyk* would be found under *Vîstnyk, halyčko-ruskjij,* or *Červonaja Rus'* under *Rus', červonaja.*

[4] It was Professor Ihor Ševčenko, associate director of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University, who originally proposed that the serial holdings of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek be surveyed. Edward Kasinec, research bibliographer at Harvard, prepared a list of titles which were then checked in Vienna by Maria Razumovsky. I wish to express deep appreciation to the staff of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, and most especially to Ms. Razumovsky, whose knowledge of the collection made my research more fruitful than it might otherwise have been.

papers published in Galicia between 1848 and 1916,[5] the Nationalbibliothek holds as many as 65 percent. Of the 44 titles published in the other Austrian Habsburg province with a Ukrainian population, Bukovyna, the figure is 48 percent for the same period. (For a complete list of titles, see Appendix I.)

Among the titles available are the first serial publications for Austro-Hungary's Ukrainians to appear during the post-1848 decade (*Dnewnyk ruskij, Zorja halycka, Vîstnyk*), as well as complete runs of the earliest populist Ukrainophile literary journals from the 1860s (*Večernycî, Meta, Rusalka*).[6] For the period of national and political controversy that occurred during the last decades of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the Nationalbibliothek holds the most influential newspapers of the three competing factions: the Old Ruthenians (*Slovo*), Ukrainophiles (*Dilo, Batkôvščyna, Svoboda*), and Russophiles (*Galičanin, Prikarpatskaja Rus', Golos naroda*). The collection also includes complete or nearly complete runs of the publications of Galician national organizations: the *Vremennyk* of the Stauropegial Institute, the *Naukovŷj* (later *Lyteraturnŷj*) *sbornyk* of the Halycko-russka matyca, the *Vîstnyk* of the Narodnyj dom, and the *Naukovi zapysky* of the Ševčenko Scientific Society. Available, too, are several publications basic to an understanding of pre-1914 developments in Galician Ukrainian literature (*Pravda, Zorja, Druh, Žytje i slovo, Besîda, Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*), as well as those on education and student life (*Učytel', Moloda Ukrajina, Naša škola*), church affairs (*Ruskij sion, L'vôvsko archieparxijal'ny vîdomosty, Osnova*), law (*Časopys' pravnyča, Pravnyčyj vistnyk*), economic life (*Hospodar' y promyšlennyk*), and socialism (*Narod, Hromads'kyj holos, Vpered*).

World War I heralded not only the decline of the Habsburg Empire, but also a marked decrease in the Nationalbibliothek's Ukrainian serial holdings. Certain publications, like the influential daily newspaper *Dilo*, which continued to appear after the war, were no longer collected systematically after 1914. Still to be found there, however, are the *Vistnyk* of the Vienna-based Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine, which appeared

[5] This is meant to include Ukrainian newspapers published in Galicia (particularly in Lviv), as well as those published elsewhere (especially in Vienna) by or for Galician Ukrainians. V. Ihnatijenko, *Bibliohrafija ukrajins'koji presy, 1816–1916* (Xarkiv, 1930).

[6] Titles of newspapers and journals reflect the forms that appeared on the mastheads of the first issues of a given publication. The International Standard System of transliteration is used, with the supplements devised by the journal *Recenzija.*

during the war years, and several issues of the Russian-language *L'vovskij věstnik*, published during the tsarist army's occupation of Eastern Galicia in the winter of 1914–15.

Although the Nationalbibliothek's systematic acquisition of Galician Ukrainian serials ended after 1918, the collection does contain a few publications from the postwar era, such as the first émigré Communist and socialist organs (*Pracja, Naša pravda*) and interwar periodicals from Polish Galicia (*Stara Ukrajina, Novij šljax, Šljax naciji, Peremoha*). The Österreichische Nationalbibliothek's interests did not transcend the boundaries of the Austrian half of the Habsburg Empire, however. Thus, there are no serials published by or for Ukrainians (Rusyns) in Hungary (ostensibly the preserve of the Széchényi National Library in Budapest),[7] nor any published by Galician immigrants in the United States.

The Nationalbibliothek's collection of Galician Ukrainian books, pamphlets, grammars, and political tracts is as impressive as its serials. The national movement in Ukrainian Galicia had its modest beginnings in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the Nationalbibliothek has a good selection of rare volumes from this period, including Josyf Levyc'kyj's *Grammatik der ruthenischen oder kleinrussischen Sprache in Galizien* (1834), Josyp Lozyns'kyj's *Ruskoje wesile* (1835) and *Gramatyka języka ruskiego* (1846), Denys Zubryc'kyj's *Rys do historyi narodu ruskiego w Galicyi* (1837) and *Kronika miasta Lwowa* (1844), Ivan Vahylevyč's *Gramatyka języka małoruskiego w Galicji* (1845), and Ivan Holovac'kyj's two-volume anthology of literature, *Vînok rusynam* (1846–47). It is interesting to note, however, that the collection does not include a first edition of the period's most famous book, Markijan Šaškevyč's *Rusalka dnistrovaja* (1837). This is perhaps because it was printed in Budapest, a publishing source of secondary concern to Vienna.

The revolutionary year 1848 was a crucial turning point in the political and cultural history of Galician Ukrainians and other Austrian Slavs, and many valuable brochures and tracts from this period are in the Nationalbibliothek, including Kaspar Cieglewicz's *Die Roth-reussischen Angelegenheiten* (1848) and *Rzecz czerwono-ruska 1848 r.* (1848), and Antoni Dąbczański's *Wyjasnienie sprawy ruskiej* (1848) and *Denkschrift der ruthenischen Nation* (1848). In 1861, after more than a decade of centralization and general negative reaction to the liberal direction of 1848–1849, the so-called constitutional period of Austrian history began. It lasted until the outbreak of World War I and witnessed enormous scholarly and

7 Unfortunately, this institution does not have complete runs of the oldest Hungarian-Rusyn newspapers.

literary productivity among Galician Ukrainians. The holdings of the Nationalbibliothek reflect these achievements, and the works of leading scholars and publicists — e.g., Bohdan Didyc'kyj, Ivan Franko, Myxajlo Lozyns'kyj, Josyp Mončalovs'kyj, Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj, Antonij Petruševyč, and Izydor Šaranevyč — are well represented.

Important for historical and especially literary works are the various series known as *Biblioteka.* The Nationalbibliothek has an impressive complete (or nearly complete) collection of forty-one of these series, including the Byblioteka najznamenytšyx povîstej, 33 vols. (1881-1893), Biblioteka Vydavnyčnoji spilky NTŠ, 11 vols. (1899-), Rus'ka istoryčna biblioteka, 24 vols. (1886-1904), Teatral'na biblioteka, 26 vols. (1899-1904), and the Ukrajins'ko-ruska biblioteka NTŠ, 8 vols. (1902-1911). Also important in this regard are the annual almanacs (*kalendary*), which were destined primarily for the peasant masses and reflect the historical, social, and cultural ideologies that prevailed during the period. The Nationalbibliothek has twenty-six series of *kalendary* from Galicia and four more from Bukovyna, among which the most popular were the *kalendary* issued by the Kačkovs'kyj Society and the Prosvita Society.

Finally, among the printed source materials are the yearbooks of the Greek Catholic church (known as *schematisma*) and the yearbooks of the various *gymnasia* (known as *zvity*). These volumes are extremely important, because they not only provide histories and reports of the annual activity of each institution, but also list all its members (whether priests, teachers, students), often giving information on birth, social background, profession, etc. Thus, the *schematisma* and *zvity* are invaluable tools for analyzing the social composition of nineteenth-century Galician society. The Nationalbibliothek has complete sets of *schematisma* for the three Galician Greek Catholic dioceses of Peremyšl' (Przemyśl) (1828-1918), Lviv (1832-1898), and Stanyslaviv (1886-1914), and *zvity* for Ukrainian *gymnasia* in Kolomyja (1900/01-1913/14), Ternopil' (1905/06-1913/4), Stanyslaviv (1912/13-1913/14), Peremyšl' (1910/11-1917/18), Turka (1913/14), Javoriv (1912/13-1913/14), Rohatyn (1912/13), Zbaraž (1912/13), and for women's *gymnasia* in Peremyšl' (1906/07-1917/18), Lviv (1906/07-1913/14), and Stanyslaviv (1912/13).

2. *Parliamentsbibliothek* (Parliamentary Library, I, Reichsratsstrasse, 3).[8] The Parliamentsbibliothek was founded in 1869; fourteen years later

[8] I am very grateful to Dr. Rudolf Stöhr, director of the Parliamentsbibliothek, who not only permitted me to use the library when it was closed to the public (i.e., when the Austrian Parliament was in session), but who also allowed me unlimited direct access to the stacks, where I made discoveries that would probably not have resulted from use of the card catalog alone.

it was moved to new quarters in the impressive neo-Greek Parliament Building where it is still located today. It was designed to serve members of the Austrian Parliament (Reichsrat), which by 1907 had grown to include 516 representatives in the House of Deputies (Haus der Abgeordneten) and 118 in the House of Lords (Herrenhaus). Between 1861 and 1918, when Ukrainians from Galicia served in the House of Deputies, their number varied from a low of three in 1867 to twenty-seven in 1907.

The Parliamentsbibliothek contains the complete stenographic record of the proceedings and publications of the House of Deputies (374 volumes) and House of Lords (74 volumes) for the years 1861 through 1918.[9] Most important are the published indices for the stenographic record of both houses.[10] Using these, it is possible to find easily the complete texts of the speeches, inquiries, and law proposals of all Ukrainian deputies, among them the influential Oleksander Barvins'kyj, Stepan Kačala, Kost' Levyc'kyj, Jevhen Petruševyč, and Julijan Romančuk. The Parliamentsbibliothek also includes the rare guides by Sigmund Hahn and Fritz Freund that provide complete biographical data on each member of parliament,[11] as well as a set of the annual Handbooks of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that describe in great detail the administrative structure of Galicia and Bukovyna.[12]

Even more valuable for understanding local developments are the Parliamentsbibliothek's holdings of the complete stenographic record for the diets in each of the empire's seventeen crownland provinces. This, of course, includes the proceedings of both the Galician Diet (178 volumes)

[9] *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrates,* 374 vols. (Vienna, 1862–1918); *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Herrenhauses des österreichischen Reichsrates,* 74 vols. (Vienna, 1862–1918).

[10] *Index zu den stenographischen Protokollen des Abgeordnetenhauses des österreichischen Reichsrates,* 28 vols. (Vienna, 1862–1920); *Index zu den stenographischen Protokollen des Herrenhauses des österreichischen Reichsrates,* 22 vols. (Vienna, 1869–1920).

[11] Sigmund Hahn, *Reichsrats-Almanach für die Session*[en 1867–1892], 5 vols. (Vienna, 1867–91); Fritz Freund, *Das österreichische Abgeordnetenhaus: Ein biographisch-statistisches Handbuch* [1907–1913 and 1911–1917] (Vienna, 1907–1911).

[12] *Schematismus des kaiserlichen auch kaiserlich-königlichen Hofes und Staates* — later *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus* (or *Handbuch*) *des österreichischen Kaiserthumes* (Vienna, 1778–1868); *Hof- und Staats-Handbuch der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie,* vols. 1–44 (Vienna, 1874–1918). Beginning in 1856, these annual volumes allotted about 100 pages to Galicia and 50 to Bukovyna. The triple-column pages provide lists of all officials in the provincial diets and administrations, educational institutions, justice departments, financial administrations, trade, land departments, military, and churches. Each volume also has a complete name index.

and Bukovynian Diet (71 volumes) between the years 1861 and 1914.[13] Here it is possible to find the complete speeches and law proposals of all Ukrainian members. Very useful in this regard are the indices to the Galician proceedings prepared for the years 1861 through 1895.[14]

Because the Parliamentsbibliothek has since its establishment functioned uninterruptedly as the library of the Austrian Parliament, it has continued to collect the stenographic records of parliamentary institutions in major countries throughout the world. Hence, it contains the complete stenographic records of the Senate and Diet in interwar Poland (52 volumes), with the speeches of all Ukrainian senators and deputies,[15] and of the Senate and Diet in interwar Czechoslovakia (187 volumes), with the speeches by Ukrainian (Rusyn) representatives from Subcarpathian Rus' and the Prešov Region.[16]

3. *Institut für osteuropäische Geschichte und Südostforschungen* (IOGS — Institute for East European and Southeast European History, I, Liebasse, 5). The IOGS has had its present name since 1956, when it succeeded the Seminar für osteuropäische Geschichte, which traced its beginnings at the University of Vienna to 1907. The present institute serves as a regional studies research center for Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and has its own library numbering close to 50,000 volumes.[17]

[13] *Stenograficzne sprawozdania Sejmu Krajowego Królestwa Galicyi i Lodomeryi warz z Wielkiem Księstwem Krakowskiem: Posiedzenia* [1861–1914], 54 vols.; *Alegaty* [1865–1914], 90 vols.; *Protokoły* [1876–1914], 34 vols. ([Lviv], 1861–1914). *Stenographische Protokolle des Bukowinaer Landtags,* 71 vols. (Černivci, 1863–1913). Speeches in the Galician Diet by Ukrainian deputies are mostly in Ukrainian (although in Polish orthography). Speeches in the Bukovynian Diet are, with minor exceptions, in German.

[14] Władysław Koziebrodzki, *Repertorium czynności galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego* [1861–1889], 2 vols. (Lviv, 1885–89); Stanisław Miziewicz, *Repertorium czynności Galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego* [1889–1895] (Lviv, 1896). Unfortunately, there are no separately published indices for the Bukovynian Diet or for the Galician Diet between 1896 and 1914, although each volume of the stenographic record does contain comprehensive speaker and subject indices (see above, fn. 13).

[15] *Sprawozdanie stenograficzne Sejmu Ustawodawczego* [1919–1921] and *Sprawozdanie stenograficzne Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej* [1922–1937], 44 vols.; *Sprawozdanie stenograficzne Senatu Rzeczypospolitej* [1922–1937], 8 vols. These volumes have no indices.

[16] *Těsnopisecké zprávy o schůzích Národního shromáždění, poslanecké sněmovny* [and] *Senátu,* 88 vols. (Prague, 1919–37); *Tisky k těsnopiseckým zprávam o schůzích poslanecké sněmovny* [and] *Senátu,* 99 vols. (Prague, 1920–1938). The Parliamentsbibliothek also has the rare comprehensive indices to these volumes: *Index k těsnopiseckým zprávám o schůzích Poslanecké sněmovny* [and] *Senátu Národního shromáždění republiky československé,* 12 vols. (Prague, 1920–1950).

[17] General descriptions of the IOGS are found in "Das Institut für Osteuropäische Geschichte und Südostforschung der Universität Wien," *Österreichische Osthefte* 1,

The Ukrainian materials include a few works on pre-1918 Galicia not found in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and an interesting collection of Ukrainian serials largely from the twentieth century. Most of the latter are from the culturally-active prisoner-of-war camps of World War I (*Rozvaha*, 1915–18; *Vil'ne slovo*, 1917–18; *Rozs'vit*, 1916–18; *Hromad-s'ka dumka*, 1917–18; *Pros'vitnyj lystok*, 1916–17; *Vil'ne slovo*, 1916–18) or from interwar Austria (*Volja*, 1919–21; *Xliborobs'ka Ukrajina*, 1920–25; *Ukrajins'kyj skytalec'*, 1920–23; *Nova hromada*, 1923–24), Czechoslovakia (*Ukrajins'kyj student*, 1922–24; *Praci Ukrajins'koho istoryčno-filolohičnoho tovarystva*, 1926–42), or Germany (*Die Ukraine*, 1919–21; *Ukrainische Kulturberichte*, 1933–38). The IOGS also has some important older Ukrainian serials, including complete collections of the Lviv Ševčenko Scientific Society's *Zapysky* (1892–1937), the Kiev Ukrainian Scientific Society's *Zapysky* (1908–25), and the rare *Halyčanyn* (Lviv, 1862) and *Galicko-russkij věstnik* (St. Petersburg, 1894).

4. *Institut für Slavistik* (Institute for Slavistics, I, Liebiggasse, 5). The Institut für Slavistik is part of the University of Vienna and specializes in the languages and literatures of Slavic peoples. It has its own library, whose holdings under the subject headings of Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature indicate a rich collection, including several nineteenth-century grammars and first editions of literary works.

5. *Other institutions.* The Universitätsbibliothek in Wien (University of Vienna Library, I, Dr. Karl Lueger Ring, 1), which was badly damaged during the last years of World War II, holds some Ukrainian materials, but none that cannot be found in any of the libraries noted above.

The Sankt Barbara Kirche (Saint Barbara Church, I, Postgasse 10, adjacent to the Main Post Office) and Seminary (Barbareum) have a long tradition of cultural leadership among the Habsburg Empire's Greek Catholics, most especially Galician Ukrainians, since their establishment in the late eighteenth century.[18] There are, however, no materials in the church building itself, and the rectory, located a few blocks away, contains only a small library of no special significance.

The Mechitaristen Kloster (Mechitarist Monastery, VII, Mechitaristengasse) has since the nineteenth century housed a Cyrillic printing press.

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no. 2 (1959): 118–23 and Thorvi Eckhardt, "Zehn Jahre Slavica-Zentralkatalog," *Österreichische Osthefte* 4, no. 2 (1962): 160–63. The IOGS card catalog does not have a helpful subject catalog for Galicia, but it does have a good author/title catalog.

[18] For a recent comprehensive history, see Willibald M. Plöchl, *St. Barbara zu Wien*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1975).

Operated by Armenian Roman Catholic monks, it produced works in 50 different languages, including several Ukrainian periodicals destined for Galicians.[19] The monastery's archives may contain records of the press's financial dealings with Ukrainian publishers and perhaps even some copies of old publications, but the chaotic condition of the archives makes finding such material difficult.

* * *

The importance of Vienna as a resource for Ukrainian studies, in particular to studies pertaining to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Galicia, cannot be overstated. Despite this, the city's Ukrainian holdings have been decidedly underused. Only a handful of dissertations on Ukrainian topics have been written in Austria since World War II,[20] and specialists dealing with the Western Ukraine seem unaware of the amount of material — most of which is readily accessible — that the city has to offer.

In this era of burgeoning Ukrainian scholarship in the United States and Canada, serious attention should be focused on Vienna. More scholars should make direct use of its libraries and archives, while centers of Ukrainian scholarship, like the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard, should make every effort to microfilm for preservation and easy access the rare nineteenth-century Galician and Bukovynian newspapers and journals that might otherwise not survive the end of this century.

Harvard University

19 These include the Viennese-published Ukrainian publications: *Vîstnyk . . . posvjačenno . . . Rusynov Avstrijskoj deržavŷ* (1850–57), *Otječestvjennŷj sbornyk* (1853–66), *Domova škola* (1854–56), *Horod nebesnŷj* (Altenmarkt-Windischgratz, 1888); *Dilo* (Viennese edition, 1914–15); *Vistnyk Sojuza vyzvolennja Ukrajiny* (1914–15), and *Hospodars'kyj lystok* (1914).

20 Among those who have made use of Vienna's resources on Galicia are Roman Drazniowsky, who wrote his doctoral dissertation on Galicia under Austrian and Polish rule (University of Innsbruck, 1957); Michael Jaremko, doctoral dissertation on Ukrainians in the Viennese Parliament (University of Vienna, 1944); and Nicholas Dutka, doctoral dissertation on the language question in Galicia before 1848 (University of Vienna, 1951). Professor Günther Wytrzens, who holds the chair in Slavic studies at the University of Vienna, told this author that interest in Ukrainian topics is very limited, and that, according to the annual survey published in the *Austrian History Yearbook*, no doctoral dissertations have been written in Austria on Galicia or any other Ukrainian topic since at least 1965.

APPENDIX I:

GALICIAN. BUKOVINIAN, AND VIENNESE UKRAINIAN SERIALS IN THE AUSTRIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY (ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY)

(Asterisks indicate that holdings are complete)

	Title	*Place of Publication*	*Years of Appearance*	*Holdings*
1.	*Dnewnyk ruskij	Lviv	1848	1848
2.	Zorja halycka	Lviv	1848–57	1853–57
3.	*Halyčko-ruskjij vîstnyk	Lviv	1849–50	1849–50
4.	*Novyny	Lviv	1849	1849
5.	*Obščjij zakonov deržavnŷx y pravytel'stva vîstnyk dlja cîsarstva Austrjij	Vienna	1849–53	1849–53
6.	*Pčola	Lviv	1849	1849
7.	Vîstnyk . . . posvjaščennoje Rusynov Avstrjijskoj djeržavŷ	Vienna	1850–66	1853–66
8.	Vseobščjij dnjevnyk (later Vîstnyk) zjemskyx zakonôv y pravytel'stva dlja koronnoj oblasty Halycjij y Volodymjerjij	Lviv	1849–65	1849–60
9.	Otječestvjennŷj sbornyk	Vienna	1853–59, 1861, 1862, 1866	1853, 1857–62
10.	*Semejnaja byblioteka	Lviv	1855–56	1855–56
11.	*Sion, Cerkov, Škola	Vienna	1858–59	1858–59
12.	*Slovo	Lviv	1861–87	1861–87
13.	*Večernycî	Lviv	1862–63	1862–63
14.	*Dom y škola	Lviv	1863–64	1863–64
15.	*Meta	Lviv	1863–65	1863–65
16.	Pys'mo do hromadŷ	Lviv	1863–65, 1867–68	1864
17.	*Straxopud	Vienna	1863–67	1863–67
18.	Vremennyk Stavropyhijskoho ynstytuta	Lviv	1864–1915, 1923–39	1870–92, 1894–95, 1898–1902, 1905, 1909–14
19.	Zolotaja hramota	Vienna	1864–67	1865, 1867
20.	Naukovŷj (later Lyteraturnŷj) sbornyk Halycko-russkoj matycŷ	Lviv	1865–73, 1885–90, 1896–97	1865–73, 1885–87, 1897
21.	*Nedîlja	Lviv	1865–66	1865–66
22.	*Škola	Lviv	1865	1865

23. *Vîstnyk zakonov y rosporjaženjij krajevŷx dlja koroljevstva Halycjij	Lviv	1866–67, 1872–1916	1866–67, 1872–1916
24. *Rusalka	Lviv	1866	1866
25. *Pys'mo do hromadŷ: Dodatok do Slova	Lviv	1867–68	1867–68
26. Pravda	Lviv	1867–80, 1884, 1888–96	1867–69, 1872–77, 1879–96
27. *Rus'	Lviv	1867	1867
28. Hospodar'	Lviv	1869–72	1869
29. Lastôvka	Lviv	1869–81	1869–80
30. Učytel'	Lviv	1869–74, 1880	1869, 1871–74
31. *Osnova	Lviv	1870–72	1870–72
32. Nauka	Kolomyja, Lviv, Vienna, Černivci, Lviv	1871–1914, 1924–39	1884–98, 1902–03, 1906–08
33. Russkaja rada	Kolomyja	1871–1912	1872–73, 1875–82, 1900–06, 1912
34. Ruskij sion	Lviv	1871–85	1872–79, 1883–85
35. *Vîstnyk zakonôv deržavnŷx dlja korolevstv y krajev v deržavnoj dumî zastupljenŷx	Vienna	1872–1916	1872–1916
36. *Straxopud	Lviv	1872–73	1872–73
37. *Druh	Lviv	1874–77	1874–77
38. *Narodna škola	Kolomyja	1875	1875
39. *Druh naroda	Lviv	1876	1876
40. *Lopata	Černivci	1876	1876
41. *Vesna	Kolomyja	1878–80	1878–80
42. Sel'skij hospodar'	Černivci	1878–79	1878
43. Bat'kôvščyna	Lviv	1879–96	1886–96
44. Hospodar' y promŷšlennyk	Stanyslaviv, Lviv	1879–87	1880–87
45. Rodymŷj lystok	Černivci	1879–82	1879–81
46. *Vîče	Lviv	1880–82	1880–82
47. *Halyckij sion	Lviv	1880–82	1880–82
48. Dîlo	Lviv	1880–1939	1880–1914
49. Zorja	Lviv	1880–97	1880, 1882–97
50. Prolom	Lviv	1880–82	1880–82 (incompl.)
51. Novost'	Lviv	1881–83	1883

52. Prijatel' dîtej	Lviv	1881	1881
53. S'vit	Lviv	1881–82	1881–82 (incompl.)
54. Vîstnyk Narodnoho doma	Lviv	1882–1914, 1918–19, 1921, 1924	1882–1908, 1910–14
55. Nove zerkalo	Lviv	1883–85	1884
56. Bukovyna	Černivci	1885–1910, 1913–18	1895–1910
57. *Myr	Lviv	1885–87	1885–87
58. Prykarpatskaja Rus'	Lviv	1885	1885 (incompl.)
59. *Rus'	Lviv	1885–87	1885–87
60. Straxopud	Lviv	1886–95	1894–95
61. Besîda	Lviv	1887–97	1894–97
62. Dušpastŷr'	Lviv	1887–94	1887–88
63. *Russka pravda	Vienna	1888–92	1888–92
64. *Červonaja Rus'	Lviv	1888–91	1888–91
65. Vîdomosty l'vôvsko-archieparxijal'nŷ	Lviv	1889–1944	1910–13
66. Poslannyk	Berežany, Lviv, Ternopil', Peremyšl'	1889–1911	1894–1904
67. Zerkalo	Lviv	1889–1909	1889–1891
68. *Učytel'	Lviv	1889–1914	1889–1914
69. Časopys' pravnyča	Lviv	1889–1900	1889, 1891–96, 1898–1900
70. *Dzvinok	Lviv	1890–1914	1890–1914
71. Narod	Lviv, Kolomyja	1890–95	1890–94
72. *Russkoe slovo	Lviv	1890–1914	1890–1914 (incompl.)
73. Narodna časopys'	Lviv	1891–1914, 1918	1891–1909
74. Xliborob	Lviv, Kolomyja	1891–94	1891–94
75. Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka	Lviv	1892–1937	1892–1910, 1911–1924
76. Hromads'kyj holos	Lviv	1892–1914, 1917, 1922–39	1898–1900, 1904–05
77. *Galičanin	Lviv	1893–1913	1893–1913
78. Pravoslavnaja Bukovina	Vienna, Černivci	1893–1905	1899–1905

79. *Prosvěščenie	Vienna	1893–1902	1893–1902
80. *Čytal'nja	Lviv	1893–96	1893–96
81. *Žytje i slovo	Lviv	1894–97	1894–97
82. *Bukovynský vîdomosty	Černivci	1895–1909	1895
83. *Hromada	Kolomyja	1896	1896
84. Misionar	Žovkva	1897–1944	1897–1913
85. *Vinočok dlja russkyx dîtočok	Vienna	1897	1897
86. Ruslan	Lviv	1897–1914	1897–1910, 1912–14
87. Svoboda	Lviv	1897–1939	1897–1907, 1915
88. Hospodar'	Peremyšl'	1898–1913	1900–01
89. *Zerkalo	Lviv	1898–1909	1898–1909
90. Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk	Lviv, Kiev	1898–1914, 1917–19, 1922–32	1896–1913, 1924, 1930
91. Ruska rada	Černivci	1898–1908	1898–1901, 1906–08
92. Budučnist'	Lviv	1899	1899
93. Bohoslovskij vîstnyk	Lviv	1900–03	1900–01
94. Moloda Ukrajina	Lviv	1900–03, 1905, 1910	1900–03, 1910
95. *Časopys' pravnyča i ekonomična	Lviv	1900–12	1900–12
96. Naučno-literaturnyj sbornik	Lviv	1901–02, 1904–06, 1908, 1930, 1934	1902, 1930
97. *Zorja	Kolomyja	1902–03	1902–03
98. Vîstnyk Sojuza russkyx xljiborobskyx spilok na Bukovyni 'Seljans'ka kasa'	Černivci	1903–07	1904–07
99. *Iskra	Lviv	1903	1903
100. Malyj misionarčyk	Žovkva	1903–14, 1939	1904
101. *Postup	Kolomyja	1903–05	1903–05
102. *Ruthenische Revue	Vienna	1903–05	1903–05
103. Xlops'ka pravda	Kolomyja	1903, 1909	1903, 1909
104. *Vînočok	Lviv	1904–08	1904–08
105. Ekonomist	Lviv	1904–14	1904–13
106. Katolyc'kyj vsxid	Lviv	1904–07	1904–06
107. *Misjačnyj kaljendar	Vienna	1904–05	1904–05
108. *Molodiž	Ternopil'	1904	1904
109. *Narodnaja rada	Černivci	1904–08	1904–08
110. *Promin'	Vaškivci nad Černošem	1904–07	1904–07
111. *Nova sič	Stanyslaviv	1904	1904
112. *Xliborob	Černivci	1904–14	1904–14

113. Artystyčnyj vistnyk	Lviv	1905–07	1905
114. *Narodna biblioteka	Černivci	1905	1905
115. Zemlja i volja	Černivci, Lviv	1906–12, 1919–24	1906, 1911
116. *Osnova	Lviv	1906–13	1906–13
117. *S'vit	Lviv	1906–07	1906–07
118. Ukrainische Rundschau	Vienna	1906–17	1906–17 (incompl.)
119. *Dodatok ekonomičnyj-hospodars'kyj i pravnyčyj 'Narodnoho slova'	Lviv	1907	1907
120. *Dodatok istoryčno-literaturnyj 'Narodnoho slova'	Lviv	1907–08	1907–08
121. Narodna sprava	Černivci	1907–10	1908
122. Narodne slovo	Lviv	1907–11	1907–08, 1910, 1911
123. *Seljans'ka rada	Peremyšl'	1907–09	1907–09
124. Listok	Lviv	1907–14	1907–14
125. Borba	Hliboka, Černivci	1908–14, 1918	1908–13
126. *Narodne bohatstvo	Černivci	1908–10	1908–10
127. Kamenjari	Mamajivci	1908–14, 1921–22	1913–14
128. Prapor	Lviv, Kolomyja	1908–12	1910–11
129. Čorna rada	Vienna	1908–11	1908–10
130. Budučnist'	Lviv	1909–10	1909
131. Golos naroda	Lviv	1909–15	1911–15
132. *Golos truda	Lviv	1909–10	1909–10
133. Narodnyj holos	Černivci	1909–15, 1921, 1923	1909–10, 1912
134. Naša škola	Lviv	1909–14, 1916–18	1911–13
135. Peremys'kyj vistnyk	Peremyšl'	1909–14	1909–11
136. Pravoslavnaja Rus'	Černivci	1909–10	1909–10, 1913
137. Prikarpatskaja Rus'	Lviv, Kiev	1909–15, 1918–20	1909–13, 1915
138. *Rus'	Lviv	1909	1909
139. Samopomič	Lviv	1909–14	1910
140. Hospodars'ka časopys'	Lviv	1910–18, 1920	1913–14
141. Djakôvskŷ vîdomosty	Lukavec'	1910–14	1910–12
142. *Pravnyčyj vistnyk	Lviv	1910–13	1910–13
143. *Russkaja pravda	Černivci	1910–13	1910–13
144. *Emihrant	Lviv	1911–14	1911–14
145. *Vpered	Lviv	1911–13	1911–13

146. *Nova Bukovyna	Černivci	1912–14	1912–14
147. Nove slovo	Lviv	1912–15	1915
148. Pidhirs'kyj dzvin	Sanok, Nowy Sącz	1912–15	1912
149. *Stanjislavivs'ki visty	Stanyslaviv	1912–13	1912–13
150. *Straxopud	Lviv	1912	1912
151. *Zdorovlje	Lviv	1912–14	1912–14
152. Dobra novyna	Lviv	1913–14	1913–14 (incompl.)
153. *Russkaja niva	Lviv	1913	1913
154. *Ukrajina	Černivci	1912–14	1912–14
155. Šljaxy	Lviv	1914–17	1915–17
156. Vistnyk Sojuza vyzvolennja Ukrajiny	Vienna	1914–18	1914–18 (incompl.)
157. Kolomyjs'ke slovo	Kolomyja	1914	1914 (incompl.)
158. *Pracja	Lviv, Vienna	1914, 1918	1914, 1918
159. *Svît	Nowy Sącz	1914	1914
160. *Torhovi visty	Lviv	1914	1914
161. *Ukrainische Nachrichten	Vienna	1914–17	1914–17
162. *Ukrajins'ke slovo	Lviv	1915	1915
163. L'vovskij věstnik	Lviv	1915	1915 (incompl.)
164. Ukrainisches Korrespondenzblatt	Vienna	1914–18	1916–18
165. Xliborobs'ka Ukrajina	Vienna	1920–25	1922–25
166. Na perelomi	Vienna	1920	1920
167. *Naša pravda	Vienna	1921–23	1921–23
168. *Soborna Ukrajina	Vienna	1921–22	1921–22
169. *Naša pravda	Lviv	1923–24	1923–24
170. *Stara Ukrajina	Lviv	1924–25	1924–25
171. Nova zorja	Lviv	1926–39	1931, 1934
172. Litopys Červonoji kalyny	Lviv	1929–39	1931
173. Novi šljaxy	Lviv	1929–32	1932
174. Dzvinočok	Lviv	1931–39	1931
175. Samostijna dumka	Černivci	1931–37	1933
176. Students'kij šljax	Lviv	1931–34	1931–33
177. Naš front	Lviv	1933–?	1933
178. Komar	Lviv	1933–39	1935, 1938
179. Zorna	Lviv	1933–34	1933–34 (incompl.)
180. Peremoha	Lviv	1933–39	1933
181. Visnyk	Lviv	1933–39	1933–36
182. *Katolyc'ka akcija	Lviv	1934–39	1934–39
183. Nazustrič	Lviv	1934–39	1936
184. Torhovlja i promysl'	Lviv	1934–38	1937–38
185. *Šljax naciji	Lviv	1935–36	1935–36

186. Šljax molodi	Lviv	1936–39	1939
187. Na slidi	Lviv	1936–39	1937–38
188. Ukrajins'kyj invalid	Lviv	1937–39	1938
189. Students'kyj prapor	Lviv	1943–44	1944

APPENDIX II:

GALICIAN, BUKOVINIAN, AND VIENNESE UKRAINIAN SERIALS IN THE AUSTRIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY

(Numbers in parentheses refer to Appendix I)

Artystyčnyj vistnyk (113)
Bat'kôvščyna (43)
Besîda (61)
Bohoslovskij vîstnyk (93)
Borba (125)
Budučnist' (92)
Budučnist' (130)
Bukovynskŷ vîdomosty (82)
Bukovyna (56)
Časopys' pravnyča (69)
Časopys' pravnyča i ekonomična (95)
Červonaja Rus' (64)
Čorna rada (129)
Čytal'nja (80)
Dîlo (48)
Djakôvskŷ vîdomosty (141)
Dnewnyk ruskij (1)
Dobra novyna (152)
Dodatok ekonomičnyj-hospodars'kyj i pravnyčyj 'Narodnoho slova' (120)
Dodatok istoryčno-literaturnyj 'Narodnoho slova' (120)
Dom y škola (14)
Druh (37)
Druh naroda (37)
Dušpastŷr' (62)
Dzvinočok (174)
Dzvinok (70)
Emihrant (144)
Ekonomist (105)
Galičanin (77)
Golos naroda (131)
Golos truda (132)
Halyckij sion (47)
Halyčko-ruskjij vîstnyk (3)
Hospodar' (28)
Hospodar' (88)
Hospodar' y promŷšlennyk (44)
Hospodars'ka časopys' (140)
Hromada (83)
Hromads'kyj holos (76)
Iskra (99)
Kamenjari (127)
Katolyc'ka akcija (182)
Katolyc'kyj vsxid (106)
Kolomyjs'ke slovo (157)
Komar (178)
Lastôvka (29)
Listok (124)
Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk (90)
Litopys Červonoji kalyny (172)
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Археолог Іван Борковський: Дослідник Празького Королівського Замку

JAROSLAW PADOCH

Чотири роки тому, 17-го березня 1976 р., помер у чеській столиці, Празі, видатний український науковець — еміґрант, бувший старшина Української Галицької Армії якому особиста доля присудила віддати свій талант і свій піввіковий труд нерідній науці.

Вітаючи його в 1967 році з 70-літтям, член Чехо-Словацької Академії Наук, археолог Ян Філіп, авторитетно ствердив: «Сьогодні Іван Борковський є визнаним авторитетом слов'янської археології, . . . найбільше заслуженим працівником Археологічного Інституту ЧСАН, . . . безсумнівно найкращим знавцем і дослідником Празького Королівського Замку.»[1]

За численні дуже успішні розкопи, передусім королівського Празького Замку й ще старішого за нього Лівого Градця та їх дослідження, одержав Іван Борковський в 1961 р. найвищу наукову гідність доктора знань. П'ятнадцять років пізніше, вже після його смерти той же академік Філіп в його некролозі написав таке: «Відійшов археолог початків потуги перших Пшемиславичів і найстарішої історії Празького Замку, дослідник, який мав вплив на студії найстарішої слов'янської культури, керівний науковий працівник Археологічного Інституту Чеської Академії Наук у Празі.»[2]

Вичисляючи його історичні заслуги на полі чеської й загальнослов'янської археології, він зокрема відмітив, що Покійник увів у світову літературу так званий празький тип кераміки, а його докторська праця про шнурову кераміку в середущій Европі й низка пізніших праць пов'язали цю стародавню культуру зі Сходом Европи, зокрема з Україною.

[1] J. Filip, "Ivan Borkovský," *Archeologické Rozhledy* (*AR*), т. 19 (Прага, 1967), ст. 430–32.
[2] J. Filip, "I. Borkovský," *AR*, т. 28 (1976), ст. 558.

ІВАН БОРКОВСЬКИЙ — ЙОГО РІД І ЖИТТЄВІ ЕТАПИ

Іван Борковський народився в подружжі Івана Борковського й Мотрі Василик 8-го вересня 1897 р.[3] на галицькім Поділлі в селі Чортківці. У зв'язку з працею батька-залізничника проживала родина спершу в Ямниці та згодом у Станиславові. Крім Івана був у родині ще молодший брат Володимир, який поляг у визвольній війні, та п'ять сестер: Евгенія Ушкевич, яка проживає у Вильні, Софія Кічоровська, Ярослава Салик і Анна Ліськевич, всі в ЗСА, та Оксана Бібій в Канаді.

Родинна традиція зберегла пам'ять про східньо-українське походження Борковських. Найвизначнішим предком мав бути чернігівський полковник Василь Юрій Дунін-Борковський. Після упадку Гетьманщини три брати Борковські еміґрували на Захід. Один поселився в Польщі та спольщився, два другі осіли в Галичині: один у Станиславівщині та другий у Тернополі. В своєму листі до сестри Софії з листопада 1974 р. Іван Борковський згадує свого прапрадіда Карла Дуніна-Борковського та замічує, що хоч він і його нащадки старалися зберегти своє шляхетство, то все ж таки розплилися в селянстві.

Дід Івана, Ігнатій, Борковський, який оженився з Анною Ляляк, був господарем-селянином у селі Викторів, де й народився Іванів батько, також Іван. Мотря, мама проф. Івана Борковського, походила зі села Тисьмениця в Станиславівщині й була донькою Михайла Василика й Марти Голуб. Іван Борковський був двічі одружений. Перша дружина — доктор археології Лора Бек, з якою познайомився в часі студій, не пережила німецької окупації Чехо-Словаччини, а друга — також доктор археології Лібуша Янсонова є відомим знавцем кельтської археології. З першого подружжя народилася донька Тетяна Єва, за чоловіком Біла, яка живе в ЗСА.

До народньої школи ходив Іван Борковський в Станиславові, в якім він й осягнув середню освіту та пережив великі дні відбудови української державности на західніх землях, втраченої майже шістьсот років тому. Зразу був учнем у державній ґімназії, з якої після протипольських виступів був примушений перейти до місцевої державної семинарії, яку закінчив іспитом зрілости щойно в часі своєї служби в австрійському війську, щоби могти дістатися до офіцер-

[3] В гасловій частині *Енциклопедії українознавства* помилково подано рік: 1890.

ської школи. Воював на італійському й російському фронтах і одержав рангу поручника та два цісарські медалі за хоробрість. Після 1-го листопада 1918 р. зголосився до Української Галицької Армії (УГА) і був якийсь час командантом міської варти у своєму місті, яке на короткий час стало столицею Західньої Области Української Народньої Республіки. Згодом боровся підо Львовом на сихівському відтинку, а ще пізніше брав участь у Чортківській офензиві й разом з УГА відступив за Збруч. Після всієї героїки й трагіки у визвольних змаганнях опинився в польському таборі полонених у Тухолі, звідки в 1920 р. з трьома товаришами-полоненими втік крізь зелену границю й дістався до Праги. Тут проти всіх своїх сподівань і бажань прожив 56 років і тут закінчив життя. Після прослухання двох семестрів в Українськім Високім Педагогічнім Інституті ім. М. Драгоманова в Празі студіював він на чеськім Карловім Університеті, в якім у 1929 р. осягнув звання доктора археології.

В добрий час прибув Борковський до Праги. Це була доба, коли відродилася давня чеська держава й чехи зі завзяттям старалися затирати сліди німецького панування та відробляти неволею зумовлені занедбання. З особливим запалом узялися чеські вчені до студій давнього минулого — історичного та зокрема доісторичного, спертого головним чином на археологію. Чеська археологія була ще недостатньо розвиненою під непереможним впливом німецької, не завжди безсторонньої при розгляді доісторичного минулого чеської землі й народу та прадавніх поселень слов'ян на середньо-европейських просторах, на яких поширилася слов'янська культура.

Під проводом відомого чеського археолога професора Любомира Нідерлє в його археологічному семінарі почала виростати перша післявоєнна ґенерація чеських археологів. До університетських викладів і семінарійних дискусій під проводом професора Нідерлє дійшли виклади новогабілітованих професорів: Альбіна Стоцького (1920), Еміля Шімка (1921) і Я. Шраніля (1922). Звільнені від чужої окупації й обмежень студії, зокрема студії чеської історії і передісторії, тобто археології, розрослися й охопили широке поле доісторичних і історичних часів чеської землі на тлі загальноевропейської історії.

В згаданому семінарі зустрівся Борковський в 1922 р. з пізнішим академіком Яном Філіпом і в піднесеній атмосфері перших кроків відродженої чеської історичної науки виховувався й приготовлювався до наукової дослідчої праці. Дружні зв'язки з Філіпом вдержував він до кінця життя, чому в значній мірі завдячуємо ближчі відомості

про життя й працю Борковського та його заслуги для науки, зокрема чеської. Щасливим збігом обставин Борковський вже в раннім 1923 р. зв'язався з Археологічним Інститутом Чесько-Словацької Академії Наук (ЧСАН). Він став працювати при різних розкопах ведених цим інститутом і коли в 1925 р. започатковано розлогі розкопи празького замку Градчан, доручено йому вже як кваліфікованому археологові опрацювати кераміку, придбану в часі розкопів. Рік пізніше брав він активну участь у самих розкопах, а згодом почав їх проводити самостійно. В 1927 р. став він співпрацівником і асистентом тодішнього провідного керівника розкопів замку — кустоса Національного Музею в Празі, Карла Ґутта. Вже тоді виявилися особливі здібності Борковського при переводжуванні розкопів. Не пройшло багато часу, як Борковському стали доручати найважливіші завдання при розкопах найдорожчих чехам пам'яток: Празького замку, Лівого Градця, славного поховання в Жалові й ін. Незабаром Археологічний Інститут ЧСАН утворив на самому Празькому замку окремий відділ, якого керівником став Борковський.

Вже в часі студій виявив він науковий талант і здобув признання професорів. Зацікавлений добою молодшого неоліту виготував він докторську працю про шнурову кераміку в Середній Европі.[4] Праця здобула велике признання за ширину й методу досліду та науковий апарат включно з картографічним опрацюванням дисертації.

Здобуття докторату з археології не закінчило формальних університетських студій Борковського. Поза археологічними студіями, зокрема в розкопах найцінніших і найстарших пам'яток історичної культури Чехії він завершив ще й історичні студії новим докторатом. Третім докторатом Борковського був наданий йому в 1961 р. найвищий науковий ступінь доктора знань (Doctor Scientiarum). Крім цього він одержав у 1954 р. наукову нагороду м. Праги, а десять літ пізніше чеська столиця відзначила його вдруге за участь у підготові фундаментальної «Історії Праги.» В свої 70-ті роковини він одержав державне відзначення «За визначне діло.»

НАУКОВА ПРАЦЯ І ЗДОБУТКИ

Ширина наукових зацікавлень Борковського чимала, але для загальнослов'янської культури, а зокрема української, чи не найбільше значення мають його глибокі досліди ганчарства та кераміки, зо-

[4] "Východní oblast kulturní a otázka šňůrové keramiky" (Прага, 1928).

крема т. зв. шнурової культури, які ввели його ім'я до наукових словників світу.

З повним правом стоїть сьогодні доктор Іван Борковський, доктор наук, на чолі всіх, хто займається історією слов'янської кераміки, зокрема проблемами перших століть середньовіччя — стверджує провідний чеський археологічний журнал *Památky Archeologické* з нагоди його 70-ліття.[5]

Хоч своєї докторської праці про шнурову кераміку в середущій Европі Борковський не опублікував в її первісному вигляді, все таки вона — за словами академіка Філіпа — становить один з важливіших етапів наукової діяльности Борковського і стала вихідною точкою для низки студій, в яких автор, розв'язуючи складну проблематику однієї з найдавніших культур, звернув увагу на східньоевропейські області, зокрема українську, та в значній мірі вплинув на зрозуміння генези цієї культури і її відношення до загальноевропейських впливів.[6]

Шнурова культура прийшла зі Шлеська й при кінці неолітної доби (енеоліт) поширилася в Галичині й Волині, рідко досягаючи Дніпра.[7] Вона мусіла зацікавити Борковського, який з особливою увагою досліджував культурні зв'язки України зі Заходом. Цій культурі присвятив він крім своєї докторської дисертації ще дванадцять інших робіт. Про міжнародну вагу цієї тематики говорить факт, що ці його праці були видані в п'яти мовах: чеській (7), німецькій (3), англійській (1), французькій (1) і в українській (1).

Поза згаданою докторською дисертацією «Východní oblast kulturní a otázka šňůrové keramiky,» над якою працював Борковський в 1928–29 рр., слід відмітити передусім праці, які прямо відносяться до України, а саме: «Šňůrová keramika na Ukrajíně» (1963), «Interprétation de quelques objets trouvés dans le tumulus de Maikop» (виголошена на міжнароднім преісторичнім і протоісторичнім конґресі в Ослью 1936 р.), «Nález v Majkopu a jeho interpretace» (1936) та «Значіння деяких предметів, знайдених в Майкопській могилі.»[8] Три останні праці торкаються дослідів, зв'язаних з розкопами одної з великих могил на Кубанщині з похованням племінного вождя з-

[5] P., "Významné jubileum Dr. Ivana Borkovského, Dr. Sc.," *Památky Archeologické* (*PA*), т. 58 (Прага, 1967), ст. 616.

[6] Filip, "Ivan Borkovský," *AR*, т. 19, ст. 430.

[7] Я. Пастернак, «Шнурова культура,» *Енциклопедія українознавства*, т. 1, кн. 2, ст. 331–32.

[8] *Праці Українського історично-філологічного товариства в Празі*, т. 2 (Прага, 1939).

перед прибл. 2,500–2,000 рр. до Хр.[9] Інші праці відносяться до шнурової культури в Центральній Европі, зокрема ж у Чехії і Моравії (шенфельдська кераміка), Німеччині (одерська культура) й ін.

Важливою працею Борковського в тій ділянці, яка могла дорого коштувати йому, була «Старослов'янська кераміка в середній Европі.»[10] В цій праці вдалось авторові не лиш обоснувати шляхом типологічної аналізи і ввести в світ археології так званий празький тип слов'янської кераміки, але й довести, що слов'янські поселення в середущій Европі заіснували не пізніше 6-го століття. Він довів, що празький тип був поширеним серед слов'янських поселень від Балкану до Саксонії, та що знайдена ним сіра попільниця на погребищі перед Чернінським палацом у Празі є найстарішою слов'янською пам'яткою в середущій Европі.

Праця звернула увагу німецької окупаційної влади і німецьких наукових кіл, які обстоювали безпереривність і від найраніших часів германське заселення території, обнятої празьким типом слов'янської культури, спираючись на тезу, що слов'яни прибули до середущої Европи щойно в часах аварів. Це саме заперечив Борковський, який довів, що празький тип походив з часів перелому 5-го й 6-го століть, себто, що німецька колонізація цих земель прийшла пізніше після заселення їх слов'янами. Книжка Борковського була стягнена з полиць книгарень, а німецькі науковці Л. Зотз і Б. вон Ріхтгофен дістали доручення заперечити твердження Борковського в окремому виданні. Незабаром появилася книжка обох авторів під назвою *Ist Böhmen-Mähren die Urheimat der Tschechen?*[11] Від чималої біди врятував Борковського факт, що його книжка появилася за дозволом німецького цензора, який не зорієнтувався у політичнім значенні висновків автора й мусів рятувати власну шкіру. Двобій з нацистською наукою все ж таки виграв Борковський, який присвятив цій небезпечній темі нові досліди й публікації.

Для старослов'янської й особливо чеської археології заслужився Борковський найбільше своїми розкопами й студіями різних історичних місць у Празі та околиці, а передусім Лівого Градця і королівського замку Градчан.

Розкопи Лівого Градця були розпочаті в 1939 р. й закінчені в 1954.

[9] *Енциклопедія українознавства,* т. 2, кн. 4, ст. 1434.

[10] "Staroslovanská keramika ve střední Evropě," *Studie k počátkům slovanské kultury* (Прага, 1940).

[11] L. Zotz i B. von Richthofen, *Ist Böhmen-Mähren die Urheimat der Tschechen?* (Лейпціг, 1940).

Лівий Градець, городище положене 14 кілометрів на північ від Праги, вписався в історію Чехії як перший осідок князів Пшемиславичів. В ньому перший історичний християнський князь Боживой заснував у 874 р. першу чеську церкву, а в 982 р. обрано там чеського єпископа Адальберта-Войтєха. Ото ж дослідження цієї історичної пам'ятки торкалися прямо найстарішої чеської історії й державности. Керуючи ними, Борковський придбав важливий матеріял для дослідження найстаріших плянів та техніки будови господарських і житлових будов з часу, коли відбулися переносини княжого осідку з Градця на Празький замок.

Вислід своїх дослідів опублікував Борковський в 19 працях, серед яких належить назвати передусім синтетичний огляд розкопів і здобутого матеріялу *Levý Hradec: Nejstarší sídlo Přemyslovců.* В тій праці, що вийшла у видавництві Чесько-Словацької Академії Наук у Празі 1965 р., побіч 92 сторінок тексту поміщено 39 ілюстрацій і світлин з розкопу. Також слід згадати працю Борковського, що появилася так само накладом ЧСАН у 1966 р., а саме *Levý Hradec und die Prager Burg.*

Вершком життєвого труду доктора Борковського є велика, розкішно видана книга, що появилася в Празі 1975 р., *Svatojiřska basilica a klášter na Pražském hradě,* як 18-ий випуск найбільше престижевої чеської археологічної серії, яку видає Археологічний Інститут ЧСАН, а саме *Monumenta archaeologica.*[12]

Ця книга дає дуже докладний звіт з нових основних розкопів, які започатковано в 1959 р. на третьому шарі Празького замку, зокрема Святоюрської базиліки та пов'язаного з нею першого в Чехії жіночого Бенедиктинського манастиря, що постав у самих початках історичних чеських князівств. На книгу складаються 164 сторінки тексту та 136 сторінок з 234 світлинами, які змальовують історію тих розкопок, що коштували Борковському значну частину його життя. Хоч нові розкопи базиліки й манастиря почалися в січні 1959 р., проте, як уже сказано, в розкопах Празького замку Борковський брав участь від своїх ранніх студентських років. Коли врахувати час опрацьовування знахідок і публікацію численних праць, включно до останньої, появу якої автор пережив лише на один рік, то в цілім

[12] Ivan Borkovský, *Svatojiřska basilica a klášter na Pražském hradě,* Monumenta archaeologica. Acta prehistorica, protohistorica et historica Instituti archaeologici Academiae scientarium Bohemislovacae curante, Johanne Filip edita, т. 18 (Прага, 1975).

своїм маєстаті стає історичний подарунок братньому чеському народові від українського іміґранта: 50 літ безперервного, відданого труду для науки й слави чеського народу.

Адже йшло про найважливішу й найдорожчу для чехів пам'ятку національного народження й розвитку. Празький замок був осідком Пшемиславичів у добі поставання чеської держави, а його шари говорять про його тисячолітню історію. Борковському повелося відкрити досі цілком невідомі гроби князів з роду Пшемиславичів, їх дружин і дітей та в підвалах жіночого манастиря гробівці перших його ігумень. Він увів до історії певні відомості про найстарші сакральні будови в Чехії.

Його розкопи базиліки св. Юрія потвердили свідоцтво папи Івана VII про те, що базиліку вибудував князь Болеслав II в 10-ому столітті на місці старого костелу, який був поставленим його дідом князем Вратиславом з наміром утворити єпископський осідок. До часу розкопу не було добре відомо, хто з князів Пшемиславичів був похований на празькім замку. Розкопи встановили гріб князя Болеслава II та правдоподібно й Болеслава I і його дружини, похованих ще за передхристиянським обрядом. Наполегливість Борковського і його докладне знання історичних джерел та вікових леґенд дозволили йому встановити багато до того часу невідомих фактів і потвердити деякі передачі усної традиції. Стверджено, що при базиліці св. Юрія був заснований перший у Чехії жіночий манастир св. Бенедикта та що в цей спосіб базиліка сталася манастирським костелом. Борковський зумів також установити, що князь Болеслав II побудував над гробом першої ігумені манастиря — княжни Млади каплицю Пресв. Діви Марії й відкрив місце поховань ігумень і черниць.[13]

Борковський не обмежувався самими розкопами й нагромадженням знахідок. Він упорядкував їх часово й предметно і, як з черепків збитого збанка, складав цілість-синтезу. Його співробітники й зверхники в Академії Наук подивляли його знання й інтуіцію, яка підказувала йому, де можна й де не слід копати, та його методу дослідів, яку він передав низці дослідників молодшої ґенерації чеських археологів.

Поза Празьким замком і Лівим Градцем перевів Борковський низку

[13] I. Borkovský, "Kostel Panny Marie na Pražském hradě," *PA*, т. 43 (1953), ст. 129–200.

розкопів у самій Празі і її околиці та й подальше. Поважний успіх осягнув він при розкопах у Мишецьких Жегровицях, в яких знайшов кельтські пластинки, визнані за унікати в цілій кельтській середній Европі. З інших розкопів варто згадати погребище в Жилові та з розкопів празьких: погребище коло Чернінського палацу, на Лотеранській площі і Бартоломійській вулиці, на Штепанській вулиці, на просторі Вифлеємської каплиці, в манастирі св. Анни, на площі біля костела св. Пилипа і Якова, ротонди св. Лаврентія й ін. Цим розкопам присвятив Борковський багато розвідок і статтей; самим розкопам у Празі, поза замком і Лівим Градцем, тринадцять.

БІБЛІОГРАФІЯ ПРАЦЬ ІВАНА БОРКОВСЬКОГО

Складення бібліографії Івана Борковського й познайомлення з його великим науковим дорібком не представляють великої проблеми завдяки його приятелеві, декілька разів згаданому академікові Янові Філіпові, який двічі вшанував заслуги Борковського, раз у його сімдесятріччя, вдруге після смерти. Крім зі знанням і сантиментом написаних статтей, акад. Філіп подбав про складення й надрукування водночас зі статтями бібліографії Борковського, яку опрацював співробітник Академії Я.Ратай. У списку праць д-ра Івана Борковського з 1967 р. він подав 148 творів[14] та в доповненні бібліографії праць д-ра І. Борковського з 1976 р. додав ще 8,[15] отже разом ця бібліографія подає 156 позицій.

За зладженим Ратаєм поділом охоплює бібліографія такі тематичні розділи: Празький замок — 52 праці, Лівий Градець — 19, розкопи в Празі — 13, загальнослов'янська археологія — 8, шнурова культура — 12, різні — 18, консервація — 2, некрологи — 2, рецензії — 70, разом 196. Слід зазначити, що у відділі рецензій автор подав точні відомості лише щодо 30 позицій, а щодо останніх 40 дав лише загальну інформацію, де вони були надруковані. Варто подати, що багато рецензій відносяться до праць українських археологів й істориків в Україні й на еміґрації, а саме: М. Брайчевського, В. Щербаківського, Я. Брика, І. Левицького, М. Рудинського, Я. Пастернака й ін. Поміж працями подані в розділі «Varia» є дві, що відно-

[14] J. Rataj, "Seznem prací Dr. Ivana Borkovského," *AR*, т. 19, ст. 535–40.

[15] J. Rataj, "Doplněk k bibliografii prací PhDr Ivana Borkovského, Dr.Sc.," *AR*, т. 28, ст. 555.

сяться до української археології, з них одна про знахідки бронзи на Карпатській Україні.[16]

Вище подану бібліографію Борковського не можна вважати повною. Крім одної не подано його праць в українській мові. Наприклад, немає в ній статті п. н. «Новіші способи консервувати дерев'яні предмети, знайдені в часі археологічних дослідів.»[17] Автор майбутньої повної бібліографії Борковського мусітиме подбати про її доповнення працями друкованими в українських виданнях.

ЗВ'ЯЗКИ З УКРАЇНСЬКОЮ НАУКОЮ Й ГРОМАДОЮ

Рання еміґрація Івана Борковського на дала йому багато можливостей працювати для української науки й громади. Та все ж він цілком не відчужився від них і по своїй спроможности не жалів для них труду.

Особливо тісно зв'язався він з Українським Вільним Університетом (УВУ), який після короткого осідку у Відні переніс свій осідок до Праги. Після габілітації в УВУ був він приватним доцентом і в 1932 р. одержав він *veniam docendi* як асистент при катедрі передісторичної археології, якою завідував проф. Вадим Щербаківський. Від 1933 р. Борковський спершу як доцент, від 1935 р. як надзвичайний професор та від 1938 р. як звичайний професор викладав археологію. В 1935–36 рр. викладав на теми «Проблеми передісторії Европи (передісторичні раси, народи і культури в світлі теперішнього стану дослідів)» та «Розвиток меровінської фібули.» В 1939 р. обрано Борковського ректором УВУ; уряд ректора займав він ще два рази, в 1941/42 і 1942/43 рр. За його ректорства вийшов друком третій том Наукового Збірника УВУ (Прага 1942), в якому поміщено історію УВУ за друге десятиріччя. В цьому ж Збірнику, за традицією, надруковано інавґураційну доповідь Борковського на тему «Новіші способи консервувати дерев'яні предмети, знайдені в часі археологічних дослідів» та поміщено його як ректора велику світлину.

Борковський був дійсним членом Українського Історично-Філоло-

[16] "Tři hromadné nálezy bronzů z Podkarpatské Rusi," *PA*, т. 40 (1934–35), ст. 99–102; "Prehistorická činnost na ukrajinském území v letech 1927–1930," *Obzor Praehistorický*, т. 9 (1930–35), ст. 191–97.

[17] *Науковий збірник Українського вільного університету*, т. 3 (Прага, 1942), ст. 95–96.

гічного Товариства в Празі, в якому виголошував доповіді й помістив у Працях УІФТ статтю, про що була згадка раніше.[18]

На внесок археолога Ярослава Пастернака був Борковський вибраний дійсним членом Історично-Філософічної Секції Наукового Товариства ім. Шевченка у Львові в 1933 р. Коли ж польський уряд в цім 1933 р. не дозволив на виїзд галицько-українських делегатів на конґрес Pax Romana в Празі, Борковський репрезентував на цім конґресі галицько-українські католицькі організації на основі уповажнення й прохання митрополита Андрея Шептицького.

Оцінюючи чималі наукові досягнення Івана Борковського для світової науки й не менші заслуги для науки й народу чеського, важко зрозуміти, чому його не йменовано членом Чесько-Словацької Академії Наук. Можливо, що причина не в чеській невдячності, але в незавидних умовах, в яких в останніх чотирьох десятиріччях перебуває чеський нарід і його наука. Можна думати, що як німецька окупаційна влада не забула Борковському його прослов'янську працю, так і післявоєнні опікуни Чехії не подарували йому його участи у визвольних змаганнях та ректорства в Українськім Вільнім Університеті. Мабуть це мав на увазі Борковський, коли в листі до сестер писав у 1960 р. — «УВУ тут уважають за націоналістичний, що не було, ані не є правдою.»

Та залишім нерозгаданим це й так академічне питання й даймо останнє слово передовому чеському археологові академікові Янові Філіпові, який закінчив некролог Івана Борковського словами: «Діло його життя, за яке наша наука йому вдячна, остане твердим стовпом нашого знання також у майбутньому. В подробицях може воно бути доповнене або й частково зревідоване, але як цілість запевнить Борковському тривале місце в науковому поході нашого століття.»[19]

Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York

[18] Симон Наріжний, *Українська еміграція: Культурна праця української еміґрації між двома війнами,* частина 1 (Прага, 1942).
[19] *AR,* т. 28, ст. 555.

The Sack of Kiev of 1482 in Contemporary Muscovite Chronicle Writing

JAROSLAW PELENSKI

On 1 September 1482 (St. Simeon's Day), a Tatar army from the Crimea under the command of Khan Mengli Girey (1468–1478, with interruptions; 1478–1514) conquered and sacked the city of Kiev as part of a major campaign against the Podolian and Kievan lands. The principal facts of this campaign have been reconstructed from the sources by East European and Russian historians, who have provided us with a fairly accurate and composite picture of events leading up to the conquest, the sack itself, and the raid which followed.[1]

Mengli Girey's invasion of the Ukrainian lands and the sack of Kiev resulted from a reversal of alliances in Eastern Europe which brought about a period of Muscovite-Crimean cooperation against the disintegrating Golden Horde and Poland-Lithuania. The cooperation lasted, with several interruptions, for a relatively prolonged period, namely, from 1472 to 1511. This reversal of alliances has been viewed by Russian historians as a great diplomatic achievement on the part of Grand Prince Ivan III.[2]

The stage for the invasion and conquest of Kiev in 1482 was set by seven Muscovite diplomatic missions to Khan Mengli Girey in the years from 1472 to 1482.[3] The documentary evidence — i.e., the diplomatic instructions for the preparation of this invasion — remains among the most

[1] For a discussion of Mengli Girey's campaign of 1482 and the sack of Kiev of 1482, see F. Papée, *Polska i Litwa na przełomie wieków średnich,* vol. 1 (Cracow, 1904), pp. 83–92; M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy,* 10 vols. (reprint ed., New York, 1954–58), vol. 4 (2nd ed., 1907/1955), pp. 326–27; K. V. Bazilevič, *Vnešnjaja politika Russkogo centralizovannogo gosudarstva* (Moscow, 1952), pp. 192–99. The best introduction to the history of the Crimean Tatar Khanate, and the literature on the subject, has been provided by A. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars* (Stanford, 1978), pp. 1–47, 231–55.

[2] Concerning the most recent example of such a view, cf. Bazilevič, *Vnešnjaja politika,* pp. 169–281.

[3] *Sbornik Imperatorskogo russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva* (hereafter *SIRIO*), 41 (1884): 1–9, 9–13, 14–16, 16–24, 25–28, 28–32, 32–34.

complete records preserved for that period. These diplomatic instructions and narrative sources, such as the official grand princely chronicles, leave no doubt whatsoever that Ivan III was the principal instigator of the invasion, and that he suggested a specific area for the Crimean attack. The Muscovite envoy Mixajlo Vasil'evič Kutuzov, who was sent to Mengli Girey in May of 1482, was instructed to request urgently an invasion of the Lithuanian lands and, specifically, of "the Podolian land, or the Kievan localities"[4] by the Crimean Tatars. The account of the official Muscovite chronicles confirms the version of the diplomatic instructions that the invasion was undertaken at the request (*po slovu*) of Ivan III.[5] The latter's appreciation of the Crimean adherence to the alliance and fulfillment of the Crimea's obligations, which obviously included the invasion of the Ukrainian lands, was conveyed to Mengli Girey by Prince Ivan Volodimirovič Lyko-Obolenskij in the spring of 1483.[6]

The great Tatar raid of 1482 was a complete success from the Crimean point of view. Ivan Xodkevyč, the palatine of Kiev, received notice about the advance of the Tatar army only four days prior to the actual attack. He attempted to organize a defense of the city and the castle in which he took refuge along with his family, the abbot and monks of the Monastery of the Caves, and the treasury chest.[7] However, the defenders of Kiev could not withstand the onslaught of the superior Tatar forces, who conquered the city without much difficulty and put it, the suburbs, and the neighboring villages to the torch. Most of those who escaped the fire and death at the hands of the invaders, including the palatine, his wife and their two children, were captured by the Tatars. The palatine's wife and their son Aleksander were later released for appropriate ransom money. The palatine himself and his daughter were less fortunate and died in Tatar captivity. Following the sack of the city of Kiev, the Tatar army devastated the Kievan land, took many captives (*polonu bezčisleno vzja*), and, according to the Pskovian Chronicle, captured and sacked eleven additional border towns of Old Rus'.[8] The sack of Kiev was so terrible that forty years following the event it was still remembered as a shattering experience and portrayed as such in contemporary sources.[9]

4 *SIRIO* 41 (1884): 34.

5 For the best version of the account, see the [Nikifor] Simeonov Chronicle (*Sch*), published under the editorship of A. E. Presnjakov in *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*), 18 (1913): 270.

6 *SIRIO* 41 (1884): 35.

7 Papée, *Polska i Litwa*, pp. 89–90.

8 A. N. Nasonov, ed., *Pskovskie letopisi*, vols. 1–2 (Moscow, 1941–55), 1: 62–63.

9 Papée, *Polska i Litwa*, p. 91.

In the aftermath of the sack, the ancient city of Kiev became desolate. It lapsed into considerable decay at the end of the fifteenth century, and was partially rebuilt only in the mid-seventeenth century. Consequently, Kievan urban life became centered in another part of the city and assumed a somewhat different character.[10] The three sacks of Kiev by Mongol and Tatar armies (that of Khan Batu in 1240, that of Edigü in 1416, and that of Mengli Girey in 1482) not only undermined considerably its political and economic position, but also significantly contributed to its decline as one of the principal centers of Old Rus'.

The sack of Kiev of 1482 has been viewed in scholarly literature primarily as a significant political and military event in the intricate relationships among Muscovy, Poland-Lithuania, the disintegrating Golden Horde and her Tatar successor states — that is, the Kazan, Crimean, and Astrakhan Khanates. Another important dimension of this event, which has not received the attention it deserves, is its treatment in Muscovite chronicle writing, especially in conjunction with the origins of the official Muscovite claims to the "Kievan inheritance."[11] The sack of Kiev under discussion occurred during the first major phase of the formulation of the Muscovite claims that extended over a period of approximately half a century (1454–1504), and, more specifically, between the second and third stages of their definition. It also happened roughly between the first two phases of a protracted, three-centuries-old contest between Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania for the lands of Old Rus'. The first phase extended from 1449 to 1485, and resulted in the annexation of two Great Russian states — that is, Great Novgorod and the Grand Principality of Tver — by Muscovy. The second phase covered the years 1487–1537, in the course of which five major wars were waged and Muscovy was able to conquer not only Great Russian border areas, but also Belorussian territories and some lands of Ukrainian Rus'.[12]

The first stage of the articulation of official Muscovite claims to Kiev

[10] V. Antonovyč, "Kiev, ego sud'ba i značenie s XIV po XVI stoletie (1362–1569)," *Kievskaja starina* 1 (January 1882): 1–48, especially 42. Antonovyč's seminal essay was reprinted in his *Monografii po istorii zapadnoj i jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1885), pp. 221–64.

[11] For a discussion of the origins of these claims, see J. Pelenski, "The Origins of the Official Muscovite Claims to the 'Kievan Inheritance,'" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 1 (March, 1977): 29–52. The image of Kiev in Muscovite official and semi-official sources of the 1550s and 1560s has been analyzed by J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438–1560s)* (The Hague and Paris, 1974), pp. 113–17.

[12] An outline of the major methodological and theoretical problems connected with the study of this contest in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is presented in my unpublished study, "The Contest between Muscovite Russia and Poland-Lithuania

coincided with the Muscovite ideological awakening of the 1450s and 1460s, following the Council of Florence (1438–39) and the fall of Constantinople (1453). It was reflected particularly in the *Vita* of Dmitrij Ivanovič [Donskoj] in which the concept of direct and uninterrupted dynastic continuity from the Kievan ruler Vladimir I to the aforesaid Muscovite grand prince was developed in Muscovite official thought for the first time. During the second stage, which belonged to the early 1470s, the editors of the official Muscovite Codex of 1472 not only integrated this *Vita* into their work, but also formulated their own version of the dynastic *translatio* theory from Kiev through Suzdal'-Vladimir to Muscovy. The third stage can be dated to the period from 1493 to 1504, when the Muscovite court formulated its claims to all of Rus' and, specifically, to Kiev in its struggle against the Jagiellonian dual monarchy.[13]

Four different versions and interpretations of the sack of Kiev of 1482 can be found in Muscovite chronicles of the last two decades of the fifteenth century, and one of them reappeared in the same or in a slightly edited form in Muscovite chronicle writing of the sixteenth century. The most factual and extensive of the four is an annalistic tale included as a separate account under the year 1483 in some manuscript copies of what is now referred to as the Vologda-Perm Chronicle (*VPCh*).[14] It reads as follows:

[*About the Conquest of the City of Kiev by the Crimean Tsar (Khan)*]. In the year 1483,[15] because of our sins, the Lord did not spare his own image[s] [the icons] and

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for the Lands of Old Rus' (1450s–1580s)." For a discussion of Polish claims to Kiev and the whole land of Rus' in connection with the incorporation of the Ukrainian lands into Crown Poland in 1569, see J. Pelenski, "The Incorporation of the Ukrainian Lands into Crown Poland (1569): Socio-material Interest and Ideology — A Reexamination," in *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists*, Warsaw, 21–27 August 1973, vol. 3 (The Hague and Paris, 1973), pp. 19–52; and idem, "Inkorporacja ukraińskich ziem dawnej Rusi do Korony w 1569 roku: Ideologia i korzyści — próba nowego spojrzenia," *Przegląd Historyczny* 65, no. 2 (1974): 243–62.

13 Pelenski, "Origins of the Official Muscovite Claims," pp. 45–52.

14 The two principal manuscript copies of the *VPCh* are the Copy of the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery and the Sinodal Copy. The Copy of the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery has been published in a critical edition as the *VPCh* in volume 26 of *PSRL* (Moscow, 1959) under the editorship of M. N. Tixomirov; it includes variants from the Sinodal Copy, as well as other manuscript copies. The Sinodal Copy had already been utilized by N. M. Karamzin in his *Istorija gosudarstva rossijskogo*, 12 vols. in 3 bks., 5th ed. (St. Petersburg, 1842–43).

15 The correct date of the conquest, namely, 1 September 1482, was provided by the so-called Short Kievan Chronicle, entitled "The Origins of the Princes of the Principality of Rus'" (862–1514), which was incorporated in the chronicle known as the Supras'l' Manuscript, published under the auspices of M. N. Obolenskij, *Supras'l'skaja rukopis', soderžaščaja Novgorodskuju i Kievskuju sokraščennyja letopisi* (Moscow, 1836), pp. 138, 147 (cf. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 4: 326, fn. 2).

the Holy Sacraments and let loose the godless Tsar Mengli Girey, the son of [Khan] [H]Ači [= Ḥāǧǧī] Girey, who, having gathered mighty forces, advanced against the Lithuanian land, against the famous city of Kiev. Ivan Xodkevyč was the Viceroy and the Palatine of the city at that time. He received the message about the Tsar's advance from Perekop to Kiev only four days [before his arrival]. He [then] strengthened the fortifications of the city. And many people fled to the city and the abbot with all the monks came from the Monastery of the Caves into the city, and he brought with him the treasury [chest], and the sacred sacramental vessels to the city. And the Tsar reached the city on the day of St. Simeon, who changes years [on the First of September], at one o'clock, arranged his regiments, and approached the city, surrounding it. And because of God's anger, after much struggle, he set fire to the city, and all the people perished and were put to death. And a small number of those who managed to flee from the city were captured, and the suburbs and neighboring villages were burned. Following all this, he did not disband his troops, but departed to his own Horde.[16]

This version, which apparently has not been critically analyzed, brings up questions as to its origins and the context in which it might have been composed. The manuscript copies of the *VPCh* in which the tale was inserted contained materials similar to those included in the Simeonov Chronicle (*SCh*) and other official Muscovite chronicles for the period from 1425 to 1480. However, for the period from 1480 to 1538 they contained more original materials of a mixed nature, some of them praising the policies of the Muscovite court, which was a reflection of the official chronicle writing, and others expressing an independent point of view.[17]

The detailed description of the event, including such precise information as the exact time, suggests that the material for the tale was provided by an eyewitness to the event, or by someone who was familiar with the circumstances of Mengli Girey's invasion and the response to his advance

[16] *PSRL* 26 (1959): 274–75. Excerpts from this tale had been quoted by Karamzin from the Sinodal Copy (*Istorija gosudarstva rossijskogo*, bk. 2 [notes to vol. 6], p. 43, fn. 268). They correspond to the text of the tale included in the Copy of the Kirillo-Belozerskij Monastery.

[17] For a discussion of the materials in the *VPCh* up to the year 1480, see A. A. Šaxmatov, *Obozrenie russkix letopisnyx svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938), pp. 346–60; Ja. S. Lur'e, "Nikanorovskaja i Vologodsko-Permskaja letopisi kak otraženie velikoknjažeskogo svoda načala 70-x godov XV v.," *Vspomagatel'nye istoričeskie discipliny* 5 (1973): 219–50; and the relevant discussion in Ja. S. Lur'e, *Obščerusskie letopisi XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1976), chap. 3 (cf. also my review of this important work in the *American Historical Review* 84, no. 3 [1979]: 805–806). An analysis of the materials in the *VPCh* following 1480 was provided by M. N. Tixomirov, "O Vologodsko-Permskoj letopisi," *Problemy istočnikovedenija* 3 (1940): 225–44. Tixomirov observed that the tale "About the Conquest of the City of Kiev by the Tsar," included in the *VPCh*, was not available in other chronicle compilations. The two accounts of the Short Kievan Chronicle to be found in the Supras'l' Manuscript are brief and lack the information of the account included in *VPCh*.

by Ivan Xodkevyč, the palatine of Kiev, and, in particular, with the reaction of the abbot and the monks of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves. The information could have come from someone in Kiev, possibly in the monastery, or from someone in Muscovy who had close contacts with Kiev and the monastery. The tale was most probably composed soon after the event; it was carefully edited and given a separate title. The exclusively religious interpretation of the sack of Kiev ("because of our sins," "because of God's anger"), and the display of an appropriate empathy for "the famous city of Kiev" which had experienced such a great misfortune indicate that the author/editor of this annalistic tale must have been associated with some Great Russian ecclesiastical circles. At the same time, he carefully avoided any allusions to the political framework in which the event took place, or to the broader ideological ramifications it could have set in motion. Whereas the account was disapproving of the sack per se, it did not, significantly enough, mention either the Polish-Lithuanian ruler or the Muscovite grand prince Ivan III, or, in particular, the latter's role in the Crimean campaign. The tale refrained from any indirect criticism of the Muscovite ruler, which suggests that its author/editor did not wish to present him in an unfavorable light or as someone who had instigated an attack on the most venerable city of Old Rus' and on fellow Orthodox Christians. The author/editor did his utmost to record the event as truthfully as he could and, at the same time, to spare the Muscovite ruler the deserved religious embarrassment.

Curiously enough, the tale in question is included in the copies of the *VPCh* among entries closely connected with the Vologda and Perm areas. More specifically, it appears following the information about the fire in Vologda given under the entry for the year 1481.[18] However, it is unlikely that it was composed at the provincial episcopal chancery of Perm. More probably it was written and edited at a Muscovite monastery which had some connections with Perm. A tale of this sort could not have been included in a chronicle compiled at this bishopric without the permission either of the bishop of Perm himself or of some other appropriate authority. However, the tale was not disseminated widely, and significantly enough, it was not included in its entirety in any of the central Muscovite chronicles.

The remaining three Muscovite versions of the sack of Kiev of 1482 were abbreviated and edited accounts that contained less factual information. Instead, they conveyed a pointed political and ideological interpre-

[18] *PSRL* 26 (1959): 274.

tation. From among the three the official version of the Muscovite court deserves special attention. It was included in the official continuations of the Muscovite Codex of 1479, compiled in the 1480s and 1490s, with the best and probably the earliest text, preserved in the form of an annalistic tale with a separate title in the *SCh*:

About the Great City of Kiev. In the year 1484,[19] on the first day [of September] at the request of Grand Prince Ivan [III] Vasil'evič of all Rus', Tsar [Khan] Mengli Girey of the Perekop Horde of the Crimea arrived with all his mighty [army] and conquered the city of Kiev and set fire to it. And he captured Ivan Xodkevyč, the Palatine of Kiev, and took a countless multitude of prisoners, and he devastated the Kievan land because of the King's [Kazimierz Jagiellończyk's] transgression who brought Tsar [Khan] Ahmet of the Great [Golden] Horde with all his forces against Grand Prince Ivan Vasil'evič, wishing to destroy the Christian faith.[20]

By carefully selecting the convenient principal points, such as the greatness of Kiev (in the title), the explicit request of Ivan III to attack Kiev, the power of the Crimean khan, and the conquest and the devastation of Kiev and the Kievan land by the Crimean Tatars, the editor of the official account offered his own interpretation. He proposed that the sack of Kiev was undertaken as a retaliation for the Polish-Lithuanian ruler's alleged instigation of Ahmet's invasion of Muscovy in 1480, which ended with the famous *Vigil on the Ugra River* that led to Ahmet's retreat, his subsequent political failure, and the symbolic end of the Golden Horde's overlordship over Muscovy.[21] The juxtaposition of the two events, separated only by two years' time, was a convenient device used by the editor to impose the blame for the Kievan catastrophe and for the intent to harm Christianity on the Polish-Lithuanian ruler. The city of Kiev was treated in the tale as a major city in a foreign country, and no claim to any special relationship of Moscow to that city was intimated in this official account.

[19] The correct date was 1482.

[20] *PSRL* 18 (1913): 270. The text of the official version was also included in several Muscovite chronicle compilations of the late fifteenth century, among them the Uvarov Copy ending with the year 1492 (*PSRL* 25 [1949] [cf. 330]), the Abbreviated Codex of 1493 (*PSRL* 27 [1962] [cf. 286]), and the Abbreviated Codex of 1495 (*PSRL* 27 [1962] [cf. 357–58]). This official version was also inserted in the sixteenth-century chronicles, such as the Ioasaf Chronicle (A. A. Zimin, ed., *Ioasafovskaja letopis'* [Moscow, 1957], p. 124), the Voskresensk Chronicle (*PSRL* 8 [1859]: 215), and the Nikon Chronicle (*PSRL* 12 [1901/1965]: 215).

[21] For a discussion of the Russian literary and ideological writings dealing with the *Vigil on the Ugra River*, consult I. M. Kudrjavcev, "'Poslanie na Ugru' Vassijana Rylo kak pamjatnik publicistiki XV v.," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), 8 (1951): 158–86, and idem, "'Ugorščina' v pamjatnikax drevnerusskoj literatury," in *Issledovanija i materialy po drevnerusskoj literature* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 23–67.

An obligatory religious interpretation was added at the end of the tale, which charged the Polish-Lithuanian ruler with the intention of destroying Orthodox Christianity without explaining why other Orthodox Christians were selected as victims of the Tatar retaliatory attack.

The second of the three abbreviated accounts of the sack of Kiev by the Crimean Tatars in 1482 is to be found in the so-called Rostov Codex of 1489, which was compiled at the Rostov archbishopric during the tenure of Archbishop Tixon (1489–1505) and later partially included in the *Tipografskaja letopis',* [22] in the Codex of 1497,[23] and in the Muscovite Codex of 1518.[24] Its text reads as follows:

In the year 1483,[25] because of our sins, Kiev was conquered by Tsar [Khan] Mengli Girey of the Crimea, and the son of [Khan] Azi [< Ači < Ḥāǧǧī] Girey. And he set the city on fire from two sides. And the people were frightened, and those who fled were captured by the Tatars, and all [those] in the city perished in the fire. And they [the Tatars] captured Lord Ivan Xodkevyč who had fled from the fire in the city, and they took him, together with his wife and children and with the Archmandrite of the Monastery of the Caves, into captivity. This malice occurred in the month of September.[26]

This carefully edited account was evidently prepared by its author/editor from selected elements of the annalistic tale found in some of the manuscript copies of the *VPCh.* In this version the author/editor eliminated all the information pertaining to the military aspects of the campaign and the conquest, and gave the latter a purely religious interpretation. The concluding comment on the sack of Kiev as a malicious act (*zloba*), which was lacking in the extended version, may be interpreted as a device on the part of the author/editor to express a greater degree of disapproval about the misfortune experienced by the city of Kiev, and even as an indirect censure of the Muscovite ruler. However, he avoided any direct criticism of the Muscovite grand prince and refrained from mentioning the Polish-Lithuanian ruler, thus maintaining an absolute impartiality toward the secular authorities involved in the political and military conflicts. The indirect criticism of the Muscovite grand prince in the

22 The text of the *Tipografskaja letopis* was published under the editorship of A. A. Šaxmatov and A. E. Presnjakov in *PSRL* 24 (1921).
23 The Codex of 1497 was published under the editorship of K. N. Serbina in *PSRL* 28 (1963).
24 The Muscovite Codex of 1518 was also published under the editorship of K. N. Serbina in *PSRL* 28 (1963).
25 The correct date was 1482.
26 *PSRL* 24 (1921): 202; *PSRL* 28 (1963): 151, 316. This text was also included in the form of a supplementary account in the Second Sophia Chronicle (*SSCh*) and the L'vov Chronicle (*LCh*), as will be shown later.

account is probably a reflection of the contemporary state of relations between Metropolitan Gerontij and Grand Prince Ivan III, who in 1483 attempted to remove the former from the metropolitanate.[27] This account, with its obviously official religious character, must have been prepared by someone interested in offering an interpretation of the event different from that advocated by the Muscovite court.

The question of the attribution of this account is closely interconnected with one of the major unresolved problems of Muscovite chronicle writing, namely, whether official metropolitan chronicle writing still existed in the second half of the fifteenth century.[28] On the basis of the available evidence, the argument can be made that official metropolitan chronicle writing did continue during the period in question, particularly in view of the fact that it was perpetuated into the sixteenth century, as exemplified by the chronicle writing under the auspices of the metropolitans Daniil and Ioasaf.[29] It is rather doubtful that the writing and editing of this account were undertaken at a local bishopric. On the contrary, the available circumstantial evidence suggests that it was composed at the metropolitan chancery, which at that time was the second principal center of Muscovite chronicle writing, and then disseminated to local centers and included in various chronicle compilations.

Interestingly enough, the editors of the Rostov Codex of 1489 and the Codex of 1497, besides including in their codices the account coming from the metropolitan chancery, also inserted the account from the official continuations of the Muscovite Codex of 1479 under the entry for the year 1484.[30] Thus the reader had two versions of the sack of Kiev of 1482, regardless of their obviously conflicting assessments. This device on the part of the editors sheds light on their general attitudes, as well as those of Archbishop Tixon and his archbishopric chancery, toward the

27 *PSRL* 24 (1921): 203; *PSRL* 6 (1853): 236; *PSRL* 20, pt. 1 (1910/1971): 351. Cf. also E. Golubinskij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi,* vol. 2, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1900), pp. 557–58.

28 A. N. Nasonov maintained that the official metropolitan chronicle writing did continue in the second half of the fifteenth century (*Istorija russkogo letopisanija XI–načala XVIII v.* [Moscow, 1969], pp. 303–308). For similar views, cf. A. A. Zimin, *Russkie letopisi i xronografy konca XV–XVI vv.* (Moscow, 1960), p. 6. Lur'e contends that the official metropolitan chronicle writing was discontinued during the period in question (*Obščerusskie letopisi XIV–XV vv.*, pp. 211–12, 238–40, 258).

29 For a discussion of the sixteenth-century metropolitan chronicle writing, see B. M. Kloss, "Dejatel'nost' mitropolič'ej knigopisnoj masterskoj v 20–30x godax XVI veka i proisxoždenie Nikonovskoj letopisi," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Rukopisnaja kniga* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 318–37; and idem, "Mitropolit Daniil i Nikonovskaja letopis," *TODRL* 28 (1974): 188–201.

30 *PSRL* 24 (1921): 204; *PSRL* 28 (1963): 152.

policies of Grand Prince Ivan III. When it came to the evaluation of the Tatar sack of the most venerable city of Old Rus', they apparently wished to preserve a certain degree of self-respect and to disassociate themselves from such a pernicious act, but at the same time they wanted to give evidence of their loyalty to the Muscovite grand prince Ivan III.

Of all the Muscovite accounts of the sack of Kiev of 1482, the most outspoken in its criticism of the Muscovite grand prince was the version in the oppositional Codex of the 1480s, elements of which can be found in the Second Sophia Chronicle (*SSCh*) and in the L'vov Chronicle (*LCh*). Under the entry for the year 1482, it describes the event in the following terms:

> Grand Prince [Ivan III Vasil'evič] sent [his envoy] to [Khan] Mengli Girey of the Crimea, and ordered him to wage war against the King's [Kazimierz Jagiellończyk's] land. Mengli Girey with his mighty [army] conquered Kiev, took all the people into captivity, and took along with him the governor of Kiev, together with his wife and his children, and caused many calamities. And he ransacked the Church and the Monastery of the Caves. And many fled to the Caves and suffocated [because of the fire]. And he sent the vessels for [the holy] liturgy, the golden chalice and the plate, from the Great Sophia [Church] to the Grand Prince.[31]

In this account the Muscovite ruler was directly referred to as the principal instigator of the sack of Kiev and of the calamities which befell that city. The pillage of the religious places was especially emphasized, and the Muscovite ruler was spared no embarrassment. The author/editor of the account reported that Khan Mengli Girey sent the holy vessels from the Great Sophia as war trophies to Ivan III. From this account the conclusion could be drawn that the Muscovite ruler, by accepting the sacred vessels from a "pagan" war lord, had committed a highly un-Christian and even blasphemous transgression.

Who composed an account so damaging to the reputation of the Muscovite ruler, and who sponsored the compilation of the oppositional Codex of the 1480s included in the *SSCh* and the *LCh*? Those historians who have adhered to the notion that the official metropolitan chronicle writing was continued in the second half of the fifteenth century have been inclined to assume that there existed an official Codex of Metropolitan Gerontij of 1490, and that parts of this codex which might have constituted the oppositional Codex of the 1480s had been included in the *SSCh* and the *LCh*.[32] More recently it has been argued that the oppositional

[31] *PSRL* 6 (1853): 234; *PSRL* 20, pt. 1 (1910/1971): 349.
[32] Nasonov, *Istorija russkogo letopisanija*, pp. 303–315; Zimin, *Russkie letopisi i xronografy*, p. 6.

Codex of the 1480s represented the views of oppositional "militant" ecclesiastics.[33] The attribution of the oppositional Codex of the 1480s, as well as the problem of the relationship between official grand princely, official metropolitan, and unofficial chronicle writing, cannot be solved in this study and are in need of further examination. For the time being, the account in the oppositional Codex of the 1480s must remain attributed to those Muscovite ecclesiastical circles who were strongly opposed to the policies of Ivan III and felt deeply disturbed about his cynical political behavior toward the city of Kiev and the "pagan" Muslims. It deserves to be noted that, in addition to the text most critical of Ivan III, the editors of the oppositional Codex of the 1480s incorporated in their work the official metropolitan version about the sack of Kiev of 1482, apparently to reinforce their criticism of the Muscovite ruler.[34]

The various interpretations of the sack of Kiev of 1482 in contemporary Muscovite chronicle writing reflect a serious division of attitudes in Muscovite ideological thought about the "Kievan inheritance." The accounts originating from the religious circles reveal a basically compassionate attitude on the part of their authors/editors toward Kiev and even a sense of identification with that "famous" city. The authors/editors of these accounts condemned the sack of Kiev in the same manner that they would have castigated an attack on Moscow or on any other city of Muscovite Russia, and some even dared to criticize openly the Muscovite ruler for his involvement in such an infamous deed.

The official account promoted by the grand princely court stressed the political aspects of the sack. Its authors/editors viewed Kiev for all practical purposes as a foreign city, which could be attacked by an ally regardless of his political and religious affiliations. Thus, the sack of Kiev did not quite fit into the evolution of the official Muscovite claims to the "Kievan inheritance" which had been developing over a period of thirty years prior to the event, and might even have contributed to delaying the formulation of such claims.

The sharp conflict of opinion between the Muscovite court and the ecclesiastical circles concerning the sack of Kiev of 1482 indicates not only that fundamental "ideological struggles" were conducted within the Muscovite establishment at the end of the fifteenth century. The conflict also

33 Ja. S. Lur'e, "Nezavisimyj letopisnyj svod konca XV v. — istočnik Sofijskoj II i L'vovskoj letopisej," *TODRL* 27 (1972): 405–419, especially 418–19; idem, *Obščerusskie letopisi XIV–XV vv.*, pp. 238–40. For his references to the sack of Kiev of 1482, see ibid., pp. 220, 244.

34 *PSRL* 6 (1853): 235; *PSRL* 20, pt. 1 (1910/1971): 350.

shows that this establishment was struggling with the problem of the "Kievan inheritance," which has never really been resolved.

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The Slavonic and Latino-Germanic Background of the Novgorod Texts on Birch Bark

RICCARDO PICCHIO

1. The first hero of what historians would one day term the "Novgorod Birch Bark Saga" was a Russian woman named Nina Fedorovna Akulova, who worked for the archaeological team directed by Professor Artemij Vladimirovič Arcixovskij. On 26 July 1951, she dug out of the soil of historic Novgorod the first Cyrillic inscription on birch bark. Though she had no historical or philological training, Akulova realized that "damp mother earth" (*mat' syraja zemlja*) was releasing a hidden treasure. She handled the fragile monument with great care. The old text did not crumble. Today it is called "Gramota no. 1," and the name of Nina Fedorovna appears in important books.[1]

This is not the only fictionalized episode in the "Novgorod Birch Bark Saga." Nonetheless, the saga also contains a great deal of extremely valuable historical information. After almost three decades of investigation, more than five hundred inscriptions on birch bark have been made available to historians and philologists. They represent a unique corpus of sources.[2] The time is ripe for an assessment of the illusions and achievements that have accompanied the discovery and study of these documents. The brief remarks that follow may help some historian of Early East

[1] Cf. V. L. Janin, *Ja poslal tebe berestu . . .*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1975), p. 23.

[2] *Paleografičeskij i lingvističeskij analiz Novgorodskix berestjannyx gramot*, ed. by V. I. Borkovskij (Moscow, 1955); A. V. Arcixovskij and V. I. Borkovskij, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: Iz raskopok 1953–1954 goda* (Moscow, 1958); idem, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: Iz raskopok 1955 goda* (Moscow, 1958); A. V. Arcixovskij and V. L. Janin, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: Iz raskopok 1962–1976 godov* (Moscow, 1978). See also W. Kuraszkiewicz, *Gramoty nowogrodskie na brzozowej korze*, 2 vols. (Warsaw, 1957); E. Melin, *Einige birkenrinde-Gramoty aus Novgorod* (Lund, 1966).

The critical bibliography is very rich. In English, see in particular R. Jakobson, "Vestiges of the Earliest Russian Vernacular," *Word* 8, no. 4 (December 1952): 350–55; M. W. Thompson, *Novgorod the Great: Excavations at the Medieval City directed by A. V. Artsikhovskij and B. A. Kolchin* (London, 1967).

Slavic civilization — in particular Omeljan Pritsak, to whom they are devoted — draw some general conclusions.

1.1. The discovery of the first Cyrillic inscriptions on birch bark aroused enthusiasm among scholars in both the Soviet Union and abroad. In 1955, at the Tenth International Conference of Historical Sciences held in Rome, a somewhat bewildered crowd listened to Professor Arcixovskij's jubilant statement that his paper, which he had written only a few months before, had been outdated by the important new discoveries that were being made in Novgorod almost every day.[3] While he was speaking at the morning meeting of September 6, a telegram was handed to him. Professor Arcixovskij immediately translated it into his charming French: More inscriptions on birch bark had been found! The public cheered, and optimism and expectation filled the air.

Connections were then established between, on the one hand, the archaeological findings in Novgorod, and on the other, a Cyrillic inscription found in 1949 in a tenth-century kurgan at Gnezdovo near Smolensk.[4] Discussions about the inscription went on in both the Soviet Union and the West. Did it read *goruščа* or *goruśna*?[5] In any event, the mere fact that somebody in the tenth-century *Smolenskaja zemlja* would write something like "mustard seed" on a jar was seen as evidence that literacy was widespread in the East Slavic lands ("Among grocers? . . . even among house-wives?" we argued at the Circolo linguistico fiorentino) much earlier than traditionally believed by Slavists. In 1950 P. Ja. Černyx considered back-dating the earliest diffusion of Cyrillic writing among the Eastern Slavs to a time long before Vladimir's conversion. He went so far as to assume that the Gnezdovo "mustard seed" confirmed the legend according to which, around 860, Constantine-Cyril had found in Xerson a gospel and a book of psalms "in Rus'ian letters" (cf. *Vita Constantini*, VIII).[6] In those years it was hoped that new findings on birch bark documents would allow East Slavic history eventually to wring at least one, if not two, centuries from the limbo of pre-history.

3 Cf. *Atti del X Congresso internazionale: Roma 4–11 Settembre 1955* (Rome, 1957), pp. 157–60; A. V. Arcixovskij, "Nouvelles découvertes à Novgorod," in *Riassunti delle Comunicazioni*, vol. 7 (Florence, 1955), pp. 95–97.

4 Cf. D. A. Avdusin and M. N. Tixomirov, "Drevnejšaja russkaja nadpis'," in *Vestnik Akademii nauk SSSR*, 4 (1950), and A. I. Efimov, *Istorija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka: Kurs lekcij* (Moscow, 1954), pp. 57–62.

5 Avdusin and Tixomirov, "Drevnejšaja russkaja nadpis'"; P. Ja. Černyx, "K voprosu o gnezdovskoj nadpisi," *Izvestija Otdelenija literatury i jazyka AN SSSR*, vol. 9, no. 5 (1950).

6 Černyx, "K voprosu"; Efimov, *Istorija*, p. 58.

Subsequent excavations, however, failed to fulfill the expectation. The oldest Cyrillic inscriptions on birch bark found in Novgorod and Staraja Russa barely allowed historians across a chronological barrier which appears to be the late eleventh century. The barrier becomes more impregnable if one considers that most of the datings of older *gramoty*[7] depend on stratigraphic assumptions which cannot be either confirmed or contradicted by paleography and other ancillary sciences.

1.2. The discovery of the Novgorod texts on birch barks also aroused the hope that direct evidence of the "vernacular" use of the language of Medieval Eastern Slavdom had been found. It does not seem that the hope has been realized. Nevertheless, one should not underestimate the significance of the *gramoty* for the historical reconstruction of local linguistic phenomena. If the "vernacular" is identified with a *usus loquendi* — that is, with a standard of spoken communication — its main features can hardly be reconstructed on the basis of these documents. A much more positive conclusion, however, can be reached if this textual documentation is used to describe levels of the *written language* which were influenced by local spoken usage. This particular problem may require further methodological consideration.

It does not seem appropriate to look for "transcripts" from the spoken language in the Novgorod birch barks. Basically, these *gramoty* appear to belong to the same category of documents concerning public relations in medieval Novgorod to which other documents on parchment belong. One expects to find in them formulae or clichés which reflect a *usus* similar, for example, to that of the *kupčaja* of the igumen Antonij Rimljanin, who stated around 1147: "... kupil esmi zemlju Prečistye v dom u Smexna da u Proxna u Ivanovyx detej u posadničix, a dal esmi sto rublej. ... A kto na sju zemlju nastupit, a to upravit mati božija."[8]

Some Novgorod *gramoty* seem to be made up of formulae of this kind from either the judicial or the commercial repertory. What sometimes tints them with different social colorings is the use of phrases of greeting such as "poklono ot ... ko. ..." This direct epistolary style has been seen as proof that the citizens of medieval Novgorod would frequently exchange personal messages. It has been argued that only a society with a

[7] The term *gramota* has become current in Russian as well as in international scholarly jargon to indicate a writing on birch bark. This word occurs at the beginning of many of these Cyrillic texts. In a few cases one finds other terms, such as *beresto* and *pamjatь*.
[8] G. E. Kočin in *Pamjatniki istorii Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova* (Leningrad and Moscow, 1935), p. 48.

high level of literacy could develop such a custom, and that written messages of this type would reflect the colloquial spontaneity of a spoken language that had limited or no dependence on the bookish conventions of Church Slavonic. One can counterargue, however, that standard phrases of greeting may also be part of a formulaic repertory. In fact, the contents of many *gramoty* allegedly reflecting the free style of private correspondence pertain to public relations, mainly in the sphere of justice, commerce, and economic administration. My thematic examination of eighty-six older inscriptions on birch bark, which can be dated to the eleventh (?) and twelfth centuries, seems to support this conclusion. This body of oldest inscriptions includes ten *gramoty* from Staraja Russa.[9]

Twenty-four texts appear to be connected with "business and administration";[10] fourteen refer to judicial cases of various kinds (including those involving family law);[11] six deal with religious practice and ecclesiastical life;[12] one contains an *azbuka* (a list of the letters of the Cyrillic alphabet) and can be interpreted as a school document;[13] forty-one (that is, almost half) are fragments containing only isolated or incomplete words.[14]

If it were proved that the language of the Novgorod documents on birch bark is governed by a set of administrative formulaic styles, the idea that it reflects the fluency of spoken vernacular could be dismissed. Administrative formulae produce a conventional language which resists individual innovation and preserves forms that would otherwise be replaced or modified by the fluidity of everyday linguistic creativity. The formulae are patterned after established conceptual models and represent the foundation of literary standards of various types, including, in our case, the literary standards of the Church Slavonic linguistic system. It seems, therefore, that instead of using the Novgorod inscriptions as sources for the study of a hypothetical "popular language," one should investigate the particular cultural conventions on which they might depend.

9 All the gramoty were published in Arcixovskij and Janin, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: Iz raskopok 1962–1976 godov*, pp. 141–53.

10 Gramoty nos. 82, 84, 105, 119, 135, 160, 424, 429, 438, 439, 449, 454, 509, 510, 516, 526, St.R.4, St.R.5, St.R.6, St.R.8, St.R.10, St.R.11, St.R.12, St.R.13.

11 Gramoty nos. 9, 78, 109, 120, 121, 238, 241, 246, 247, 336, 421, 422, 487, 502.

12 Gramoty nos. 462, 503, 506, 507, 508, 522.

13 Gramota no. 460.

14 Gramoty nos. 107, 123, 164, 144, 181, 338, 423, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 431, 433, 434, 435, 440, 443, 444, 450, 451, 452, 453, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 462, 486, 493, 504, 505, 511, 512, 513, 515, 517, 518, 525, 527.

2. In an article recently published in *Sovetskaja arxeologija,* V. A. Burov has complained that detailed textual analysis has prevailed over a comprehensive evaluation of the Novgorod inscriptions on birch bark.[15] What has not been emphasized enough, he maintains, is the significance of the *gramoty* as *archaeological* sources — that is, as monuments having a precise "identity card" (*pasport*) of their place in the historical environment that modern scholarship wants to investigate. The archaeological and historical background of well-defined sets of *gramoty* is a factor that can help us investigate the old city's political, social, and economic history. In my opinion, Burov's remark is well aimed. Only the merging of particular research trends and methods into the mainstream of "total history" can lead us towards a balanced evaluation of sources of any kind.

When "birch-bark science" (*berestologija*) became known on the international scene, its authoritative godfather Professor Arcixovskij argued, perhaps too rashly, that the new discoveries refuted the traditional view of medieval Novgorod as mainly a "commercial" and "administrative" town. In his opinion, most of the *gramoty* on birch bark were "private letters" reflecting the customs of "a society of craftsmen."[16] This opinion does not seem to have held out against other, more moderate viewpoints. In her valuable study of the Novgorod birch bark documents (1959) L. P. Žukovskaja stated that "Novgorod was a major commercial and political center of Old Rus'. Well-developed trade was the prerequisite for this relatively large diffusion of literacy."[17]

The particularly favorable socio-political and economic conditions that made possible the development of a West European type of urban culture in Old Novgorod had been outlined very effectively by D. S. Lixačev. Novgorod, he pointed out, was a functional equivalent of the West European city-commune. The government of the Novgorod republic was internationally-minded, and it did not discriminate against non-Rus' members of its socio-political community, such as the Karelians. It maintained close relations not only with the Latino-Germanic West, but also "with Byzantium, Bulgaria, Serbia, the monasteries of Mount Athos, etc."[18]

At present there seems to be a general consensus among scholars that

[15] V. A. Burov, "Zametki o novgorodskix berestjanyx gramotax," *Sovetskaja arxeologija* 1 (1979):218–27.
[16] Arcixovskij, "Nouvelles découvertes," pp. 95–96.
[17] L. P. Žukovskaja, *Novgorodskie berestjanye gramoty* (Moscow, 1959), p. 13.
[18] D. S. Lixačev, "Mirovoe značenie kul'tury Novgoroda," in *Tysjačeletnie korni russkoj kul'tury* (Novgorod, 1972), pp. 82–96.

the large diffusion of literacy in medieval Novgorod, which was an exception in the cultural context of Old Rus', depended mainly on the following factors: (1) a commercial society which, here as in Western Europe, could not afford illiteracy because of its need to formalize the terms of economic transactions, keep records, and maintain managements based on exchange; (2) the international orientation of a political administration dependent on the continuous presence in its territory of traveling "guests" from both the Latino-Germanic West and the Byzantino-Slavic East, combined with the necessity of protecting Novgorodians traveling abroad; (3) the economic prosperity of various social groups — including merchants, landowners, artisans, and the clergy — who could afford to pay for their education.

This general picture suggests that the civilization of medieval Novgorod was patterned after the cultural models known to its most advanced social strata. It is fair to assume that the socioeconomic complexity of that culture was also reflected in its language. The main instruments for language modeling and codification were offered by the linguistic institutions of Orthodox Slavdom, of which Novgorod was an important component. By "linguistic institution" I mean an established set of models used in writing and — what is perhaps even more important — in teaching. This role was played by "Church Slavonic." It is important to note that this conventional linguistic term does not refer to a monolithic system. "Church Slavonic" acted effectively for several centuries as the common supranational medium of Orthodox Slavdom precisely because it was an "open system." Its varying levels produced different standards within the limits of structural constants that preserved the language's functional unity.

Medieval Novgorodians most probably learned to read and write in church schools. This seems to be proved by, among other things, the thirteenth-century *gramoty* connected with Omphim, who was allegedly a student. Gramota no. 203, in particular, which contains a drawing representing — possibly — a man's fight with the devil and the caption "G[ospod]i pomozi rabu svojemu Omphimu," appears to be a school document.[19] One can assume however, that the status of the "students" represented a crucial difference between teaching in Novgorod and in the rest of Old Rus'. It is difficult to say whether, or how many, Novgorod texts on birch bark were produced by secular individuals or by public or

[19] A. V. Arcixovskij and V. I. Borkovskij, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: Iz raskopok 1956-1957 goda* (Moscow, 1962).

private scribes with ecclesiastical training. The scribal profession was always widely diffused among the Eastern Slavs. As late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, the German visiting professor Johannes Peter Kohl was surprised to see everywhere many copyists working very hard for a minimal compensation: "Nullum credo populum," he noted, "in describendis libris tam laboriosum ac frequentem esse quam Rutheni sunt; hinc plurimos apud eos homines videas qui per totam diem nihil aliud agunt, quam ut libros Russos describant, nulla alia re victum quaeritantes."[20]

In any case, even if one thinks that professional scribes might have been largely responsible for the actual production of *gramoty* on birch bark, it is clear that their activity would not have flourished among illiterates. The content of most of the judicial and commercial documents implies that both the senders and the recipients — or, at least, their associates — were able to read. Such people ought to have had private instructors or to have attended schools of some kind. Their "textbooks" were most probably the Book of Psalms and, at a more advanced stage of learning, chronicles, official acts, or administrative documents. The different uses of the writing techniques acquired through this type of training resulted in various "levels" of the literary language — that is, of Church Slavonic. Whereas students in other regions of Old Rus' could not make use of their writing skills beyond the limits of copying sacred texts or composing ecclesiastical works with fixed religious schemes, the Novgorodians were apparently free to adapt their writing models in much more diversified ways.

Thus historical considerations, as well as the textual analysis of several documents on birch bark, suggest that medieval Novgorod produced a particular written standard which depended on the Church Slavonic tradition but was adapted to the needs and uses of local businessmen, artisans, and public or private administrators. As in other areas of Orthodox Slavdom, it was the less codified type of Church Slavonic — that is, the linguistic levels which I have tried recently to describe as part of "Orthodox Slavonic," in contrast to the more rigid norms of "Liturgical Slavonic" — that could act as an "open system."[21] It seems more proper,

[20] *Johannis Petri Kohlii in Academ. Scientiar. Petropolitana Histor. Eccl. et Human. Litter. Professoris Introductio in Historiam et Rem Literariam Slavorum imprimis sacram, sive Historia critica versionum slavonicarum maxime insignum, nimirum Codicis Sacri et Ephremi Syri duobus libris absoluta* . . . (Altonaviae . . .1729), p. 16, fn. b. See R. Picchio, "La 'Introductio in Historiam et rem literariam slavorum' di J. P. Kohl," *Richerche Slavistiche* 2 (1953): 3–28.

[21] R. Picchio, "Church Slavonic," in *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development*, ed. by A. M. Schenker and E. Stankiewicz (New Haven, Conn., 1980).

therefore, to speak of a type of Church Slavonic highly influenced by local linguistic trends than of a "vernacular."

2.1. Two linguistic models other than Church Slavonic might have played a relevant role in the establishment of the particular and long-lasting (at least until the eighteenth century) writing standard of the texts on birch bark. They are the type of Latin used in the international acts of Northern Europe and the form of Low German which was frequently used as an interlingua between the Hansa cities of Scandinavia and northern Russia, throughout the Baltic and, in part, the North Sea areas.

That in Novgorod there was a continuous interchange between the Latino-Germanic and the Slavonic linguistic domains is suggested not only by general historical data, but also by concrete textual documentation. Translations from one language into another had to be exact in the kind of commercial activity in which a great number of Novgorodians appear to have been involved. This is confirmed, for example, by a Low German text of 1420 which reads: ". . . und ist nach Ruusscher weysze von worte czu wůrte uff Deutsch gesatz, als hir nachfolget. . . ."[22]

The need for exact translations implied the training of scribe-interpreters able to establish the proper equivalence between formulae that had a recognized legal value in each language. Clearly, this activity contributed reciprocally to the codification of two or more languages "in contact" and to the formation of formulaic calques. A good example of Latino-Germano-Slavonic linguistic symbiosis is offered by an act of 1372 which reads: "Des ghelikes Johannes Průtze de bode hesst dat cruce kůsset den menen Nogarderes vor al den overzesschen gast und vor de Dusschen. Datum et actum anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo secundo."[23] The different bureaucratic dignities of the German and Latin languages are established here by the use of a Latin (internationally valid) formula at the end. The use of a Latino-Germanic formula to render the ritual *krъstьnoe cělovanie*, which meant "to take on oath," is also noteworthy.[24]

3. Formulae of this kind occur in several birch bark *gramoty*. Some of

[22] *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, ed. by S. N. Valka (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949), p. 95.
[23] *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, p. 79.
[24] Cf. Gramota no. 39, *Gramota Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, p. 69: "Item si Norici transgressi sunt antiquam terrarum signationem vel divisionem istis annis, debent dimittere ac reddere Rutenis terram suam *per osculationem crucis*. Item Nogardenses non debent transgredi antiquam terrarum signationem et divisionem *per osculum crucis*. . . ." Cf. Gramota no. 42, ibid., p. 72: ". . . hebbet *dat cruce kůsset*. . . ."

them have created difficulties for editors and interpreters. One wonders whether it would not be more useful to compare them with the formulaic repertory of documents written in Church Slavonic, Latin, and German. A test case which I have studied seems to support this approach.

Gramoty nos. 14 and 122 contain the salutation formula "slovo dobro," the exact functional meaning of which is not clear. In 1954 A. M. Arcixovskij pointed out that the Pskov Chronicle, at the year 1474, says that Prince Danilej and his retinue paid homage to the citizens of Pskov "dobro slovo dav." This was believed to be the only occurrence of this expression in texts other than the birch bark *gramoty*. L. V. Čerepnin did not find any other example of the use of these two words as a cluster. He examined, therefore, the various cases in which the Rus' chronicles use *slovo* and *dobro* separately, but in formulaic contexts.[25] I have found that the same formula, although in an inverted order — that is, *slovo dobro* — occurs in a fifteenth-century letter by the archbishop of Novgorod to the city of Revel regarding the protection of traveling merchants. After acknowledging the protection already granted by both Novgorod and Revel to merchants traveling in either direction, the archbishop says: "A my vam o tom slovo dobro pověstuem."[26]

The two birch bark *gramoty* containing the formula, the passage in the Pskov Chronicle, and this letter of the archbishop of Novgorod all date to the early fifteenth century. This may indicate that the formula was current in the official and diplomatic language of that time. Its meaning can be better understood in relation to a passage in the Low-German translation of another letter, written about the same time, by the archbishop of Novgorod (the Slavic original is lost). The translation reads: "In deme namen Godes, ertzbishop to Novgarten de gift sinen heligen segen sinen sone hertich Symeon Lengwin, und ene gute grute van dem hertogen van Novgarten."[27] It is quite possible that *gute grute* renders here the Slavic *dobro slovo* (or *slovo dobro*). Its meaning seems to be close to that of Latin formulae of greeting, such as *bene vobis* or *bonum factum*.

3.1 The presence in the Novgorod state of many people from the Latino-Germanic world was a spiritual landmark of that northern area of Orthodox Slavdom for several centuries. Nevertheless, the role played by Westerners as carriers of Latin cultural and, in particular, linguistic

[25] L. V. Čerepnin, *Novgorodskie berestjanye gramoty kak istoričeskij istočnik* (Moscow, 1969), p. 22.
[26] *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, p. 88.
[27] *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, nos. 52, 90.

models has not always been adequately stressed. National and religious passions occupy significant places in modern historiography, both Western and Russian. Novgorod has been either praised or blamed for being a kind of pre-figuration of St. Petersburg, that is, an "open window" through which the "voice of Europe" reached Old Rus' and Muscovy. Within this ideological context, the emphasis on a Germanic-Slavic rivalry has clouded the vision of a unifying Latin culture in medieval Novgorod. However, it seems that the prestige of Latin as an international medium was not diminished by its parallel function as the sacred language of Western Christianity. On many occasions East Slavic (Orthodox) and West Slavic or non-Slavic (Catholic) residents of Novgorod used Latin as a common language. This situation implied, among other things, a regime of tolerant religious coexistence.

Archaeological and historical data justify this vision of an inter-confessional social stratum of medieval Novgorod, in which the clergy and persons generally connected with ecclesiastical life contributed to the creation of a formulaic language such as that documented by the *gramoty* on birch bark. In particular, the recent publication of the Latin text of Gramota no. 488 has confirmed that Latin-writing residents of Novgorod used the same technique of engraving birch barks with a stylus that was used by their Slavic-writing counterparts. This seems to indicate that writing on birch bark was not necessarily connected with any particular social, national, or linguistic segment of the Novgorod population.

Gramota no. 488 contains six lines in gothic script, written in the late fourteenth or the early fifteenth century. It has been thoroughly studied by D. A. Drboglav, and deciphered as follows:[28]

1. Venit*e* exultem*us* d*om*ino iubil*emus* de*o* *s*alutari
2. n*os*tro praeocupem*us* faci*em* ei*us* in *con*fessi*one* et i*n* psalmis
3. iubile*mus* ei
4. Viro. Viri. Virtute. Voce. D*omi*ne H*ymnus* Maria. V*irgo*. V*ersus*. Weni *electa*
5. Libri testamenti sancti. Kalendae aprilis lectiones III ewangelii
6. Deus est et[29]

The first three lines are a citation from Psalms 94 (95): 1–2, according to the Latin Vulgate. This psalm plays an important role in the Latin liturgy. It is still part (for Sundays, except for the period from Septua-

[28] Arcixovskij and Janin, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: Iz raskopok 1962–1976 godov*, pp. 167–91.
[29] The letters in italics are not in the text, either because of abbreviations or because of physical damage to the gramota.

gesima to Quinquagesima) of an office "shorter and simpler than the Breviary, intended for people, *lay or religious,* who are not in a position to recite the Breviary" (italics mine — R.P.).[30] The subsequent lines appear to contain references to the anthems and the rest of the office of the day. Whoever wrote this "liturgical reminder" on a piece of birch bark could have been either a layman or a priest. Clearly he, or those who used the text, belonged to the Latin confession. On the basis of this document one can hardly doubt that church-trained people were among the *gramoty* writers. It seems to me that from a socio-cultural viewpoint, Gramota no. 488 should be seen as a document belonging to the same category as some of the oldest Slavic *gramoty,* such as for example the twelfth-century Gramoty nos. 462 and 508. Gramota no. 462 is a fragment which reads: "G[ospod]i usljuši molitvou." Gramota no. 508 appears to be a "liturgical reminder" for priests supposed to celebrate services in honor of certain saints. It reads: "Iosifъ, Onufrio, milostivi na sia: Sofija, Fedosija, Ulijana, Pelagija, Demitre[i], Pavelo, Ovodokija, Ofimiju, Gjurъgi, Mirofa."

A common background of Christian practices, which implied the participation of churchmen in everyday life, definitely suggests that those who produced and used written texts on birch bark in Medieval Novgorod were not typical representatives of any social, religious, or ethnic group.

3.2. The recognition of a Slavo-Germano-Latin cultural background common to many Novgorod texts on birch bark may also prove useful for the etymological interpretation of certain obscure terms. The following example illustrates this point.

Gramota no. 288, dated to the fourteenth century, contains an itemized order for merchandise and refers to the activity of a textile craftsman. One item in particular has puzzled modern scholars. It reads: "burgalьskoe mylo." It is clear that the adjective *burgalьskij* refers to a particular type of soap. The gramota's first investigator, A. V. Arcixovskij, considered various hypotheses, but concluded that this is an "enigmatic term."[31] A well-trained linguist, V. I. Borkovskij, reexamined the problem. His first, and apparently indisputable conclusion was that the component *burg-* corresponds to the German term for town or borough. To explain the

[30] *Book of Hours* (in Latin and English), ed. by the Benedictine monks of Encalat Abbey (Dourgne, 1956), p. v.

[31] Arcixovskij and Janin, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: Iz raskopok 1962–1976 godov.*

entire form, however, he had recourse to the intermediary of Karelo-Finnish. He argued that a direct borrowing from German would have given the adjectival form *burg-skij*.[32] I wonder, however, whether one really needs Karelo-Finnish to explain a suffix with *-al-*. A much simpler solution would be that it was a Slavic borrowing not from *burg*, but from the Latin adjectival form *burgalis*, derived from Latin *burga*. Both forms, in fact, are documented. Niermeyer's *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* dates *burgalis* to the twelfth century and interprets it as "relating to burgage tenure." The common Medieval Latin term for "burgage" was *burgagium*. The form *burga*, however, is listed in Du Cange's *Glossarium* and also in Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* as referring to "city." Furthermore, it is worth noting that the Romance form *bourgal* is listed in Godefroy's Old French Dictionary as a noun meaning "Russian leather produced by the Volga Bulgars."[33] *Burgalьskoe mylo* might well be a kind of soap made in the Volga region. In any case, when explaining the Slavic adjective *burgalьskij*, it seems more reasonable to consider a Germano-Latin model connected with *burgalis* than to venture into Slavo-Karelo-Finnish etymology.

4. I hope that this short article encourages further research based on the assumption that several Novgorod texts on birch bark might depend on Slavo-Germanic-Latin linguistic and cultural models. I also hope, however, that these considerations will not be interpreted as presenting an exclusive point of view. The formulaic style discussed here was certainly distant from the fluidity of everyday vernacular. Nevertheless, its general characterization is premature. More comprehensive, systematic, and deeper investigations must be carried out before its "standard" or "standards," as well as its various components, can be adequately evaluated.

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32 Arcixovskij and Borkovskij, *Novgorodskie gramoty na bereste: Iz raskopok 1956–1957 goda*, p. 118.
33 "Cuir de Russie fabriqué chez les Bulgares du Volga."

From the Danube to the Crimea and Back: The Bulgarian Migration of 1861–1862 in Recent Bulgarian Historiography*

MARK PINSON

One of the more significant forms of contact between the South Slavs and the peoples of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century before 1878 was the recurrent emigrations of Bulgarians from the Trans-Danubian regions to the northern Pontic areas — that is, to southern Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Moldavia. Most of these migrations occurred at the end of the Russo-Turkish wars, when groups of Bulgarians accompanied the Russian troops as they withdrew northward. This pattern, which had emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century, persisted through the Crimean War, and was broken only by the last emigration, in the summer of 1861, from northwestern Bulgaria to the Crimea. Those emigrants were so dissatisfied with the conditions they found that in the spring and summer of 1862 almost all of them returned to Bulgaria. This episode strongly suggests that even if Bulgaria had not been liberated soon afterwards, more emigrations would not have occurred.

The embarrassment of Russian diplomacy in 1862 appears to have been communicated to Soviet and post–1944 Bulgarian historiography, where the episode is usually passed over in silence and only occasionally treated in any detail.[1] In recent Bulgarian monographs which deal with persons or places significant in the emigration some treatment of the subject has been unavoidable, however. Biographies of G. S. Rakovski, the Bulgarian

* The research for this study was carried out at the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, and much of it emerged from a dissertation directed by Professor Omeljan Pritsak. I am grateful to the Russian Research Center and to Professor Pritsak for their support.

[1] Cf. for example the older, standard two-volume histories of Bulgaria, *Istoriia Bolgarii,* ed. by P. N. Tret'iakov et al., vol. 1 (Moscow, 1954), and *Istoriia na B'lgariia,* ed. by D. Kosev et al., vol. 1 (Sofia, 1954), neither of which mentions this emigration. Kosev's own work, *Lektsii po nova b'lgarska istoriia* (Sofia, 1951), treats the nineteenth century in considerable detail, but ignores this emigration.

revolutionary and publicist who expended so much energy opposing the emigration, fall into this category.[2] Curiously, E. Georgiev's biography of Naiden Gerov, the Bulgarian who served as Russian consul in Plovdiv in the 1860s, does not mention the matter.[3] Although no major history of Vidin, the provincial capital of the region from which most of the emigrants came, has appeared in recent years, Damianov's history of the region's Lom district in the nineteenth century is a solid work, and it devotes a substantial chapter to the emigration.[4]

The authors of most of these studies of the emigration set themselves specific problems and treat them straightforwardly enough. But the study by I. Mitev, although modestly entitled "Georgi Rakovski and the Emigration of Bulgarians to Russia in 1861," attempts to do much more, by dealing with the emigration in terms of previous migrations to the Russian Empire, Turkish policy toward the Bulgarian nationality, Rakovski's relations with Russian officials over a long period, and other related themes.[5]

Mitev begins his discussion with some generalizations about the Bulgarian population before the nineteenth century, including one he himself would later contradict: "The emigration of the Bulgarians abroad and immigration of the Turks into Bulgaria were two contrary processes. They had completely negative consequences for our people because they reduced their number and their ability to resist."[6] After a digression on Turkish raids, Bulgarian rebels, and the Habsburg Empire in the seventeenth century, Mitev turns to a discussion of how the "political reorientation" of the Bulgarians from west (Austria) to east (Russia) came about: "*Russia emerges as a great power and begins systematically to conduct wars against Turkey while aiding the enslaved Balkan Christian peoples*" (italics in the original). According to Mitev, this shift explained the beginning of the emigration to the south of the Russian Empire. After mentioning the Bulgarian emigrations to the empire in 1806–1812 and after the war of 1828–1829, Mitev goes on to assert that abundant data

2 M. Arnaudov, *Georgi Stoikov Rakovskii* (Sofia, 1976), p. 176, and V. Traikov, *Georgi Stoikov Rakovski* (Sofia, 1974), pp. 196–209 (certainly the best account of Rakovski's activities), and, because of Rakovski's prominence as a journalist and the attention he devoted to the matter in his paper, *Dunavski lebed*; see also B. Andreev, *Nachalo, razvoi i v'zkhod na b'lgarskiia pechat*, vol. 1 (Sofia, 1946), pp. 99–102, and G. Borshukov, *Istoriia na b'lgarskata zhurnalistika* (Sofia, 1965), pp. 129–43.

3 E. Georgiev, *Naiden Gerov* (Sofia, 1972).

4 S. Damianov, *Lomskiiat krai prez v'srazhdaneto* (Sofia, 1967), pp. 190–205.

5 I. Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski i emigriraneto na b'lgari v Rusiia prez 1861 g.," *Voenno-istoricheski sbornik* 3 (1970): 3–23.

6 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 3.

have long since established that "all in all, the Bulgarian settlers in Russia found *good conditions*" (italics in the original), and that through the intercession of Russian officials they had been given special concessions by the tsarist government.

In his documentation for the period 1806–1812, Mitev cites an article by Kazakov in *Voprosy istorii* (1955) and, for the later war period, the very detailed study by I. I. Meshcheriuk, whose title he cites as "Pereselenie bolgar v iuzhniuiu Besarabiiu v 1828–1829 gg.," although the actual title[7] gives the years 1828–1834, which means that the study traced the fate of the colonists for some five years after the war. An examination of this literature reveals weaknesses in Mitev's account. First, there was a time when the Russian officers were exceptionally solicitous of the welfare of the Bulgarian colonists, but it was between 1812 and 1829, and not in the periods mentioned by Mitev. This was made clear by the same Meshcheriuk whom Mitev cited, but in an earlier book,[8] and is also evident from the large collection of documents on the colonization in the 1810s.[9] Mitev makes no reference to either of these two volumes. In his later study, Meshcheriuk indicated that living standards declined appreciably in the colonial zone in the postwar years, largely because the numbers of new arrivals far exceeded what the tsarist government had expected and could handle comfortably.[10]

After his introduction, Mitev turns to the subject of his protagonist, G. S. Rakovski. He first asserts that Rakovski's family had close connections among the Bulgarians in the Russian Empire and that "his relatives, like himself, did not speak out against the emigration because they thought that the Bulgarians were fleeing to save themselves from slaughter and massive plundering."[11] As an example, he mentions Georgi Mamarchev, Rakovski's uncle, as having been decorated for valor by the tsarist government and as having tried to raise a Bulgarian revolt. In doing so Mitev confuses chronology and also passes over in silence the significant fact that tsarist officials arrested the same Mamarchev for his revolutionary

[7] I. I. Meshcheriuk, *Pereselenie bolgar v iuzhniuiu Besarabiiu v 1828–1834 gg.* (Kishinev, 1965).

[8] I. I. Meshcheriuk, *Antikrepostnicheskaia bor'ba gagauzov i bolgar Besarabii v 1812–1820 gg.* (Kishinev, 1957).

[9] *Istoriia Moldavii: Dokumenty i materialy,* vol. 2: *Ustroistvo zadunaiskikh pereselentsev v Besarabii i deiatel'nost' A. P. Iushnevskogo,* ed. by K. P. Kryzhanovskaia and E. M. Rusev (Kishinev, 1957).

[10] On "good conditions," see Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 5; for incorrect citation of Meshcheriuk, see ibid., fn. 5. For a review of this book, see M. Pinson, "Pereselenie . . . 1834 gg.," *Kritika,* vol. 4, no 2 (Winter 1968).

[11] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," pp. 5–6; here Mitev did not specify which emigration.

activity in April 1830. Mitev does not identify any other members of Rakovski's family as Russophiles, though he asserts that the family was so inclined and that they had "faith in the liberating mission of Russia."[12]

Mitev then briefly describes episodes in the time of the Crimean War that he claims proved Rakovski's Russophilia and mentions a small Bulgarian emigration from the Silistra area in 1854, when the Austrians forced the Russian army to withdraw from Bulgaria shortly after its arrival. Mitev notes that Rakovski considered the flight of these Bulgarians "inevitable" (*neminuemo*), though a few lines later, he gives his opinion that "*emigration always led to a weakening of the Bulgarian nation*" (italics his), and that it was especially undesirable at that time. Since he took that view, he might have been expected to note with satisfaction that almost all the 1854 emigrants returned to Bulgaria in 1856 after the war, but he makes no such comment.[13]

Mitev begins his discussion of the 1861 emigration by describing the plight of the Bulgarians after the Crimean War: "Robberies and murders . . . [and] taxes increased. In this situation, again the desire of many Bulgarians emerged (*se poiavi*) to leave the lands of their fathers and emigrate to Russia." The explanation is inadequate, however. All those hardships had long been present, and in fact the additional one that became significant at just that time is not even mentioned by Mitev here, although he alludes to it later. This was the arrival of those Tatar and Circassian immigrants whom the Ottomans had decided to settle in Bulgaria in large numbers.[14] Then, instead of completing his description

12 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," pp. 6–7.

13 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 6. On the movement of 1854–1856, cf. G. Zanetov, "B'lgarskite kolonii v Russiia," *Periodichesko spisanie na b'lgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo v Sredets* (hereafter *Periodichesko spisanie*), no. 48 (1895), pp. 896ff.; N. Kh. Palauzov and I. S. Ivanov, "Po povod na statiiata 'B'lgarskite kolonii v Russiia,'" *Periodichesko spisanie*, no. 51 (1895), pp. 308–320; P. Nen'kov, "Dunai i nemtsy," *Izbornik razvedchika*, nos. 1–4 (1896–1897), and a review of this by D. Usta-Genchov, "Izbornik razvedchika," *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniia* 14, pt. 2 (1897): 40–47. While no source specifies the reasons for the return of almost all of the Bulgarians in 1856, a simple extrapolation from the continously declining amount of land available for new immigrants since 1820 would appear to provide the most likely explanation. Mitev's avoiding any mention of the return of the emigrants in 1856 is paralleled in his treatment of the emigrants of 1861.

14 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 6. On these population movements, see M. Pinson, "Russian Policy and the Emigration of the Crimean Tatars, 1854–1862," *Guney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmalar Dergisi* 1 (1972):37–56; 2–3 (1973–1974):101–14. Also see "Ottoman Colonization of the Tatars in Bulgaria and the Dobruja, 1854–1862," in *VII Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, Eylul 1970, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. 2 (Ankara, 1973), pp. 1040–58; "Ottoman Colonization of the Circassians in Rumili after the Crimean War," *Etudes Balkaniques*, 1972, no. 3, pp. 71–85.

of Bulgarian conditions, Mitev veers off into a discussion of Rakovski's patriotic and revolutionary activities, mainly in Serbia, in 1861, a description that sets the stage for his dramatic formulation that "like thunder out of a clear sky Rakovski received the news from Bulgaria and other places that some kind of agreement had been made between Russia and Turkey to move the Bulgarians to the Crimea to replace the Tatars and Circassians [who were actually from the Caucasus], who with the cooperation of the Sublime Porte had been settled in the European parts of the empire." Lest his readers take this too seriously, Mitev adds a footnote reporting that "the text of this agreement is still not known to Bulgarian historical science."[15] As with the discussion of causes of the emigration, here, too, Mitev goes off on a tangent, this time to try to establish that Rakovski, despite his opposition to the emigration, was ardently Russophile. The task was far less difficult than Mitev made it; but it was precisely this effort which produced most of the peculiar formulations with which his article abounds.

According to Mitev, Rakovski, although critical of the tsarist government, still hoped that the Russian officials would resume their liberation policy toward the South Slavs. One of his favorite proofs of Rakovski's basic Russophilia — his Russian passport — is introduced here. The passport was issued in 1858 and renewed in July 1861; it enabled Rakovski to live abroad as a subject of the Russian Empire, and, Mitev claimed, "proves that Rakovski was well disposed toward Russia." Immediately thereafter he turns to another favorite theme, that Rakovski hated the tsarist regime but approved of the empire's role in the Balkans. To prove it, Mitev quotes Khristo Botev, another nineteenth-century revolutionary, and Vasil Kolarov.[16]

Mitev concedes that "*the details of that* [i.e., the Russian] *policy*" (italics in the original) did not coincide with Bulgarian interests, but that this was a "temporary situation" which would correct itself; Russia would revert to supporting the liberation of the South Slavs. At this juncture (1861), Rakovski thought the time for revolt was near and that the Bulgarians should not be dispersed. Mitev claims that the Russian Empire, defeated in the Crimean War and having no rights according to the Treaty of Paris (1856), "could not do anything except give land for settlement to Bulgarian fugitives. The situation was made even more complicated because before this [in 1860] the settling of Tatars and Circassians in the

[15] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 7 and fn. 6.
[16] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," pp. 7–8.

Bulgarian lands had begun." Mitev concluded that this was the source of the disagreement between Rakovski and the tsarist government, but instead of pursuing that argument he shifted to a discussion of Rakovski's status as a national leader after 1856 and his views on the Bulgarian church question and then back again to the assertion that the reasons that "some" (*niakoi*) Bulgarians decided to emigrate were oppressive taxation and lawlessness.[17]

Mitev's characterization of the Russian Empire in 1861 as weak and therefore powerless to affect the condition of the Bulgarians must be compared with the empire's actual activities in 1860–1861, which included its involvement in the affairs of Moldavia and Wallachia; the heavy pressure it exerted on the Ottomans to reform the administration of the Balkans, which brought about the unprecedented tour of inspection by the grand vizier in the summer of 1860; its vigorous prosecution of the war to subdue the Caucasus (1858–1864); and, after the war, the displacement of large numbers of Tatars and Circassians from areas around the north and east of the Black Sea to the Ottoman Empire, mainly to the Balkans and especially to Bulgaria. Mitev must have known about all of these events. Moreover, all of them, albeit to differing degrees, affected the Bulgarians. The notion that the Russian Empire was powerless does not appear to fit the facts.[18]

Returning to the subject of Rakovski and the emigration, Mitev notes that Rakovski, opposed to "Russia's decision to accept (*prieme*) Bulgarian fugitives, arrange for their transportation, and provide them with land," embarked on a propaganda campaign to dissuade Bulgarians from emigrating. He "unmasked" the Turkish government, which was using its fiscal policy to "force" the Bulgarians to emigrate and, "on the other hand, itself was encouraging their emigration to southern Russia by settling in our [i.e., Bulgarian] lands Tatars and Circassians from the Crimea."[19] In fact, however, the resentment expressed in the articles in *Dunavski lebed* by Rakovski and his correspondents was directed, not against the tsarist government's decision to sit passively by and accept Bulgarian refugees, but at its efforts to encourage Bulgarians to emigrate,

17 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," pp. 8–9.

18 On the impact of the colonization of the Tatars and Circassians on Bulgaria, see the studies mentioned above in fn. 14. One Bulgarian put it quite bluntly: If Russia really wanted to aid us, she could do so here instead of inciting us to emigrate to Russia. See the article headed "Tsarigrad 4 Okt. 1861" in *Dunavski lebed,* 17 October, 1861, II, p. 55. (In this and subsequent citations, the designation "II" indicates the second year of the newspaper's appearance.)

19 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 9.

which included false promises and the active use of recruiting agents, both Russian and Bulgarian.[20] Only against the background of these efforts does Mitev's second point about Rakovski's propaganda campaign become intelligible.

As for Turkish pressure on the Bulgarians to emigrate to the south of the Russian Empire, Mitev claims that Rakovski held the following view: The Turkish authorities (whether local or central he does not say) at first looked upon the Bulgarians as a valuable labor force and tried to prevent their emigration. Later, however, the Ottoman government pursued its policy of weakening the Bulgarian element "by expelling the Bulgarians and settling Muslims from Asia Minor and other countries [in their stead]." Mitev then adds that the local authorities were at first worried about the loss of manpower, and tried to prevent the emigration until they received orders from the Porte forbidding them to do so. In fact, however, the Ottoman response was far more complicated. As early as the summer of 1860, no less a personage than Grand Vizier Kibrisli Mehmet remarked on his tour of inspection in Bulgaria (at least according to *Dunavski lebed*) that dissatisfied Bulgarians could go "to another empire" (*v drugo tsarstvo*). In the Lom area, local officials were reportedly even more pointed: "For whomever does not like it there is Russia; it is wide open, let him go there." While there are references to an Ottoman policy of encouraging, or at least not hindering, Bulgarian emigration, there are also references to measures designed to dissuade would-be emigrants and to dissatisfaction at the size of the emigration — some of them dating from as early as April 1861 and going on through the fall, i.e., precisely during those months of maximum recruitment and emigration. This inconsistent Ottoman policy clearly indicates the coexistence of opposing views within the Ottoman government and a far more complicated situation than Mitev describes.[21]

[20] Cf. the articles that appeared in *Dunavski lebed* during 1861: 15 August, II, p. 46; 6 September, II, p. 49; 3 October, II, p. 54; 24 December, II, p. 62.

[21] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 9. On Kibrisli Mehmet's tour, see *Arkhiv na G. S. Rakovski* (hereafter *AR*), vol. I, ed. by B. Dimov et al. (Sofia, 1952), p. 268, fn. 4. While numerous Turkish, Bulgarian, and Western accounts differ in their precise dating of the tour, all agree on the summer of 1860. My forthcoming study of the Bulgarian emigration will show that the tour lasted from early June to early October. Mitev gave no date for the tour, possibly because clear dating of such a statement, so far in advance of the actual emigration, would reinforce the view that there was an exchange agreement between the tsarist government and Turkey. On matters in Lom; cf. Damianov, *Lomskiat krai*, p. 191. On Ottoman dissatisfaction with, or opposition to, the emigration of the Bulgarians, see *Dokumenti za b'lgarskata istoriia*, vol. 3, ed. by P. Dorev (Sofia, 1940), pp. 404–405 (April 1861), 409 (June 1861); *AR*, vol. 3, ed. by N. Traikov (Sofia, 1966), pp. 488 (May 1861), 774 (Autumn 1861). All of this material was accessible to Mitev, and his notes indicate he consulted most of it.

Unfortunately this questionable use of sources is not an isolated instance. To bolster Rakovski's credibility, Mitev asserts that "Rakovski already had precise information" about Bulgarian emigration from various parts of the country, but of the numerous examples Mitev might have chosen to illustrate this, he cites only a letter from a teacher in Bolgrad (Bessarabia) about the situation in the Edirne area, from which ultimately there was no significant migration.[22] Mitev discovered that Rakovski had information "on agitation for emigration in the Vidin district. . . . As a result of which [he] . . . started with all means available to try . . . to avert the emigration." Accordingly, Mitev now presents a very different picture of the Russian involvement in the emigration; the Russian consulate operated as a public office for registering the emigrants and for lavishing promises upon them.[23]

Rakovski's attempts to thwart the emigration apparently made it permissible for others to do so as well, and so, not surprisingly, it emerges that Khristo Georgiev, a wealthy and public-spirited Bulgarian merchant in Bucharest, "like Rakovski, had understood the harm in the emigration for the Bulgarians" and worked to dissuade a group of seventy men, "who were being pursued by the Turkish authorities," not to emigrate. The reference to Turkish pursuit might incline one to accept Mitev's initial explanation that Turkish oppression was the reason behind the emigration except that the text of the letter makes no reference to Turkish pursuit. It says only that "up to seventy Bulgarians crossed into Wallachia, leaving homes, wives, and children — you [Rakovski] can readily understand what goodness (*kakvo dobro*) they left behind." Mitev took the fact that only men were involved as proof that they were being persecuted by the Turks, but if that were the case, why would they have left their families behind as potential hostages? A much simpler explanation is probably the correct one: they went ahead to inspect sites set aside for their resettlement in the Russian Empire. Damianov mentions such tours of inspection as leaving from Lom, though he dates them in 1860.[24]

22 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 9.

23 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 10. Mitev, here discussing Rakovski's actions against the emigration, referred to Z. Stoianov, who republished Rakovski's pamphlet against the emigration (*Preselenie*) in 1886 and claimed, erroneously, in his preface that Rakovski published the pamphlet in 1859, for which Mitev criticized Stoianov sharply. The real reason for Mitev's hostility to Stoianov is noted below (p. 674).

24 Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 10 (quotation from Georgiev); Mitev characterizes the men as "presledvani ot turskite vlasti." Also see Georgiev's letter dated 11 May 1861, *AR* 3:475. Damianov, after describing certain events which took place in the summer of 1860 (according to him), wrote: "Before they decided to emigrate, the villagers had sent their people to Russia to see what the life of the emigrants was like" (Damianov, *Lomskiat krai*, p. 199).

Mitev next addresses the issue of the attempt by Georgiev and his conservative, Russophile associates who comprised the Committee of Elders to suppress the pamphlet Rakovski wrote against the emigration, which he had published anonymously in Bucharest in June of 1861. The pamphlet was entitled *Preselenie v Russia ili ruska-ta ubiistvena politika za b'lgari-ty.* There Mitev cited a passage from a letter by Ikonomov (Rakovski's associate who brought the manuscript of the pamphlet to Bucharest) in which Ikonomov referred to Georgiev's acts as "treason" (*predatelstvo*). Mitev claims that Georgiev's group was probably put up to this by the Russian consul, but this presented Mitev with a complicated moral issue. Georgiev was a public figure, a philantropist, and generally well regarded. Here, however, he had acted almost certainly in conjunction with the Russian consulate in Bucharest and in a way that was judged to be "treason" by Rakovski's emissary. To resolve the dilemma, Mitev suggests that Georgiev did not know Rakovski was the author; had he known, he probably would not have acted as he did since he held Rakovski in great esteem.[25]

As though further to forestall any possible criticism of Georgiev, Mitev turns to other émigrés who did not oppose the emigration, especially those living in the Russian Empire at the time. The silence of one of them, Dimit'r Ginin, originally from Lom, Mitev explains by Ginin's belief "that Bulgarian emigrants in Russia would participate more actively in the struggle against Turkey in a future war." The documentation Mitev provides to substantiate this point is a reference to Damianov's history of Lom. Damianov, however, in his discussion of Ginin and other émigrés in Russia originally from Lom, explains their silence about the mass emigration by saying that they were "materially bound by assistance to Serbia and Russia." Mitev gives no other documentation, and Damianov offers no other explanation.[26]

When Mitev turns back to pick up one of his numerous dangling threads — Rakovski's stubborn opposition to emigration of the Bulgarians and Tatars — he returns also to the remark of Grand Vizier Kibrisli

[25] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 11. Some forty years before Mitev wrote this, an eminent historian of nineteenth-century Bulgaria, M. Dimitrov, in a study of the Committee of the Elders, had advanced a very similar view; see his "Komitet na starite — dobrodetelnata druzhina," in *B'lgariia 1000 godini, 927–1927* (Sofia, 1930), p. 755. Mitev gave no indication of knowing Dimitrov's work.

[26] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 11; Damianov, *Lomskiat krai,* p. 193. While it is true that Damianov did not document his statement, it is clear that he based this chapter very extensively on an unpublished nineteenth-century history of the town by Marinov; most statements lacking other documentation may be presumed to have been taken from Marinov.

Mehmet. At this point, however, Mitev, with greater chronological accuracy than before refers to "the trip" of the grand vizier to Bulgaria which took place in 1860, and "For that reason it must be assumed that the agreement between the Sublime Porte and Russia was reached in the same year. At that time (1860) the first groups of Tatars and Circassians were settled in Bulgaria."[27] This is, of course, the same agreement whose existence Mitev had so vociferously doubted on page seven.

Once Mitev made this significant advance in accuracy he stumbled into a chronological contradiction. In discussing the unfolding of Rakovski's anti-Russian views, he notes that in a letter from January 1861 Rakovski opposed the Russian policy of settling Bulgarian colonization, "but he does not mention that there are already Bulgarian emigrants." In fact, however, Rakovski made no mention of emigration at all in that letter; he referred only to Russian charges that he had written against the tsarist government in his *Dunavski lebed,* a charge to which he defiantly and rather colloquially responded. The editors of the published volume of correspondence append a note here to the effect that Rakovski's criticism was directed only against the emigration, but contrary to their usual practice, they provide no reference to the offending passage's location. A careful reading of the earlier issues of the paper yields no such references. For this reason, and because there are no other references to emigration this early in the year, it is difficult to accept the explanation unreservedly, as Mitev appears to have done. One must keep in mind that the letter was written in January, a month when the storminess of the Black Sea would have precluded transporting the emigrants by ship. Astonishingly, even after this Mitev repeats his assertions that the Bulgarians emigrated because of Turkish lawlessness and that Rakovski was hostile to the tsarist government because it agreed to accept Bulgarian emigrants, as though Mitev had never written his own page eleven.[28]

In subsequent parts of his discussion of Rakovski and the emigration, Mitev manages to provide some comic relief. From the fact that the Russian embassy in Vienna received two copies of Rakovski's *Dunavski lebed,* Mitev concludes that Tsar Alexander II himself read one of them! Mitev also dismisses certain statistics on the emigrants found in a Bulgarian newspaper because the size of families averaged out to six and Mitev knows that "the Bulgarian peasant families of that time were much

[27] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 11 and fn. 5. There were colonizations of Tatars and Circassians in Bulgaria before 1860 (see studies cited above, fn. 14).

[28] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 12; *AR,* 1:230 and fns.

larger."[29] Then further to display the breadth of his study, he introduces two "important" Ottoman documents pertaining to the emigration which turn out to be papers from very low levels (village and district) of the Ottoman administration.[30]

Mitev's summary of emigration statistics brought him to the issue of the emigration of Bulgarian colonists from Moldavian Bessarabia across the Russian Empire's border (between 1860 and 1862) and should not be counted in any estimate of the numbers involved in the Trans-Danubian emigration. In the case of the emigration from Bessarabia, however, Mitev explicitly mentions Russian incitement of the emigration and Rakovski's attack on Nikola Palauzov, a Bulgarian involved in actively aiding tsarist officials. But he gives no indication of having understood that since both groups of Bulgarians were sent by the Russians to the same area abandoned by the same Tatars, both groups of Bulgarians were clearly part of the same tsarist plan.[31]

Mitev concludes his chronological narrative with the assertion that "in 1862 the emigration of Bulgarians from the Vidin area ceased," that "the main credit for stopping the emigration is G. S. Rakovski's," and that "aside from a few thousand Bulgarians from the Vidin area, there were few emigrants from anywhere else." This presentation makes several disservices to the facts. First, it ignores the major role the terrain and weather of the Crimea played in discouraging those Bulgarians who came and in propelling them back to Bulgaria, where their tale of woe discouraged other would-be emigrants. Then, again using an all too recurrent verb, he contradicts an earlier sentence in the article with one similar in form but opposite in content: "In his pamphlet, Rakovski unmasks the policy of Russia on the emigration." Then, to vitiate this, he characterizes Rakovski's description of the harsh conditions in the Crimea as "hyperbole." Then, in his own listing of the reasons for Bulgarian discontent, he mentions "orographic and hydrographic peculiarities of

[29] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," pp. 12, 13. He did not refer to any statistical studies.

[30] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 14. Had Mitev looked into this subject at all, either the literature or the competent staff of the Oriental section of the Cyril and Methodius Library would have told him that the documents there, although numerous, are, taken singly, of limited importance. They are almost all isolated documents, not serials of areas or governmental offices (such as those in the archives in Istanbul), and in many cases are only a torn portion of the original. Taken together they can be significant, as the works of numerous Bulgarian Ottomanists have shown, but to introduce two isolated documents with such fanfare shows a lack of a sense of proportion.

[31] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 14. Without any documentation, Mitev suggested that Rakovski was opposed to emigration from Bessarabia because it might encourage Trans-Danubian emigration (ibid., p. 15).

the lands in the Crimean peninsula." Next he backtracks by asserting that conditions in Bessarabia and near Odessa were not very unlike those of northern Bulgaria and therefore the problem was not serious. While there is some topographic similarity between the Crimea and northeastern Bulgaria (Dobruja) the same cannot be said for northwestern Danubian Bulgaria.[32]

Rakovski unquestionably worked hard, perhaps harder than anyone else, to defeat the emigration policy, but Mitev's second point obscures the fact that had it not been for the harsh conditions, Rakovski would not have had such excellent copy for his paper, and that without the return of the emigrants (a very small group in December 1861, and the many more in the spring and summer of 1861) his articles might have had little impact.

As his third point Mitev obliquely acknowledges that the Russian government had plans and expectations vis-à-vis emigrants from regions of Bulgaria other than the northwest, but that acknowledgment should properly have been made far earlier in his account, in his discussion of the beginnings of the emigration. The Bulgarian press of the period abounds in references to Russian agitation elsewhere in Bulgaria. Throughout his article Mitev has obscured that point, since to emphasize it would have weakened his claim that the emigration was primarily a response to Ottoman oppression. Examination of the entire Russian effort would also show the influence of the returnees in ending the emigration. Recruitment in eastern Bulgaria began later than that around Vidin; as a result the return to Vidin had occurred before the eastern emigration had gotten underway and in effect prevented it from taking place.

In the final sections Mitev turns again to Rakovski's Russian passport, the possession, renewal, and cancellation of which he traces in great detail from the later 1850s until Rakovski's death in 1867. Even as Mitev presents the facts it is apparent that Rakovski was issued the passport and given the renewals when he was in favor with the Russians, though he of course tried to retain it at all times for the convenience it afforded. Mitev devotes an inordinate amount of space to this issue and presents it almost

32 Mitev's statements in "Georgi Rakovski," pp. 15, 16. Typical complaints of the Bulgarian emigrants can be found in Rakovski's paper, *Dunavski lebed,* during 1861 — 10 October, II, p. 54; 31 October, II, p. 57; 7 November, II, p. 58; 14 November, II, p. 59; 21 November, II, p. 60 — and in a periodical, *B'lgarski knizhitsi,* nos. 20–23 (October–December 1861). Extant Turkish archival documents (petitions of the peasants in Odessa to the sultan) also refer to these conditions. These will be described in my forthcoming study about Bulgarian migrations to the Russian Empire.

entirely as an ongoing testimonial to Rakovski's Russophilia,[33] with only passing reference to the security and convenience it provided.

Only toward the end of his discussion does Mitev concede that factors other than Rakovski's activity might have ended the emigration — "Independently of its conflict with Rakovski, the Russian government changed its policy"[34] — but gives no indication as to what these factors might have been. The reason for this vague formulation and indeed for many of the unnecessary convolutions of Mitev's presentation can be found in the last three pages of the article where he rambles through Russo-Bulgarian relations in the 1870s, a cataloging of Russophile and Russophobe Bulgarians in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries (including a very long attack on Z. Stoianov, who republished *Preselenie* as a specifically anti-Russian act in 1886), a collection of quotations from Blagoev aimed at refuting Stoianov, and ends finally with a fanfare extolling the Bulgarian Communist party for having foiled the efforts of Tsar Boris III at disrupting the otherwise amicable course of Bulgaro-Soviet relations.[35]

It may well be that Todorov-Khindalov, an archivist and historian of nineteenth-century Bulgaria, was correct when he asserted that this last emigration gave rise to the first expression of Russophobia among the Bulgarians.[36] To establish the accuracy of this statement would require a separate study. But such a study cannot be undertaken until a complete and accurate picture of the events of 1861–1862 has been provided. Here we have tried to untangle at least some of the confused aspects of this obscure episode in Russo-Bulgarian relations.

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[33] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," pp. 7, 12, 18–19.
[34] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," p. 20.
[35] Mitev, "Georgi Rakovski," pp. 21–23.
[36] V. Todorov-Khindalov, *Narodni dvizheniia i v'zstaniia ot predosvoboditelnata epokha spored novootkriti turski ofitsialni dokumenti* (Sofia, 1929), p. 94.

Peter Struve and Ukrainian Nationalism*

RICHARD PIPES

The Ukraine was always Struve's blind spot. He would readily acknowledge the legitimacy of Polish and Finnish national aspirations, and he was prepared to grant extensive internal autonomy to both these nationalities. Long before the war, he had come out in favor of restoring to the Poles and the Finns the abrogated constitutional charters granted them by Alexander I.[1] He also abhorred the disabilities imposed by Imperial Russia on its Jewish population. But he stubbornly refused to recognize not only the existence of a Ukrainian (let alone Belorussian) nationality with a claim to political self-determination, but even the very existence of a distinct Ukrainian culture. His intolerance in this regard went to such lengths and contrasted so starkly with his political liberalism that clearly the sources of his opinions on the subject must be sought in something else than mere ignorance or prejudice.

Struve believed that a pervasive sense of national identity capable of overriding social, ethnic, and political divisiveness was essential to Russia's survival. He thought that the Russia of his time was not as yet a fully formed nation, but only a nation in *statu nascendi*: he once described it, using an American expression, as a "nation in the making."[2] Like the United States, the Russian Empire consisted of diverse ethnic groups, and like it, he believed, it was being forged into a single nation by the unity of culture, in which Russian culture performed the same function as English culture did in America. The on-going process of cultural integration enabled him to argue that despite its ethnic heterogeneity Russia was not a multinational empire like Austria-Hungary, with which

* The following essay is an excerpt from the author's forthcoming book, *Struve: Liberal on the Right, 1905–1944,* to be published by the Harvard University Press.

1 Richard Pipes, *Struve: Liberal on the Left, 1870–1905* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), p. 365. Together with N. N. Lvov, Struve assisted Grigorii Trubetskoi in drafting the Appeal to the Poles, issued by the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich in August 1915, which promised them national reunification and internal self-rule after the successful conclusion of the war: *Pamiati kn. Gr. N. Trubetskogo* (Paris, 1930), p. 29.

2 P. B. Struve, "Na raznye temy," *Russkaia mysl',* 1911, no. 1 (January), pt. 2, p. 185.

it was often compared, but a genuine national state (or "national empire") like Great Britain and the United States.[3] Given his views that Russia's national unity was determined not ethnically but culturally and that cultural amalgamation was still in progress, it is not surprising that he should have attached such importance to the maintenance of the unity of Russian culture: the latter was a precondition for Russia's political and moral recovery as well as for her future development as a great power. He regarded a single culture as even more important to Russia's future than unified statehood — hence, political separatism was to him less pernicious than cultural separatism. The Ukrainian national movement struck at the heart of this conception. To have conceded the existence of a Ukrainian culture alongside an all-Russian culture, or to have reduced all-Russian culture to its narrowly ethnic "Great Russian" manifestations, would have undermined the very premise on which his notion of the future of a great Russia rested: "If the question of the separation of the non-Russian nationalities has an exclusively political interest, then the Ukrainian movement, by contrast, confronts us with cultural separatism,"[4] a much more dangerous threat:

> Should the intelligentsia['s] "Ukrainian" idea . . . strike the national soil and set it on fire . . . [the result will be] a gigantic and unprecedented schism of the Russian nation, which, such is my deepest conviction, will result in veritable disaster for the state and for the people. All our "borderland" problems will pale into mere bagatelles compared to such a prospect of bifurcation and — should the "Belorussians" follow the "Ukrainians" — "trifurcation" of Russian culture.[5]

These opinions embroiled Struve in one of the worst intellectual controversies of his controversy-ridden life. It began with an article by the Jewish nationalist Vladimir Zhabotinskii in the January 1911 issue of *Russkaia mysl'* (*Russian thought*).Zhabotinskii questioned Struve's assertion that Russia was a national state rather than a multinational empire by pointing to the statistical fact that Russians (that is, "Great Russians") constituted a mere 43 percent of the country's population. Struve responded to Zhabotinskii in the same issue of his journal.[6] The determining fact of Russian nationhood, he wrote, was not ethnic but cultural: it was the existence throughout the Russian Empire of a single dominant

[3] P. B. Struve, "Velikaia Rossiia i Sviataia Rus'," *Russkaia mysl',* 1914, no. 12 (December), pt. 2, p. 177.
[4] P. B. Struve, "K ukrainskomu voprosu," *Birzhevye vedomosti,* no. 14,476, November 5, 1914, pp. 1–2.
[5] P. B. Struve, "Obshcherusskaia kul'tura i ukrainskii partikularizm: Otvet Ukraintsu," *Russkaia mysl',* 1912, no. 1 (January), p. 85.
[6] Struve, "Na raznye temy," pp. 184–87.

culture — a culture that was not narrowly "Great Russian" (a term he scornfully rejected) but all-Russian. All the ethnic groups inhabiting the empire, including those that used "dialects" like the Ukrainian and the Belorussian for everyday purposes, could gain access to culture in the broad, cosmopolitan sense of the word only through the intermediacy of the Russian language. The hegemony in the Russian Empire of the Russian language, and of the literature and learning to which that language had given rise, was the thing that ensured the existence of a single all-Russian nationality and made it possible to speak of multiethnic Russia as a true national state.

These highly unorthodox (for a liberal) views evoked violent protests, especially from Ukrainian intellectuals. Struve published in the May 1911 issue of *Russkaia mysl'* one such protest, by an anonymous author who urged the recognition of a distinct Ukrainian culture while disclaiming any separatist ambitions. Half a year later Struve replied to it with a lengthy essay, "The Common Russian Culture and Ukrainian Particularism" (*Russkaia mysl'*, 1912, no. 1), in which he most fully articulated his views on the nationality question.

In defending his thesis of a single all-Russian culture as the basis of Russia's political unity, Struve had recourse to historic analogies. Classical Greece, he pointed out, for all the diversity of its regional dialects (Ionic, Doric, Attic, and so on), had developed by the third century B.C. a common *koine*, derived from the Athenian speech, which came to be accepted as the medium of communication by all the educated people in the Hellenistic world and served as the basis of Greek unity. More recently, High German, derived from the language of the Saxon chanceries and popularized by Luther in his translation of the Bible, had gradually gained hegemony and won for itself status as the language of the educated classes and the link uniting the diverse areas of Germany. Neither the *koine* nor *Hochdeutsch*, Struve noted, did away with local dialects, which continued to exist side by side with them: but they did become the exclusive medium of literature, education, government, and public opinion. Struve believed that an identical process of national unification around a common language had been under way in Russia since the eighteenth century, with Russian acquiring the status of the *koine*. Ignorance of the tongue of Pushkin, Gogol, and Tolstoy, or of the *Polnoe sobranie zakonov* (*Full collection of laws*), the Emancipation Edict, and the October Manifesto, condemned a citizen of the Russian Empire to exclusion from all that mattered in the country in which he lived.

Having made this point, Struve went on to analyze the perspectives that

confronted the Ukrainian language. He affirmed his opposition to any police harassment of the Ukrainian language as both immoral and counterproductive — although, it seems, not emphatically enough, because some opponents were later to accuse him of advocating the forceful repression of Ukrainian culture. He saw "Ukrainianism" as confronting two options. One was a Ukrainian (and Belorussian) culture as a "modest regional development," a phenomenon confined largely to elementary education and patois literature. The other alternative was the artificial promotion by the intelligentsia of the Ukrainian and Belorussian cultures as full-fledged counterfoils to all-Russian culture. Adoption of the latter course entailed two considerations. First, a Ukrainian and a Belorussian culture had to be created, for, in his opinion, as yet neither existed. Secondly, were this to be attempted, profound political consequences would ensue. Struve did not spell out exactly what he had in mind, but he undoubtedly meant a destruction of Russian national unity and an end to Russia as a great power. On the whole, he thought the second alternative unlikely on the grounds that the whole historical evolution of modern Russia tended to uproot regional cultures. Still, one could not preclude the possibility that the Ukrainian and Belorussian intelligentsia would press this course on their people with catastrophic consequences, and this prospect caused him great anxiety.

Struve's views on the Ukrainian question, expressed with his customary boldness, proved very embarrassing to the Kadet party. The Kadets were influential in the Ukraine and enjoyed valuable parliamentary support from unaffiliated Ukrainian deputies. Since Struve was a member of the Kadet Central Committee, there was the danger that his opinions could be mistaken for those of his party. Indeed, at least one Ukrainian daily in Kiev, with reference to Struve's writings, accused the Kadet party of harboring "undemocratic" tendencies. A Kadet conference held in the spring of 1912 responded to this charge with the statement that Struve's pronouncements on the Ukrainian question expressed his private opinions and in no sense bound the Kadet party.[7]

There the matter rested until the war, which lent the Ukrainian issue fresh urgency. The Germans and Austrians, who until then had acted surreptitiously, began openly to support Ukrainian separatism as a means of weakening the enemy's war effort and ultimately breaking up the Russian Empire. At the same time the successful Russian offensive against the Austrians, which had carried them deep into Galicia, opened up the pos-

[7] *Rech'*, no. 134, May 19, 1912, p. 2.

sibility of annexing a territory which many Russians regarded as historically part of the Kievan heritage and a sizeable portion of whose population consisted of Eastern Christian Slavs.

While the battle for Galicia was under way, a Ukrainian deputy to the Austrian parliament published in the *Berliner Tagblatt* an article calling for the creation of a Ukrainian buffer state that would isolate "Muscovite Russia" from the Black Sea and the Balkans. A copy of this paper reached Struve with some delay: it confirmed his worst suspicions about the dangers to Russia of the Ukrainian movement. He commented on it in a newspaper article, "Austro-German 'Ukrainianism' and Russian Public Opinion,"[8] which reopened, in an even more strident manner than before, the debate over the Ukraine. Here he took to task not only the Ukrainian nationalists and their Austro-German supporters, but also that large body of "progressive" Russian opinion which, by its willingness to acknowledge Ukrainian claims to a separate culture, played into the enemy's hands. "The 'Ukrainian' danger is not an invention," he wrote, "nevertheless it exists and will continue to exist *only* insofar as the claims of the so-called Ukrainians to some separate political and national culture alongside the all-Russian culture will fail to encounter an appropriate resistance from Russian educated society."

The article, by pointing an accusing finger at Russian liberals, provoked a furious response. It moved the Kadet Central Committee to convoke a meeting on 5 October 1914, devoted exclusively to a discussion of the national question.[9] The committee's members were in general agreement that the time was ripe for the party to take a more specific stand on this issue, especially as it affected the Ukraine. Miliukov thought it would be a good idea to consult the Ukrainian associates of the party before formulating a program. Petrunkevich raised the question of whether and to what extent the party felt responsible for the opinions expressed publicly by individual members of its Central Committee: referring to Struve's notorious articles, he said that he personally thought that it would not be proper for the Central Committee to assume the role of censor. Tyrkova-Williams, describing Struve as a "free shooter" (*Freischütz*), agreed: the party bore no responsibility for Struve's "undeniably harmful" articles.

Struve, who was present, responded to both points. He made it clear

[8] P. B. Struve, "Avstro-Germanskoe 'ukrainstvo' i russkoe obshchestvennoe mnenie," *Birzhevye vedomosti,* no. 14, 402, September 29, 1914, p. 3.
[9] Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii (hereafter TsGAOR), *fond* 523, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 32, *god* 1914.

that he intended to continue speaking out on the Ukrainian question as he saw fit. He saw no harm in Ukrainian sympathizers being informally consulted, but he objected to "quasi-Kadet" (*kadeto-podobnye*) Ukrainians or Galicians being formally invited to participate in the commitee's deliberations.

Because the Central Committee followed Petrunkevich's advice and refused to take a formal stand on Struve's articles, its members felt it incumbent on them to disassociate themselves from Struve individually. During November and December 1914, *Rech'* carried many articles, some of them unsigned editorials, in which such party luminaries as Miliukov, Kokoshkin, and Gredeskul took issue with Struve's views on the Ukrainian question, often in a very effective manner.[10] The debate was exacerbated when Struve, in his rebuttal, declared that for all their pious protestations, the majority of Russia's educated society — a category in which he undoubtedly included his Kadet colleagues — held the Ukrainian movement in utter contempt.[11] This charge led to a regular war of words between *Birzhevye vedomosti* (*Stock exchange news*), a daily whose staff of contributors Struve had joined in September 1914, and *Rech'*, whose attacks were amplified by the radical daily *Den'*. Each of Struve's pronouncements on the Ukraine was immediately picked up and refuted, sometimes in a very personal fashion.

Struve believed that the basis of the disagreements between himself and his opponents lay in the unwillingness of Russia's liberals to come to terms with Russian nationalism: "Russian liberalism will always doom itself to impotence until such time as it acknowledges itself to be Russian and national."[12] He strongly disagreed with Kokoshkin's assertion, which probably reflected the sentiments of the Kadet leadership, that liberalism was incompatible with nationalism.[13] Quite the contrary, Struve re-

[10] P. N. Miliukov, "Ukrainskii vopros i P. B. Struve," *Rech'*, no. 303, November 9, 1914, p. 2; F. Kokoshkin in *Russkie vedomosti*, no. 259, November 9, 1914, pp. 2–3. In addition, in November and December 1914, *Rech'* carried numerous articles on this subject, all of them hostile to Struve's point of view, some of them unsigned (e.g., no. 327, December 3, 1914, p. 1, and no. 329, December 5, 1914, p. 1). In *Den'* there were many items directed against Struve's Ukrainian stand by N. Korobka: their general drift can be gathered from an article of Korobka's in the 7 November 1914 issue, in which he called Struve "an ordinary militant nationalist who perceives the triumph of Russian culture [to lie] in the destruction (*unichtozhenie*) of all other cultures."

[11] Struve, "K ukrainskomu voprosu."

[12] P. B. Struve, "Otvet moim opponentam," *Birzhevye vedomosti*, no. 14,538, December 6, 1914, p. 3.

[13] P. B. Struve, "Natsional'noe nachalo v liberalizme," *Birzhevye vedomosti*, no. 14,540, December 7, 1914, p. 2.

sponded: everywhere, including in Western Europe, liberalism as well as its offshoot, socialism, fused with nationalism. In Russia, too, nationalism had ceased to be the exclusive property or "monopoly" of right-wing movements.[14]

The ideological lines on this issue were sharply drawn and tempers well frayed when, on Christmas eve 1914, Struve, in the company of a fellow Kadet, S. A. Kotliarevskii, left for Galicia to inspect the situation in the territories conquered from the Austrians by the Russian army. During his three-week stay in Lviv, in his capacity as representative of the All-Russian Union of Zemstvos, he held long conversations with local notables whom he sounded out about the population's attitudes toward Russia and Russian culture. Given his strong feelings on the subject, it is hardly surprising that he found what he was looking for. He summarized his impressions in three newspaper articles[15] and in an oral report to the Kadet Central Committee on 31 January 1915. The impressions were anything but sorted out. The phenomenon popularly known as "Ukrainian culture," he concluded, was in Galicia nothing more than a "surrogate culture," originally created by the Orthodox population of the area as a weapon against Polish domination. It was a secular counterpart of the Uniate church which had been formed to resist pressures of the Catholic clergy. Without this Ukrainian surrogate culture the local population would have succumbed to Polonization long ago. The implication of his analysis was that now that Russia had conquered Galicia and that Polish domination was at an end, "Ukrainian culture" no longer had any useful function to perform and would gradually disappear, except as a strictly regional phenomenon. "A deep and broad *Russification* of Galicia is necessary and unavoidable."[16] On his trip to Galicia he found strong sympathies for Russia and support for unification with it among the Uniate clergy and a small body of pro-Russian politicians known as "Moscophiles." In time, he predicted, Ukrainian culture in Galicia would turn into a "regional culture," alongside the dominant Russian one. The annexation of Galicia by Russia was for him a forgone conclusion.

These views, published in January 1915 on the pages of *Birzhevye vedomosti,* ran so contrary to what its predominantly liberal and liberal-

14 Struve, "Natsional'noe nachalo v liberalizme," p. 2.
15 P. B. Struve, "Pis'ma iz Galitsii" (I), *Birzhevye vedomosti,* no. 14,586, January 1, 1915, p. 2; "Pis'ma iz Galitsii" (II), *Birzhevye vedomosti,* no. 14, 606, January 12, 1915, p. 3; "Iz galitsiiskikh vpechatlenii," *Birzhevye vedomosti,* no. 14,636, January 27, 1915, p. 2.
16 Struve, "Pis'ma iz Galitsii" (II).

conservative readers believed that the paper's editors felt compelled to disclaim all responsibility for Struve's opinions. *Rech'*, for its part, unleashed a barrage of articles against Struve's Galician essays: these seemed deliberately calculated to demonstrate that the Kadet party no longer regarded Struve as one of its own.[17]

Struve's differences with his party over the Ukrainian question were aired at a meeting of the Central Committee on 31 January 1915, at which he was to report on his journey to Galicia. He arrived at the meeting late and then unburdened himself of a rambling speech in the course of which he restated his familiar views. When he finished, the chairman chided him for straying from the subject under discussion and urged the other speakers not to follow his example. Kizevetter then said that he had learned nothing new from Struve's report. Miliukov seconded him. Vinaver believed that Struve completely misread the attitude of Russian public opinion toward the Ukrainian-Galician issue. An unidentified Ukrainian Duma deputy, who sat in as a guest, asked the committee to pay no heed to Struve's account: his impressionistic opinions had been "caught on the wing." Undeterred by the uniformly hostile reception, Struve proceeded to elaborate: his second statement was even more incoherent than the first.

His isolation on the Ukrainian issue by now was total: no one of note in the party, not even his friends and sympathizers from its conservative wing, had a good word to say for his views. So it was only a matter of time before Struve would conclude that there was no room left for him in the party of which he had been one of the founders. The actual cause of his resignation from the Central Committee was a formal resolution adopted by a conference of the Constitutional-Democratic Party held in St. Petersburg on 6 to 8 June 1915, which condemned his views on the Ukrainian question.[18] At once, on June 8, he sent the following letter of resignation to Prince Paul Dolgorukov:

I have been contemplating for a long time resigning from membership on the Central Committee, inasmuch as disagreements between the majority of the Committee on the one hand and myself on the other are so profound that my continued presence on it can only serve to embarrass and constrain the Committee as well as

[17] See, e.g., the articles of M. Mogilianskii in *Rech'*, no. 11, January 12, 1915, p. 2, and no. 61, March 4, 1915, p. 2; and of L. Panteleev, in *Rech'*, no. 30, January 31, 1915, p. 2, and no. 32, February 3, 1915, p. 2. During this period, *Den'* also kept up an unremitting campaign against Struve.

[18] Report in *Den'*, no. 157, June 10, 1915. The conference was a closed one, and only a small excerpt of its proceedings is available: *Krasnyi arkhiv*, 1933, no. 4/59, pp. 110–44.

myself, bringing no benefit to the cause. In informing the Committee of my decision, I beg you to assure my colleagues on it of my undeviatingly cordial feelings toward them. Membership on the Committee is associated in my mind with many precious memories.

On receipt of Struve's note, Dolgorukov drafted a response which the Central Committee subsequently adopted with minor stylistic changes:

I fully understand the motives which have moved P. B. Struve to submit his letter to the Central Committee. I have no doubt that all the members of the Committee, without exception, share my sense of profound respect and the warmest feelings for P. B. Struve, our dear comrade from the days of the Union of Liberation and the Kadet Party. No matter what our party relations with Peter Berngardovich should turn out to be, I believe and hope that in the immediate future, too, we shall, without fail, work together with him on the arena of public and political activity.[19]

There was, however, no sense of warmth evident in the laconic official announcement of Struve's resignation published on the pages of *Rech'* three days later. This notice merely stated that Struve's exit from the party's Central Committee put an end to "misunderstandings."[20] Struve regarded his resignation from the Central Committee as tantamount to his leaving the ranks of the Kadet party.[21]

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19 Both letters are in TsGAOR, *fond* 523, *op.* 1, *ed. khr.* 32, *god* 1915.
20 *Rech',* no. 158, June 11, 1915, p. 4.
21 P. B. Struve, "Zametki pisatelia," *Rossiia,* no. 14, November 26, 1927, p. 3.

On the Title of Grand Prince in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*

ANDRZEJ POPPE

Whether the princely titles used by the anonymous author of the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* reflect the actual usage prevailing at the time of the battle against the Cumans (Polovcians) in 1185 — and if so, how accurately — is a question that hitherto has not been raised, although otherwise this famous epic has been subjected to the most intense scrutiny. The omission is not surprising, however, for no thorough studies of princely titles in pre-Mongol Rus' have been undertaken. It has simply been assumed that the title "grand prince" dated from the tenth or eleventh century. In any case, the question could be dismissed entirely on the grounds that accuracy in every historical detail cannot be expected from a literary work, especially in matters of such marginal importance as the titles borne by the princely host who figure in it.

A recent investigation of the appearance of the title of grand prince in Rus' encourages us, however, to take another look at the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* from that perspective. That study[1] concluded that the adjective "grand" (*velikyi*) accompanying the word "prince" (*knjaz'*) was not consistently used as a component of the official title to indicate the hierarchical superiority of some Rus' princes over others before the end of the twelfth century. Although it is often attested in the sources before that time, they do not use it as an official title for the rulers of Rus'; it occurs simply as an attribute having different meanings.

In Old Rus'ian the semantics of this adjective were differentiated, as

[1] Complete documentation for the history of the title of grand prince can be found in my study of the titles of the rulers of Rus' from the tenth through the thirteenth century, to appear in the series Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa. The present article is published in advance of the larger work to honor Omeljan Pritsak, whose work includes contributions to research on the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, especially its Turkological tradition ("The Igor' Tale and the Eurasian Steppe," unpublished work), and an attempt to establish the *post quem non* for its creation as August 1201 ("The Igor' Tale as a Historical Document," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States* 12 [1972]:33–61).

were those of its medieval Greek and Latin equivalents — μέγας and *magnus*. In the oldest records — the Byzantine-Rus' treaties of the tenth century — "grand prince" is simply a translation of μέγας ἄρχων, that is, chief prince. Under Byzantine influence the attribute μέγας/*velikyi* was used in Rus' to praise the ruler or to refer to a deceased ruler, especially in eulogies. It was also used in the sense of "old-time, old, elder, senior," but in such cases the term *velikyi* was associated with the name of the ruler, rather than with his title. It was not used as a constituent part of the official princely designation even by Kievan senior princes.

The first ruler to adopt the appellation "grand prince" as a title was the senior prince of Vladimir-Suzdal', Vsevolod the Big Nest (1176–1212).[2] Its systematic use dates not from the beginning of Vsevolod's rule in Vladimir, but only from the 1190s.[3] Then the title began to be used derivatively, if inconsistently, by the Kievan senior princes, but they obviously regarded it as having only secondary importance. It was a way of stressing the traditional preeminence of Kiev in response to the ambitions of Vladimir on the Kljaz'ma. It was not yet part of the official title of the Kievan senior prince Svjatoslav (1180–1194). The situation changed under his successor, Rjuryk Rostyslavyč (1195–1201), the nominal Kievan senior prince; he adopted the title already used by Vsevolod.[4] In the thirteenth century senior princes of other Rus' lands also followed Vsevolod's example.

The need to expand the semantic context of the title of the Rus' ruler arose during the period when the Kievan prince's authority was in decline, the dynasty was growing in numbers, centrifugal processes were intensifying, and the title itself was losing value. The necessity of strengthening the Kievan prince's title and of emphasizing the scope of his rule may have

2 L. K. Goetz ("Der Titel 'Grossfürst' in den ältesten-russischen Chroniken," *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte* 1 [1911]:59) aptly observed that Vsevolod "ist derjenige Fürst, für dem 'velikyi kniaz'' systematisch als Amstitel während seines Lebens gebraucht wird." A similar view was expressed by Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 3 (Lviv, 1905), p. 205.

3 A. Šaxmatov (*Obozrenie russkix letopisnyx svodov XIV–XVI vv.*[Moscow and Leningrad, 1938] , p. 12), and M. Priselkov (*Istorija russkogo letopisanija XI–XV vv.* [Leningrad, 1940], p. 81), thought that Vsevolod had styled himself grand prince beginning in 1186, but the title is used consistently for Vsevolod in chronicles only after 1195. One can assume, therefore, that earlier references to it are later interpolations into the text.

4 The reference to Rjuryk Rostyslavyč as grand prince should be attributed to the author of the Kievan redaction of around 1200. An example of an obvious later interpolation is in the Hypatian Chronicle under the year 1183, where Svjatoslav is called simply "Kievan prince," but Rjuryk is called "grand prince." *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (hereafter *PSRL*), vol. 2, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908), col. 630.

first been realized beyond the borders of Rus'. When the political and ecclesiastical turmoil of the 1140s and 1150s threatened to disintegrate the Rus' church, Byzantium recognized that it must support the Kievan prince and the supremacy of his authority in order to guarantee the church's unity. Hence, a designation with clearly political intent appeared in Byzantium's correspondence with Rus'. The Kievan prince was referred to as the supreme prince—ruler of all Rus' (μέγας ἄρχων πάσης 'Ρωσίας). Similarly, the metropolitan of Rus' emphasized the scope of his jurisdictional rights by designating himself, and being designated, "Metropolitan of all Rus' (πάσης 'Ρωσίας)."[5]

The attribute *velikyi* was gradually becoming a permanent part of the title of the ruler of Rus', but it was not fated to be of use in cementing the disintegrating Kievan state. Circumstances allowed the ruler of northeastern Rus', which was developing rapidly, to adopt the title before the Kievan senior prince, even though the latter was still recognized, at least nominally, as the supreme prince of Rus'. In building his state, the prince of Vladimir-Suzdal' strived to influence the affairs common to all the Rus' lands. This time, however, the basis of his authority was to be "seniority in the land of Rus'," rather than occupancy of the throne of Kiev.[6]

In the *Tale*, only one person — Vsevolod, the ruler of Vladimir-Suzdal' Rus' and son of Jurij Dolgorukij — is given the title of grand prince:

Великыи княже Всеволоде! Не мыслию ти прелетѣти издалеча, отня злата стола поблюсти? Ты бо можеши Волгу веслы раскропити, а Донъ шеломы выльяти![7]

/Grand Prince Vsevolod! Do you intend to come from far away to watch over your paternal golden throne? For you, with the oars [of your fleet], can scatter the river Volga into droplets. With the helmets [of your army] you empty out the river Don!/[8]

[5] On Byzantine opposition to the attempted creation of a second metropolitanate in Rus', see the letter from the Constantinople patriarch to Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij, dated ca. 1168 (*Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka* [St. Petersburg], 6 [1880]: 63, 66); and W. Vodoff, "Un 'parti théocratique' dans la Russie du XIIe siècle? Remarques sur la politique ecclésiastique d'André de Bogoljubovo," *Cahiers de Civilisation Medievale* 17, no. 3 (1974): 193–215. For the seals of the metropolitans of all Rus', see A. Soloviev, *Byzance et la formation de l'Etat russe: Recueil d'études* (reprint ed., London, 1979), pp. 292–301, 317–25.

[6] He did, in fact, dispose of the Kievan throne. See *PSRL*, vol. 1 (Leningrad, 1928), cols. 413, 418, 421; and 2:683, 685–86, 688–89. Cf. S. M. Solov'ev, *Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vremen*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1959), pp. 569–79; M. Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 2 (Lviv, 1905), pp. 217–21, 225–27.

[7] *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), p. 21; V. L. Vinogradova, *Slovar'-spravočnik "Slova o polku Igoreve,"* 5 vols. to date (Leningrad, 1965–), 1:21.

[8] The English translation is taken from *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, ed. by S. A. Zenkovsky (New York, 1974), pp. 181–82, with one correction.

In the apostrophe, a direct appeal to Vsevolod in the second person, the author is clearly entitling this ruler, rather than simply distinguishing him from other princes of the same name.[9] After all, the author apostrophizes other princes many times, but he never calls any of them "grand prince." At the same time, he mentions — also in a panegyrical context — the princes Svjatoslav and Rjuryk of Kiev, Roman of Volhynia, and Jaroslav of Galicia, who were given this title by later chroniclers.[10] Yet, even the most illustrious of the dynasty's ancestors — Volodimer, the baptizer of Rus', and his son, Jaroslav the Wise — were not called grand princes in the *Tale*.[11]

The absence of the grand prince title might be explained away in some cases by arguing that the epic's author was often content with names alone and used titles infrequently, for the most part only where required for aesthetic reasons, that is, the rhythm of an epic narration.[12] But in the case of the Kievan senior prince Svjatoslav, who is mentioned several times, such an explanation would be inadequate and even inadmissible. The author bestowed on him the attribute *velikyi* twice: "Святъславъ грозныи великыи киевскыи . . ." and "Тогда великыи Святъ-

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There the text begins with the word "great," as does Nabokov's version, *The Song of Igor's Campaign* (New York, 1960), p. 54: "Great Prince Vsevolod! Do you not think of flying here from afar to safeguard the paternal golden throne? For you can with your oars scatter in drops the Volga, and with your helmets scoop dry the Don." Obviously, as the discussion here suggests, the word *velikyi* must be rendered by the English "grand."

9 Cf. D. S. Lixačev, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve" i kul'tura ego vremeni* (Leningrad, 1978), p. 129. The *Tale* mentions four contemporary princes of the same name (cf. Vinogradova, *Slovar'-spravočnik*, 1:140–41), and Vsevolod of Vladimir-Suzdal' (born 1154) was not the oldest of them. Vsevolod, the brother of Prince Ihor (born 1151), the epic's hero, was the same age as the Suzdal' prince or even a year or two older. Cf. N. Baumgarten, *Généalogies et marriages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X^e au XIII^e siècle* (Rome, 1927), tables 4–6; B. A. Rybakov, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve" i ego sovremenniki* (Moscow, 1971), p. 89.

10 See *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, pp. 20–23; Cf. Vinogradova, *Slovar'-spravočnik*, 5:53–54, 70–71, 108–109; Rybakov, *"Slovo"*, pp. 87, 92–95. In historiography Rjuryk passes for Svjatoslav's coregent; they were supposed to have formed a *sui generis* diarchy, with Svjatoslav ruling Kiev, and Rjuryk, the territories surrounding it from his capital in Bilhorod.

11 The *Tale* calls them *staryi*, in the sense of "ancient," "old-time." Cf. Vinogradova, *Slovar'-spravočnik*, 5:211. Jaroslav the Wise is also once called *velikyi*: "Тои же звонъ слыша давныи великыи Ярославъ а сынь Всеволожь Владиміръ." *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, p. 15; Vinogradova, *Slovar'-spravočnik*, 1:100. But according to a completely convincing emendation, this should be read as "тъже звонъ слыша дал'ныи вънукъ Ярославль, сынъ Вьсеволожь Володимѣръ." L. Müller, "Einige Bemerkungen zum Igorlied," *Welt der Slaven* 10 (1965):254.

12 The leading character of the *Tale*, Prince Ihor, is mentioned twenty-eight times by name alone and only nine times by name and the title "prince."

славъ. . . ."[13] In the first instance, in particular, the adjective *velikyi* is not needed to distinguish the Kievan senior prince from the other Svjatoslavs who appear in the epic, because for this purpose the indication that he held Kiev would have been sufficient. Nor can it be explained as an abbreviation — for *velikyi kniaz'* — as some have supposed.[14] *Velikyi* was used here merely in the sense of "chief, elder in terms of position."[15] The term accurately reflected Svjastoslav's status as Kievan senior prince. It was this status that was noted by the Novgorod chronicler who, when recording the events of 1180–1181, titled Svjatoslav "prince," but added the attribute *velikyi* when describing his arrival in Novgorod: "и въниде Святославъ великыи Всеволодиць Новугороду."[16] It follows from the chronicle data that the attribute *velikyi* was used to describe Svjatoslav's position, that is, his seniority in occupying the throne of the Kievan capital.[17] That it was in this sense, rather than as part of the title "grand prince," that the *Tale*'s author used the adjective is evident from the apostrophe of boyars around Svjatoslav who explained their ruler's dream:

И ркоша бояре князю: "Уже, княже, туга умь полонила"[18]

/And the boyars told the prince: "O Prince, sorrow has seized your mind"/[19]

In addressing Svjatoslav, the boyars in his retinue call him simply *knjaže*. Thus, the author of the *Tale* did not think that the Kievan senior prince held the title of grand prince at that time. In this context, the single instance in the *Tale* where the "grand prince" designation is bestowed — that is, on Vsevolod, ruler of Vladimir-Suzdal' Rus' — acquires significance.

The anonymous author's knowledge of the titles of Rus' princes in the final decades of the twelfth century is clearly consistent with the actual historical situation. His accuracy on this point, however, does not allow us to draw conclusions of a more general nature. Nonetheless, since the

[13] *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, pp. 18, 20. Zenkovsky's English rendering of the first phrase (p. 178) is not quite correct: ". . . Prince Sviatoslav. This stern prince of Kiev."
[14] The suggestion clearly influenced Nabokov's version (p. 47): "dread Svyatoslav, the Great [Prince] of Kiev."
[15] See Lixačev's commentary in *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, pp. 422–23; and idem, *"Slovo o polku Igoreve" i kul'tura ego vremeni*, pp. 128–29.
[16] *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' staršego i mladšego izvodov*, ed. by A. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 36, 226.
[17] See, in particular, *PSRL*, 2:624.
[18] *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, p. 19.
[19] *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 179. Cf. Nabokov, p. 50; "And the boyars said to the Prince: 'Already, Prince, grief has enthralled the mind'. . . ."

author did discern the princely designations of the period correctly, it is important at least to try to explain how that happened.

The first and simplest explanation is that since the author was a contemporary of the events he described, his discernment of the political hierarchy was natural. Another possibility is that the writer of the thirteenth century, or even much later, had access to historically accurate information that allowed him to circumvent the confusion and anachronisms about the use of the title of grand prince that has characterized historiography since the chronicles of the thirteenth century to the present time.[20] If the proposed chronology and circumstances of the adoption of the title of "grand prince" in Rus' are accepted, then the first hypothesis makes any further argument superfluous. Confirming the second hypothesis would require argumentation of a kind that I am not yet able to provide.

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[20] The accounts of the 1185 campaign in the Hypatian and Laurentian chronicles already betray later emendations in the attribution of the title of grand prince to Svjatoslav (*PSRL*, 1:357; 2:644–51). In any case, the assertion that the chronicle text influenced the *Tale* is not convincing on the point alone. That the chronicle text may represent a secondary redaction is another story. Cf. E. Goranin, "Opowieść o wyprawie Igora Światosławowicza na Połowców w 1185 r.," *Slavia Orientalis* 28 (1979): 301–310.

Franciszek Duchiński and His Impact on Ukrainian Political Thought

IVAN L. RUDNYTSKY

Franciszek Duchiński is a nearly unknown historical figure. Even the few scholars who have taken an interest in him in recent decades have failed to recognize his role in Ukrainian intellectual history. Yet in fact, as this study contends, Duchiński had a major influence on the shaping of modern Ukrainian political thought.

Franciszek Henryk Duchiński[1] was born in 1816 to an impoverished Polish *szlachta* family of the Right-Bank Ukraine.[2] He attended secondary schools in Berdychiv and Uman', run, respectively, by the Carmelite and Basilian orders. He settled in Kiev in 1834, where for the next twelve years he made a living as a tutor in the homes of Polish aristocracy. Duchiński developed a strong attachment to the ancient Ukrainian capital; in later years, he regularly signed his Polish works "Franciszek Duchiński Kijowianin," or, in French, "Duchiński de Kiew." In 1846 he left the Russian Empire surreptitiously, on a Greek ship sailing from Odessa. Having arrived in Paris, Duchiński attached himself to the "uncrowned king of the Polish emigration," Prince Adam Czartoryski. In Czartoryski's paper, *Trzeci Maj* (1847–48), Duchiński published, besides several programmatic articles, the news about the arrest and trial by tsarist authorities of the members of the SS. Cyril and Methodius Brother-

[1] This biographical account is based primarily on St. Grabski, "Życie i działalność literacka Franciszka Duchińskiego Kijowianina," published as an introductory essay in *Pisma Franciszka Duchińskiego*, vol. 1 (Rapperswil, 1901), pp. viii–xxxiv. Reminiscences of Duchiński's youth are to be found in his *Drógi* [sic] *mój XXV^{e} letni jubileusz* (Paris, 1885). Additional information derives from Marceli Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojną krymską*, Prace Ukrainskiego Instytutu Naukowego, vol. 35 (Warsaw, 1937), and Il'ko Borshchak, "Ukraina v Paryzhi . . . , IX. Frantsishek Dukhins'kyi," *Ukraina* (Paris), 9 (1953): 701–709.

[2] There is some uncertainty about Duchiński's year of birth, which in some sources is given as 1817. I accept the year given by Duchiński himself in *Drógi mój XXV^{e} letni jubileusz*, p. v; information about the month and day of his birth was unavailable to me.

hood in Kiev.[3] Duchiński belonged to the circle of Prince Czartoryski's "Ukrainian" collaborators; the two other members were Michał Czajkowski (1804–1886) and Reverend Hipolit Terlecki (1808–1888), both remarkable personalities in their own right. Like Duchiński, they descended from the Right-Bank Polish-Ukrainian gentry and shared with him a pronounced Ukrainophile orientation.[4] During the 1848 revolution Duchiński acted as Czartoryski's agent in Italy and also visited Serbia. He moved to Istanbul in 1849, where he was to remain through 1855. In 1849 Duchiński conceived the idea of founding a Ukrainian journal dedicated to fostering Ukrainian-Polish cooperation against Russia. The journal was to be published on the island of Corfu (then a British possession), and to be smuggled to Galicia via Hungary, and to the Russian Ukraine via Odessa. However, Prince Czartoryski refused to endorse the plan. During the Crimean War, Duchiński worked in a civilian capacity for the British forces in Turkey. He returned to Paris in 1856. The next decade and a half were the most productive years of his life. He published profusely, in Polish and French, gave series of public lectures (at the Cercle des Sociétés Savantes and the Polish Higher School in Paris), and established contacts with French scholars and men of letters. These activities were cut short by the demise of the Second Empire. Duchiński then moved to Switzerland where he became, in 1872, the director of the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil near Zurich. From Switzerland, he visited Galicia a few times. Contemporaries described him as honorable, gentle, and considerate in his personal dealings, but dogmatic and rigid in his theoretical conceptions.[5] His works testify to industry and considerable erudition. However, as a self-taught man with a one-track mind, he was by no means a sound scholar. Duchiński did not hesitate to bend facts to make them conform with his preconceptions.

[3] *Trzeci Maj*, no. 7 (24 January 1848), in Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka*, p. 114. Although Duchiński lived in Kiev at the time when the Brotherhood was active, he was not personally acquainted with any of its members. Duchiński, *Drógi mój XXV[e] letni jubileusz*, p. xxii.

[4] During the Crimean War, Czajkowski organized a Cossack legion in Turkey, with the program of creating an autonomous Ukrainian Cossack state under Ottoman protection: Michał Czajkowski (Mehmed Sadyk Pasza), *Moje wspomnienia o wojnie 1854 roku* (Warsaw, 1962). Cf. the recent biographical study by Jadwiga Chudzikowska, *Dziwne życie Sadyka Paszy: O Michale Czajkowskim* (Warsaw, 1971). In 1847–1848 Terlecki submitted several memoranda to Pope Pius IX proposing the establishment of a Ruthenian Uniate (Eastern Rite Catholic) patriarchate, with the intention of turning away the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples from the spiritual authority of the Russian Orthodox church. Ivan Lysiak-Rudnyts'kyi, "Ipolit Volodymyr Terlets'kyi — zabutyi tserkovno-hromads'kyi diiach i politychnyi myslytel' XIX stolittia," *Ukrains'kyi istoryk*, 1973, no. 3/4 (39/40), pp. 157–60.

[5] Based on the vivid pen portrait in Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka*, p. 110.

Franciszek Duchiński died on 13 July 1893,[6] at the age of seventy-seven. He is buried at the Polish cemetery in Montmorency, France. His tombstone bears an epitaph in Ukrainian written in the Polish script — a fitting symbol of the man's dual Polish-Ukrainian allegiance.[7]

A posthumous edition of Duchiński's Polish works was planned in five volumes, of which only three appeared.[8] The loss is perhaps not to be much regretted, because he was an extremely repetitious writer who had the habit of inserting summaries of and excerpts from his earlier writings in subsequent ones. Duchiński's output included also several books and numerous articles in French, as well as a few pieces in German and in Ukrainian.[9]

These writings were based on a racial philosophy of history.[10] Duchiński divided all mankind into two great branches — the "Aryans," or Indo-Europeans, and the "Turanians." To the latter group he assigned the Finno-Ugrians, Turks, Mongols, and Chinese, and even the Semites, African Negroes, American Indians, and Australian Aborigenes. The main difference between the two racial families consists, according to Duchiński, in the Aryans being sedentary agriculturalists, whereas the Turanians are more or less nomadic. This racial contrast extends to all aspects of social and cultural life, and it is ineradicable. Unsurprisingly, Duchiński attributed all attractive features — e.g., love of freedom and

6 Grabski, "Życie," p. xxxiv. The date given in Borshchak, "Ukraina v Paryzhi," p. 709, is 13 June 1893.

7 A photograph of Duchiński's grave is in Borshchak, "Ukraina v Paryzhi," p. 709. Borshchak also reproduces the text of the epitaph:

DUCHINSKOMU
ZEMLAKI
NASHI LUDE NE ZABUDUT'
DOKI ŻYTY BUDUT'
DUSZI TWEI, SŁOWA TWOHO
BILSZ NE TRA NICZOHO.
/To Duchiński
his fellow countrymen:
Our people shall not forget
as long as they live
your soul, your word.
Nothing more is needed./

8 *Pisma Franciszka Duchińskiego* (hereafter *Pisma*), vol. 1 (1901), vol. 2 (1902), vol. 3 (1904), all published in Rapperswil.

9 A bibliography of Duchiński's publications appears in *Pisma*, 1:ii–iv.

10 The following account is based primarily on F.-H. Duchiński (de Kiew), *Peuples Aryâs et Tourans, Agriculteurs et Nomades: Necessité des réformes dans l'exposition de l'histoire des peuples Aryâs-Européens & Tourans, particulièrement des Slaves et des Moscovites* (Paris, 1864). The three volumes of Duchiński's *Pisma* have also been referred to.

capacity for intellectual creativity — to the Aryans, and the opposite features to the Turanians.

These universal-historical concepts became Duchiński's intellectual frame of reference for treating the issues that were his real concerns. He was obsessed by the problem of Polish-Russian relations, in which he assigned the Ukraine a crucial role. In an autobiographical passage, Duchiński states that the formative experience of his youth had been the Polish insurrection of 1830–31, which happened when he was only thirteen. But, he wrote, "since that time, war [against Russia] and [the problem of] Rus' [i.e., the Ukraine] were the content of our life." He became strongly convinced that "Rus' means a stronger and more valorous Poland, and that Poland's [future] rising will not succeed, unless it starts in Rus'."[11]

Duchiński interpreted the Polish-Russian conflict in racial terms. For him, Poland represented the Aryan, and Muscovy-Russia the Turanian race. A corollary of this was the thesis of the racial (and hence cultural and political) unity of Poland and Rus'-Ukraine. According to Duchiński, Aryan Europe extends as far as the Dnieper valley. This European sphere includes the Ukraine (to which he consistently applied the historical name of Rus'), Belorussia, Lithuania, the Baltic provinces, the region of Smolensk, and the territory of the former republic of Great Novgorod. Farther east lies the alien Turanian world, which corresponds geographically with the Volga River valley. Duchiński strenuously denied the Slavic character of the Russian people: "The Muscovites are neither Slavs nor Christians in the spirit of the [true] Slavs and other Indo-European Christians. They are nomads until this day, and they will remain nomads forever."[12] He maintained that the Muscovites are in essence more related to the Chinese than to their Ukrainian and Belorussian neighbors. Inversely, the latter are closer to the Irish and the Portuguese, or to the European settlers in the Americas, than to the Muscovites.

It is a great error, Duchiński asserted, to begin the history of Muscovy with the Slavs of Kiev and Novgorod, instead of with the Finnic tribes of the Volga valley. Contrary to what Russian historians say, there has never been a mass migration of Slavs from the Dnieper to the Volga, and the Tsardom of Moscow cannot be considered a continuation or a legitimate heir of the Kievan Rus' state. The adoption of the name "Russia" by the rulers of Muscovy is a historical usurpation. The Finnic and Tatar inhabitants of Muscovy, it is true, have gradually taken on the Slavic

[11] *Pisma,* 1:222.
[12] *Peuples Aryâs et Tourans,* p. 22.

language, under the impact of the Riurikid dynasty and the church, but they have retained their original racial character, as evidenced by their migratory habits, communism (a reference to the Russian repartitional village commune), autocratic form of government, and religious sects. The Russian Empire will never become federative, because the Turanians lack the rooting in the soil and the sense of local and regional patriotism that are the preconditions for federal arrangements.

Duchiński represented the history of Ukrainian-Russian (in his terminology, Ruthenian-Muscovite) relations as a continuous confrontation, beginning with Volodimer the Great (who subjugated the Volga tribes), through the sack of Kiev by the Suzdalians in the twelfth century, and down to Mazepa's times and his own. The wars of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth against Muscovy were a direct continuation of the preceding conflicts of the Ruthenians of Kiev and Novgorod with Suzdal' and Moscow. It is untrue that the Muscovites rule over Little Russia (i.e., the Left-Bank Ukraine) by a free consent of that country. Actually, the Treaty of Pereiaslav, concluded between Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and tsarist envoys in 1654, established between Little Russia and Muscovy only a loose link, analogous to the relationship between the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia and the Ottoman Porte. "The Muscovites rule over the Little Russians as a result of their victory over the latter in the Battle of Poltava, in 1708 [*sic*]."[13]

As a reverse side of this alleged perennial Ukrainian-Russian conflict, Duchiński postulated an organic unity of the Ukrainians and the Poles. A proof of this, he said, was in the very name of the Poliany, the Slavic tribe of the Kiev region, which he considered to be identical with the name of the Poles. The original unity of the Slavs of the Vistula and the Dnieper had been temporarily disrupted by the Varangian Riurik dynasty and Tatar invasions, but it was fortunately restored in the fourteenth century, under the auspices of the Jagellonian dynasty. Contrary to appearances, the Poles and the Ukrainians are not separated by either language or religion. The Polish and the Ukrainian languages are closer to each other in spirit than Polish is to Czech or Ukrainian is to Russian. The Holy See recognized the Catholicity of Old Rus' Christianity by accepting the canonization of the Kievan saints — Olga, Volodimer, Anthony, and

[13] *Peuples Aryâs et Tourans*, p. 48. The incorrect date is not a typographical error, because it was repeated by Duchiński in the title of his German pamphlet: *Ursachen die seit der Katastrophe von Pultava 1708 zur Entwickelung der ruthenischen Nationalität das Meiste beigetragen haben*... (Rapperswil, 1872), cited in Borshchak, "Ukraina v Paryzhi," p. 707.

Theodosius. The Ruthenians have always inclined towards a union with the Roman church, but this natural trend has been interfered with by Moscow. Duchiński pushed the concept of Polish-Ukrainian unity to its logical conclusion:

It is necessary to incorporate into Polish history the entire historical past of Lithuania and Rus'.... The medieval history of Poland, prior to the unification of her people in the fourteenth century, belongs today to all inhabitants of Poland in the same manner as the provincial histories of the duchies and kingdoms which existed in France until the fifteenth century belong today to all Frenchmen.[14]

Duchiński dealt ingeniously with historical facts not easily reconcilable with his vision of a providential Polish-Ukrainian harmony. This was especially true in his explanation of the great Cossack uprisings against Poland in the seventeenth century: the Cossacks were not genuine Slavs, but Slavicized Tatars, and the Cossack brigands actually oppressed the Ukrainian peasantry.[15] However, Duchiński immediately forgets the "Turanianism" of the Cossacks whenever instances of their resistance to Moscow occur, and he mentions favorably Mazepa's revolt against Peter I. Thus for Duchiński the Cossacks were evil Turanians when they fought Poland, but good Aryans when they opposed Muscovy.

One could be tempted to label Duchiński a nationalist Pole who wished to restore Polish domination over the Ukraine and to entice Ukrainians into Poland's struggle against Russia. However, this interpretation would not do justice to his position. There can be no doubt that he sincerely loved his Ukrainian homeland, and that he believed in an equal partnership and fraternal union of the Slavs of the Vistula with those of the Dnieper. Duchiński deprecated Polish ethnic nationalism as "Masovian provincialism."[16] He envisioned future Polish-Ukrainian relations on the model of the Union of Hadiach (1658), which was an attempt to transform the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into a tripartite federation by the addition of a Ruthenian Grand Duchy. However, in contrast to the seventeenth-century arrangement, the future autonomous Rus'-Ukraine would also include Galicia. "The rise of the Ruthenian nationality in Galicia is a natural phenomenon, and it cannot be stopped by any force."[17]

14 *Pisma,* 1:43.
15 *Pisma,* 2:277–78; *Peuples Aryâs et Tourans,* pp. 76–79.
16 *Pisma,* 1:51.
17 Duchiński's letter of 15 March 1852, to Count Władysław Zamoyski, nephew and closest collaborator of Prince Adam Czartoryski. The full text of this important letter is reprinted in Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka,* pp. 148–50. The quoted passage appears on p. 150.

Duchiński tried to dispel Polish apprehensions that the Ukrainian national movement was a threat to historical Poland. He trusted that a free Ukraine would be drawn irresistibly toward a union with Poland, and he argued that "the easiest means to disarm the Ruthenians in their struggle against Poland and to bring them closer to Poland is to recognize their independence."[18]

Duchiński was a sympathetic, even enthusiastic, observer of the contemporary Ukrainian national revival. One finds in his writings frequent references to the historical and political treatise *Istoriia Rusov* (written ca. 1820 and published in 1846), "in which Little Russia's hatred of Moscow is depicted in strong colors";[19] to the activities of Ukrainian writers and scholars, e.g., the publication of Cossack chronicles; and to the efforts of the nobility in the Chernihiv and Poltava provinces to preserve the traditional code of civil law, the so-called Lithuanian Statute, in opposition to the centralizing policies of Nicholas I. Duchiński was the first to advertise in the Polish émigré press the suppression of the Cyrillo-Methodian Brotherhood. At times, it is true, Duchiński's statements about the Ukrainian movement were exaggerated, but this was the result of his wishful thinking. Thus he assured his French readers: "Gogol' and Shevchenko are not Muscovites at all. They are Little Russians, and they were the first and among the most ardent in protesting against Muscovite domination of Little Russia. They dreamed of the complete independence of that country."[20] This is a fairly correct definition of the national-political position of Shevchenko, but hardly that of Gogol'!

In his historical-political theory Duchiński advocated the idea of an all-European federation led by France and directed against Russia. To facilitate the formation of such a European community, he desired to defuse the smoldering German-Polish hostility. According to Duchiński, there exists no basic racial incompatibility between the Germans and the Poles. For centuries the two peoples lived peacefully side by side, and past conflicts involved only individual German states (such as the Teutonic Knights and the Prussia of Frederick the Great), but not the German nation as such. Unfortunately, German-Polish relations became exacerbated after 1848, but this tension will cease "once the Poles and the Germans comprehend the dangers which threaten them from the East."[21]

In Duchiński's own words, his entire life work was inspired by one

18 Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka*, p. 149.
19 Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka*, p. 148.
20 *Peuples Aryâs et Tourans*, p. 74, fn. 27.
21 *Peuples Aryâs et Tourans*, p. 64, fn. 12.

guiding idea, which he formulated in an appeal addressed to the peoples of Europe: "On to the Dnieper! on to the Dnieper! forward to Kiev, ye peoples of Europe! There is the point of your solidarity, because there the Little Russians are resuming their struggle against Moscow, in defense of their European civilization. . . . "[22]

Duchiński's views make up a curious tissue, in which obvious fallacies and doctrinaire distortions are interspersed with genuine insight. To sort out these various strands would transcend the scope of the present paper. Instead, I shall consider Duchiński's theory as an ideology whose historical impact can be assessed irrespectively of how it stands up to a scientific critique.

In the late 1850s and the 1860s Duchiński acquired a following among a group of French intellectuals, including Elias Regnault, Charlier de Steinbach, M. Brullé (dean of the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Dijon), the historian Henri Martin (author of a popular textbook of French history), and the traveler, geographer, and ethnographer Auguste Viquesnel.[23] To their number must be added the politician and economist Casimir Delamarre (1796–1870), a regent of the Bank of France and publisher of the newspaper *La Patrie,* who "became a zealous apostle of Duchiński's ideas."[24] In 1868 Delamarre published a pamphlet addressed to the Legislative Body (*Corps législatif*) of the French empire in which he proposed that the Chair of Slavic Language and Literature at the Collège de France be renamed the Chair of "Slavic Languages and Literatures"; the plural was "to destroy [Russian] Panslavism in its principle."[25] Delamarre's initiative was crowned with success. The Legislative Body discussed his proposal and adopted a favorable resolution. On 20 November 1868, Napoleon III signed a decree changing the name of the Slavic chair. The next year, Delamarre published a second pamphlet, this time devoted specifically to the Ukrainian question, entitled *Un peuple européen de quinze millions oublié devant l'histoire.*[26] This was a petition to

22 *Drógi mój XXV^e letni jubileusz,* p. x.

23 The publications of Duchiński's French followers are listed and briefly discussed in Élie Borschak (Il'ko Borshchak), *L'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale* (Paris, 1935; offprint from *Le Monde Slave,* 1933, nos. 3, 4; 1934, nos. 1, 2, 4; 1935, no. 1), pp. 89–91.

24 Borschak, *L'Ukraine,* p. 90.

25 Casimir Delamarre, *Un pluriel pour un singulier, et le panslavisme est détruit dans son principe* (Paris, 1868), cited in Borschak, *L'Ukraine,* pp. 90–91.

26 Published in Paris, 1869. Excerpts from the text appear in Borschak, *L'Ukraine,* pp. 93–94. I had access to the German translation, *Ein Volk von fünfzehn Millionen Seelen welches von der Geschichte vergessen worden ist: Eine Petition an den französischen Senat,* by Casimir Delamarre (Paris, Berlin, and Lviv, 1869).

the French Senate, calling for a reform in the instruction of history in secondary schools. A new syllabus was to be adopted which would stress the difference between the Ruthenians and the Russians, and the non-Slavic nature of the latter. In the introduction to the German translation of the pamphlet, C. de Steinbach paid Duchiński the following tribute: "If we in France have for the past twelve or fifteen years known more than people elsewhere about this subject ['the truth about the eastern parts of Europe'], we owe this exclusively to the researches of Mr. Duchiński. . . ."[27]

Duchiński's successes in France were short-lived. The effects of his propaganda were wiped out by the debacle of the Second Empire in 1870. Defeated and humiliated by Bismarck's Prussia-Germany, the French could no longer indulge in dreams of hegemony on the continent, nor of intervention in the affairs of Eastern Europe. Pro-Polish sympathies, traditional in France, evaporated. French public opinion began rather to look toward Russia as a potential ally against Germany. Also, the rise of scholarly Slavic studies in the last quarter of the century discredited Duchiński's ideas. The noted French Slavic scholar, Louis Leger (1843–1923), who for many years occupied the Slavic chair at the Collège de France, dismisses Duchiński with a few contemptuous phrases, without mentioning him by name.[28]

Duchiński's theory enjoyed a certain popularity in Poland in the late nineteenth century, but there, too, its impact was only transitory. Intellectually Duchiński belonged to the age of Polish Romanticism. He was out-of-tune with the new Positivist mood which swept Polish society after the failure of the 1863 uprising. His dilettantism and lack of academic respectability became a source of embarrassment to Polish intellectuals, among whom the term *Duchińszczyzna* (Duchińskianism) acquired ironic overtones. Even the editors of the posthumous publication of his works felt compelled to insert in the preface a disclaimer: "Duchiński is no scholar in the precise meaning of the word."[29] As to his political program, it must be kept in mind that Duchiński was an heir to the tradition of the historical Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; the Ukraine was his homeland, and he could not envisage a Poland without the Ukraine. The growth of Polish ethnic nationalism (which Duchiński deplored) and the

27 Delamarre, *Ein Volk*, p. 8.
28 Louis Leger, *Souvenirs d'un slavophile* (Paris, 1905), pp. 20–24, cited in Borschak, *L'Ukraine*, p. 88.
29 "Od Wydawców," *Pisma*, 1:v.

gradual withdrawal of interest from the former eastern borderlands made his theory irrelevant for Polish society.

The one national community on whose intellectual development Duchiński exercised a profound, long-range impact was that of the Ukraine. Certain concepts widespread in modern Ukrainian society can be traced back to him, although their original authorship is not remembered.

Let us identify the points of contact between Duchiński and the Ukrainian national movement of his time. In 1870–72 he contributed several serialized articles and shorter pieces to the Ukrainian newspaper published in Lviv, *Osnova*.[30] The articles, which he signed *Kyianyn* ("A Kievan"), rehashed Duchiński's perennial ideas.[31] During the same time, in the early 1870s, Duchiński maintained contacts with a group of Galician Ukrainian students at the Zurich Polytechnical Institute.[32] Educated Ukrainians also read Duchiński's Polish writings and knew about the repercussions and polemics they evoked in the Polish and Russian press.

It ought to be made clear that Ukrainian receptivity to the Duchińskian message was selective. That part of it which pertained to Ukrainian-Polish relations did not strike a responsive chord in Ukrainian minds. The entire course of the Ukrainian national revival in Galicia, from 1848 until World War I and beyond, was determined by the struggle, of ever increasing intensity, against Polish dominance in the province. Rare attempts at compromise, like the one initiated in 1869 by Iuliian Lavrivs'kyi, the publisher of *Osnova*, invariably miscarried.[33] Relations between Poles and Ukrainians in the Russian Empire were less acrimonious than in Galicia. But the Polish minority in the Right-Bank Ukraine was represented by the region's landed nobility, while the Ukrainian movement, which had a populist coloring, identified with the interests of the peasantry. No responsible Ukrainian spokesman, either in the Russian Ukraine or Galicia, ever endorsed the platform of a restored Polish Common-

30 The newspaper *Osnova*, which appeared in Lviv twice weekly (1870–72), must not be confused with the better-known St. Petersburg monthly of the same title (1861–62).

31 For a detailed discussion of Duchiński's articles in *Osnova*, see M. Vozniak, "Pid haslom 'Na Dnipro! Na Dnipro! Do Kyieva!' Frantsishek Dukhins'kyi i ukrains'ka sprava," *Dilo* (Lviv), 1935, nos. 96 (April 12), 97 (April 13), 98 (April 14), 101 (April 17).

32 References in M. P. Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publitsystychni pratsi*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1970), pp. 11, 183–185, 461. The one Galician known to be acquainted with Duchiński in Zurich was Vasyl' Nahirnyi (1847–1921), who later had a distinguished career as architect and a pioneer of the Ukrainian cooperative movement.

33 On Iuliian Lavrivs'kyi's policy, see Kost' Levyts'kyi, *Istoriia politychnoi dumky halyts'kykh ukraintsiv, 1848–1914* (Lviv, 1926), pp. 118–123.

wealth with an autonomous Ukraine as a component. Duchiński's favorite idea of a Polish-Ukrainian federation could not, therefore, withstand the test of reality.

In turning our attention to the other side of Duchiński's theory, that dealing with Ukrainian-Russian relations, we encounter an altogether different situation. His thoughts on that subject found a receptive audience among certain segments of Ukrainian society.

Among the ideological issues which the Ukrainian national movement had to face in the nineteenth century, perhaps none was more important than defining the Ukrainians' attitude toward Russia. The problem had an obvious practical urgency: a policy had to be evolved toward the Russian imperial state whose presence so heavily weighed on all aspects of Ukrainian life. On a theoretical level, an answer had to be found to the question in what relation Ukrainians and Russians stood toward each other as peoples: whether they formed an essential national unity with only minor tribal and dialectal differences, or were two totally distinct national organisms, or whether some intermediate view should be taken. Virtually all Ukrainian social thinkers of the age wrestled with this problem, and their search for national identity was gradually moving toward an ever more radical assertion of the Ukraine's distinctiveness as an ethnic and historic entity.

During the early stages of the Ukrainian national revival, from the beginning through the middle of the nineteenth century, Ukrainian intellectuals did not, as a rule, perceive the Ukrainian-Russian relationship as an irreconcilable ethnic antagonism. Ukrainian patriotism often coexisted in their minds with the notion of a broader all-Rus' identity which encompassed both Ukrainians (South or Little Russians) and Muscovites (North or Great Russians).[34] This concept, which tried to strike a balance between loyalties to the Ukraine and to Russia as a whole, found its clearest formulation in the programmatic essay by Mykola Kostomarov (1817–1885) "The Two Rus' Nationalities," published in 1861.[35] Kostomarov

[34] Cf. Iurii Venelin's penetrating contemporary analysis, "O spore mezhdu iuzhanami i severianami na schet ikh rossizma," written ca. 1832 and published posthumously in *Chteniia Moskovskogo obshchestva istorii i drevnostei,* 1847, no. 4. I used the résumé, with extensive quotations from the original, which appears in A. N. Pypin, *Istoriia russkoi ètnografii,* vol. 3: *Ètnografiia malorusskaia* (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 301–307.

[35] N. Kostomarov, "Dve russkiia narodnosti," *Osnova* (St. Petersburg), 1861, no. 3. For excerpts in English, see Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography,* in *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* (New York), 5–6 (1957): 137–39.

contrasted the Ukrainian tradition of individualism and libertarianism with the Great Russian tradition of collectivism and authoritarianism, and he concluded that the relationship of the two branches of the Rus' peoples was essentially complementary. Kostomarov later recapitulated his convictions in the following statement: ". . . the Little and the Great Russians complement each other by their specific traits, evolved under the influence of history and geography, and they ought to seek their true common good in a close union and interaction of the two principal nationalities [of Rus']."[36] A twentieth-century historian has said of Kostomarov's "The Two Rus' Nationalities" that the article "was very popular and was for a long time regarded as 'the gospel of Ukrainian nationalism.'"[37]

But there also existed in Ukrainian society another, alternative trend — at first, only an emotional undercurrent — which can be described as separatist. It was given stirring expression by the bard of the Ukrainian renascence, Taras Shevchenko. The separatist trend was beset by serious intellectual difficulties, however: it ran against the established opinion of a close ethnic kinship between the Ukrainians and the Russians, rooted in the shared legacy of Old Rus' and bolstered by their common Orthodox religion. It is significant that even the *Istoriia Rusov*, which so eloquently voiced protest against the subversion of the Cossack Ukraine's autonomy by Muscovite autocracy, frequently referred to the Russians as "people of the same origin and the same faith."[38] Duchiński's theory offered means to overcome this intellectual difficulty. This explains its appeal to those Ukrainians who were groping for arguments supporting their distinct national identity.

Anti-Russian ideas, derived from Duchiński, could not be openly aired in publications which appeared under tsarist censorship. We know, however, that they had some followers in the Dnieper Ukraine, for instance, the writer and civic activist Oleksander Konys'kyi (1836–1900).[39] Concepts of this type could surface only in Austrian Galicia. They frequently

[36] "Moe ukrainofil'stvo v *Kudeiare*" (1875), in *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia Kostomarova*, ed. by Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi (Kiev, 1928), p. 251.
[37] Doroshenko, *Survey*, p. 139.
[38] *Istoriia Rusiv*, ed. by O. Ohloblyn, trans. by V. Davydenko (New York, 1956), pp. 134, 158, 184, 223, 274, 308, 320.
[39] Konys'kyi, under the pseudonym "O. Stodols'kyi," published in Galicia a study called *Etnografiia slavianshchyny* (Lviv, 1887), in which he described the Russians as predatory savages and explained their character by their "Finnic and Tatar blood." See Drahomanov's critical review, "Naukovyi metod v etnografii" (1888), reprinted in *Rozvidky Mykhaila Drahomanova pro ukrains'ku narodniu slovesnist' i pys'menstvo*, ed. by M. Pavlyk, vol. 3 (Lviv, 1906), pp. 117–28.

appeared in the press of the populist-nationalist (*narodovtsi*) movement, especially in polemics against the local Russophiles (*moskvofily*); the latter advocated the notion of "one Russian nation, from the Carpathians to the Pacific." Writing in 1889, Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841–1895) noted regretfully that "Galician official Ukrainophiles have for some time begun to broadcast Duchiński's refurbished theory in their popular literature, thinking that by this they serve the interests of Ukrainian nationality."[40] A good specimen of such propagandistic literature was the pamphlet by Lonhyn Tsehels'kyi (1875–1950), *Rus'-Ukraine and Muscovy-Russia* (1900), published by the Prosvita society and circulated in tens of thousands of copies throughout the Galician countryside.[41] According to a memoirist, the purpose of the brochure was "to popularize among our people the name 'Ukrainian' and 'Ukraine,' and to overcome *moskvofil'stvo* by a demonstration of the historic, ethnic, ideological, and cultural differences between the two peoples."[42]

Mykola Kostomarov and Mykhailo Drahomanov, the two outstanding political thinkers of nineteenth-century Ukraine, opposed the spread of Duchiński's theory on intellectual as well as political grounds. As conscientious scholars, they could not agree with Duchiński's distortions of historical truth. Thus Kostomarov argued:

> The Great Russians are no Finns, but Slavs, because they do not know any Finnic dialect, but speak a Slavic language. Finnic blood, it is true, has entered Great Russians, but it has been assimilated by Slavic blood. The admixture of the Finnic race has not been without some influence on the material and intellectual make-up of the Great Russian people, but the Slavic element remains dominant. We cannot call the [German] inhabitants of Mecklenburg Slavs only because their ancestors were once Slavs. . . .[43]

Drahomanov insistently objected to clichés about national characters and to ascribing to race certain features of Russian life which, in fact, were conditioned by historic and social factors and hence were not innate, but amenable to change.[44] About the issue of the degree of kinship between the Ukrainians and the Russians, Drahomanov demanded that it be approached with an open mind. He thought that, at the current level of

40 "Dobavlenie k avtobiograficheskoi zametke," in Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publitsystychni pratsi*, 1:77.

41 I was able to consult the second enlarged edition, *Rus'-Ukraina a Moskovshchyna-Rossiia* (Istanbul [actually Vienna], 1916).

42 Antin Tsurkovs'kyi in *Almanakh "Molodoi Ukrainy": Spohady pro himnaziini hurtky v Berezhanakh* (Munich and New York, 1954), p. 30.

43 "Otvet na vykhodki gazety (krakovskoi) *Czas* i zhurnala *Revue contemporaine*" (1861), in *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia Kostomarova*, p. 98.

44 See Drahomanov's review article, "Naukovyi metod v etnografii," cited above, fn. 39. Similar arguments appear frequently in his writings.

knowledge, the problem was not yet ready for an unequivocal answer: "there is room either for a theory of a total distinctiveness of the Ukrainians from the Great Russians, or for a pan-Russian theory."[45]

Kostomarov and Drahomanov opposed Duchiński's teachings also for political reasons. As convinced federalists, they believed that the cause of the Ukrainian people's national and social liberation was tied to the evolution of Russia as a whole, that is, to the transformation of the imperial state on democratic-federalist lines. (The differences between Kostomarov's and Drahomanov's versions of federalism cannot be considered here.) This implied the need for cooperation with the liberal and democratic elements of Russian society, and precluded ethnic hatred of the Russian people. But the prospects of the federalist program depended on the response of the Russian side, and this response could not have been more discouraging. Not only did the tsarist regime remain obdurately centralist and repressive, but also the Russian leftist intelligentsia, including its revolutionary segments, displayed a constant disregard of and hostility toward the claims of the non-Russian nationalities. Ironically, the very champions of Ukrainian federalist thought, Kostomarov and Drahomanov, were frequently attacked by Russian spokesmen for their alleged "separatism." This state of affairs was bound to favor the spread of Duchiński-type ideas among Ukrainians. Drahomanov once wrote in exasperation to a Galician confidant: "This idiot Katkov has indeed succeeded in inoculating the Ukrainian national movement (*ukrainofil'stvo*) with Duchińskianism."[46]

Drahomanov made this diagnosis in 1889. Future developments fully confirmed its accuracy. The decisive shift in Ukrainian political thinking from federalism to the idea of independent statehood occurred in Galicia around the turn of the century, and in central-eastern Ukraine in 1917–1920, as a result of painful experiences with the Russias of Kerenskii, Lenin, and Denikin.[47] What Ukrainian patriots previously perceived as confrontation primarily with the tsarist regime, they now began to see as a

[45] "Chudats'ki dumky pro ukrains'ku natsional'nu spravu" (1891), in Drahomanov, *Literaturno-publitsystychni pratsi,* 2:364.

[46] Letter of Drahomanov to M. Pavlyk dated 31 October 1889, in *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom,* ed. by M. Pavlyk, vol. 5 (Chernivtsi, 1912), p. 396. The reference in the letter is to Mikhail Katkov (1818–1887), the Russian publicist who was regarded as the ideologue of the reactionary and chauvinistic regime of Alexander III.

[47] I discussed this transition in Ukrainian political thought from federalism to separatism in "The Fourth Universal and Its Ideological Antecedents," in *The Ukraine, 1917–1921: A Study in Revolution,* ed. by Taras Hunczak (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 186–219.

confrontation with the Russian state as such, irrespective of its form of government, or even as an ethnic confrontation with the Russian people. During the interwar era, Ukrainian society outside the USSR (which comprised the Ukrainian populations in Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, and the Ukrainian diaspora) became permeated by an ideology of militant anti-Russian nationalism. The most influential publicist of the interwar era, Dmytro Dontsov (1883–1973), in his tract *The Foundations of Our Policy* (1921) formulated the theory of an eternal struggle between Russia and Europe, and assigned to the Ukraine the historical mission of being the forepost of Europe against Russia.[48] There is a striking coincidence between Dontsov's and Duchiński's views on this issue, although we do not know whether the former drew directly on the latter's writings. Some other concepts of Duchińskian provenance, which were now elevated to the rank of patriotic dogma among non-Soviet Ukrainians, were the following: the thesis that the medieval Kievan Rus' state was the creation of the Ukrainian people alone and that the Russians have no legitimate claims to this legacy;[49] and the stress on the presence of a non-Slavic, Finno-Ugric substratum in the ethnic make-up of the Russian people. Even after World War II the linguist and literary critic George Shevelov (Iurii Sherekh) felt motivated to rebuke the racist prejudices of his fellow Ukrainian émigrés:

> Why should blood links with the Finns be considered as compromising for the Russians?... Did in recent times any other nation behave more heroically than the Finns? . . . There is truly much that we could learn from the Finns. . . . The contempt of the Mongols, the Semites, and the Finns we have borrowed from Moscow. And the naive theory of our historical role as a bulwark of Europe against the East we have borrowed from Warsaw. . . . Parochial national presumption is always ridiculous, and its consequences can only be catastrophic.[50]

* * *

Franciszek Duchiński, in spite of personal idiosyncrasies, was representative of a peculiar social type, that is, the Ukrainophile Poles. The Polish minority in the Right-Bank Ukraine produced in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a series of personalities who stood on the border between the Polish and the Ukrainian nationality. Some of the Ukrainophile Poles were actually to cross over to the Ukrainian side. Duchiński

48 Dmytro Dontsov, *Pidstavy nashoi polityky* (Vienna, 1921).

49 For a recent attempt to justify this thesis in scholarly terms, see Mykola Chubatyi, *Kniazha Rus'-Ukraina ta vynyknennia tr'okh skhidnoslovians'kykh natsii*, Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, vol. 178 (New York and Paris, 1964).

50 Iurii Sherekh, *Druha cherha* ([New York] 1978), pp. 370–71; the passage quoted was written in 1948.

did not take this step. He always continued to consider himself a Pole, but he also maintained his Ukrainian loyalties. In his old age, he stated proudly: ". . . I have not betrayed my Kievan flag, that is, the flag of an independent Little Russia. . . ."[51] Ukrainophile Poles and Ukrainians with a Polish background (the dividing line between these two categories was tenuous) made a definite contribution to the making of modern Ukraine which historians have been slow to recognize. Coming from a national society which possessed strong traditions of statehood and of active resistance to foreign oppression, they were able to impart something of these qualities to the Ukrainian movement. Their influence helped to lift the Ukrainian revival above the level of a non-political, cultural regionalism, and stimulated its anti-Russian militancy. The reason they have not received due attention in scholarly literature is not difficult to discern. Ukrainophile Poles had the misfortune to fall into a "blind spot." From the perspective of Polish national history they appeared marginal and irrelevant, while, at the same time, they did not seem to belong fully to the Ukrainian historical process, at least, not as it was understood by historians of the populist school.

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51 Duchiński, *Drógi mój XX^e letni jubileusz*, p. xi.

Some Reflections on Yunus Emre's *Tekerleme*

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

One of the most intriguing poems ascribed to Yunus Emre is the one that closely resembles a nonsense poem in Western languages.[1] It begins with the line —

> *Çıktım erik dalına üzüm toplamağa . . .*
> I climbed upon the plum tree
> To pluck grapes there —
> The master of the garden asked me:
> Why do you eat my walnut?

— and goes on enumerating various seemingly impossible facts. The line *balık kavağa çıktı* from the poem has become almost proverbial: "When the fish climbs on the poplar tree" has come to mean "when the pig flies," in other words, never.

One day I found an exact parallel to this line of Yunus's poem in the poetry of the Indian mystic Kabīr, who lived about two centuries after him. Charlotte Vaudeville has discussed this and similar "reversed" images in her latest work on Kabīr.[2] His poetry, called *ulṭabhaṇsi,* contains verses which translate like this:

> The ocean is burning and consumes its prey,
> the fish is angling for the prey —

They are reminiscent of German nursery songs such as:

> Ich will euch erzählen und will nicht lügen:
> Ich sah drei gebratene Gänse fliegen. . . .

With even more paradoxical statements Kabīr may sing:

> The bull has given birth and barren is the cow,
> the calf is milked thrice a day. . . .
> The mouse is the boatman, the cat the boat,
> and the frog is sleeping under the protection of the snake. . . .

In India, this reversed style in poetry and particularly in riddles was not

1 *Yunus Emre Divanı,* ed. by Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı (Istanbul, 1943), p. 131.
2 Charlotte Vaudeville, *Kabīr* (Oxford, 1975); idem, *Kabīr Granthvali (Dōha)* (Pondicherry, 1957), no. 12.

invented by Kabīr; rather, it goes back to Vedic times and was used largely in the Tantric tradition.[3] It is said that the *caryā*-songs of the Buddhist *sidd hācārya*s are enigmas, and "when interpreted literally, they yield the most absurd meaning, but when one obtains the key to them and learns to enter in, one gets at the true meaning hidden behind."[4] In this case, the true meaning is connected with the various spiritual centers and secret powers of body and soul which have to be awakened by the devotee. Similarly, in Yunus's *tekerleme* later mystics would find allusions to the various steps on the mystical path. For example, Niyāzī Miṣrī wrote:

> With this verse the poet wants to show that every tree of deeds has a special kind of fruit. . . . The most venerable master hints with "prune," "grape," and "nut" at the Divine law (*sharī'a*), the mystical Path (*ṭarīqa*), and Divine Reality (*ḥaqīqa*). For one eats the outer parts of the prune, but not its interior. . . . As for the grape, it is eaten, and many delicious things are made of it. . . . But since still a few kernels of hypocrisy, fame, vanity, and ostentation exist in it, it is called "Interior Acts," but not "Reality." The nut, now, is completely a symbol of Reality. In the interior of the nut there is nothing that must be thrown away. Its interior is completely edible, and for how many illnesses is it a remedy! . . .[5]

This kind of poetry has remained popular throughout the centuries. In India, for instance, the so-called puzzles of Goraknāth are still especially popular in rural Bengal. Also, a study of popular Sindhi riddles and conundrums, with a view to the paradoxical and probably mystical meaning expressed in them, would be worthwhile.

Interestingly enough, the imagery of the mystical paradox seems not to change much from culture to culture. One constant tendency is to prove that apparent weakness can finally prove stronger than stubborn pride and that the sense perceptions are more or less interchangeable. When one of the *ulṭabhaṇsi* verses claims that:

> The cow has cut the lion in pieces and devoured [it],[6]

it immediately reminds me of a North African Sufi story told by Émile Dermenghem.[7] A conceited Sufi, riding on his lion, went to visit another master who lived in the mountains. Having arrived at the master's convent, he was told to tether his lion in the cow's stable. Grudgingly he

[3] Sharhibusan Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults,* 3rd ed. (Calcutta, 1969), appendix (E): "Enigmatic Language of the Old and Medieval Poets," pp. 413–24.
[4] Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults,* p. 415.
[5] Ḥamza Ṭāhir, "'at-taṣawwuf ash-sha'bī fi'l-adab at-turkī'," *Majalla Kulliyat al-ādāb* (Cairo), 12, no. 2 (1950); for a full citation, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975), p. 334.
[6] Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults,* p. 418.
[7] Émile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des Saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris, 1954), p. 21.

obeyed. Entering the master's room, the Sufi found him surrounded by dancing girls, which made him question his colleague's spiritual rank even more. But when the visitor went to the stable next morning to mount his lion, he found that the animal had been devoured by the cow.

Other *ulṭabhaṇsi* poetry from India, particularly from the later tradition, is reminiscent of Maulānā Rūmī's paradoxes. Thus, the lines by Sundardās,

> The blind sees the three worlds and the deaf
> hears various sounds; the man without a nose
> smells the lotus and the dumb supplies much news,[8]

recall Rūmī's tale in the *Mathnawī* (Daftar III, line 2609ff.) about the farsighted blind person, the sharp-hearing deaf person, and the naked one with a long skirt, all of whom represent certain vices. This tale serves as a similar instance, if we prefer not to consider only German fairy tales or nursery rhymes in which such people play a prominent role.

In the Indian tradition, such poems can be used to show how *maya* plays its tricks on the person who has not yet opened his eyes to reality. More generally, they can also reflect on the change of senses in ecstasy, when during the unitive vision the differences in sensual experience are no longer felt, as Ibn al-Fāriḍ has shown so beautifully in his *Tā'iyya*:

> I knew for sure that we are really One, and the sobriety
> of union restored the notion of separation,
> and my whole being was a tongue to speak, an eye to see,
> an ear to hear, and a hand to seize.[9]

Just as the experience itself can be expressed only in paradoxes, so the true content of the experience, namely, God's presence, can be expressed only *bilā kaifa* ("without How") and necessarily leads the mystical poet to use oxymora in an attempt to convey what cannot be conveyed through "logical" language. Thus God is described as "positive Not-Being" (*'adam*), or *überhelle Nacht* (by Quirinus Kuhlmann and other German Baroque mystics), or as *neti neti* 'No no' (in the Upanishads).

In this state the mystic lives in perfect timelessness. He breaks through the *zunnār* ("the infidel's girdle") of created, hence serial time, as Iqbal would say.[10] This is a reexperiencing of the Prophet's state at the end of his *mi'rāj*, when he exclaimed *lī ma'a Allāh waqt* ("I have a time with

[8] Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 419.
[9] Reynold A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1921, reprinted 1967), chap. 3, verse 580, of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Tā'iyya*.
[10] See Annemarie Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing: A Study into the Religious Ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal* (Leiden, 1963), p. 295.

God") and even the loftiest spiritual being, Gabriel, was excluded. This timelessness leads the mystical poets to make strange assertions which invert the sequence of events. A song of an *ulṭa bāul* in Bengal goes:[11]

> The father was born on the day of the mother's marriage,
> and the son was born two days later.

The line immediately reminds the Islamicist of the most famous paradoxical poem in Arabic, Ḥallāj's *qaṣīda*:

> *Uqtulūnī yā thiqātī. . . .*
> Kill me, o my trustworthy friends,
> for in my being killed there is my life. . . .[12]

This, too, is a phrase which reoccurs universally in mystical poetry, alluding as it does to the mystery of the final unity of life and death. Ḥallāj states towards the end of his *qaṣīda*:

> My mother has borne her father — verily that is amazing,
> and my young daughters have become my sisters . . .

The Iraki scholar Kāmil M. ash-Shaibī has collected a remarkably large number of Arabic poems in the mystical tradition which use this kind of paradox. The cycle of poems in honor of al-Ḥallāj by the contemporary Iraki poet 'Abdulwahhāb al-Bayātī, especially its third poem ("Mosaic"), is a fine modern continuation of the paradoxical, timeless, and spaceless expressions of Ḥallāj.[13]

The mystics had to resort to paradoxes for two reasons: to convey at least a weak reflection of the Truth, and to hide the secret of loving union from the eyes of the common people. Not in vain was Ḥallāj accused of and executed for *ifshā' as-sirr* ("Divulging the secret"). That is why the mystics preferred to use a language which the uninitiated could not understand. They would speak in *ishārāt* ("hints, allusions"), as Kharrāz and, following him, Junaid al-Baghdādī did during the height of classical

[11] Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 423.

[12] Kāmil M. ash-Shaibī, *Sharḥ dīwān al-Ḥallāj* (Baghdad and Beirut, 1973), p. 166ff. A German translation of the poem is in Annemarie Schimmel, *Al-Halladsch, Märtyrer der Gottesliebe* (Cologne, 1968), p. 48ff.

The oxymoron of Life = Death permeates mystical literature, be it in the work of St. John of the Cross, Richard Crashaw, or Maulānā Rūmī; in fact, the whole concept of *fanā* and *baqā* in Sufism can be seen as a perfect expression of this experience. Likewise, the symbolism of the Mevlevi dance points to dying and being resurrected, to *Stirb und Werde*.

For the use of paradox in general in Islamic mysticism, see Toshihiku Izutsu, "The Paradox of Light and Darkness in the Garden of Mystery of Shabastarī," in *Anagogic Qualities of Literature*, ed. by Joseph P. Strelka (University Park, Pa., 1971).

[13] 'Abdulwahhāb al-Bayātī, *Safar al-faqr wa'th-thaura* (Baghdad, 1965); a German translation appears in Annemarie Schimmel, *Zeitgenössische arabische Lyrik* (Tübingen, 1975), p. 77ff.

Sufism,[14] or they would even invent artificial languages, like the *balābailān.*[15] Even a "kitchen vocabulary" might be used to allude to the highest mysteries of unitive experience, as Hellmut Ritter has shown on the basis of a Turkish manuscript.[16]

On the other hand, paradoxical language is more conducive to a true understanding of the Truth than everyday language — a fact most lucidly visible in the Buddhist tradition, where the Zen master gives his disciples a *ko'an* in order to produce *satori,* the sudden illumination of the mind. Questions such as "Has the dog the Buddha nature or not? — Joshu said: Mu,"[17] are meant to be an "intellectual shock technique."[18] It seems that this same term can be applied to the effect intended by several Sufi sayings and poems. The first to point to this aspect of mystical language in Islam was W. H. Temple Gairdner who, in his introduction to al-Ghazzālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār,* expressed the feeling that this "willful paradox" and "pious highfalutin'" was perhaps "intended to make their flesh creep a little for their health's sake." He continued: "Do we not take their language too seriously? It parades as scientific; it is really poetico-rhetorical."[19] His statement seems to be valid for many early Sufi definitions, but especially for the poetry that developed in the Islamic lands. Persian poetry is filled with paradoxical statements, particularly in Rūmī, who uses "intellectual shock therapy" very ingeniously, to the point of introducing stories of an absolutely unmystical or even downright vulgar character or using words from the lower levels of everyday language. Yet, his language has never been properly studied from this viewpoint. The Sufis in India, writing in Persian, early Urdu, and the regional languages (Sindhi, Panjabi, Pashto), took over this tendency, and were almost certainly influenced in their use of paradoxes by the *ulṭabhaṇsi* poetry of their Hindu compatriots. However, a true paradox must spring spon-

[14] See Paul Nwyia, S. J., *Exegèse coranique et langage mystique* (Beirut, 1970), p. 240ff.; see also Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions,* pp. 55, 59.

[15] Ignaz Goldziher, "Linguistisches aus der Literatur der muhammedanischen Mystik," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 26 (1872): 765; Alessandro Bausani, "About a Curious Mystical Language," in *East and West* 4, no. 4 (1958).

[16] Hellmut Ritter, "Philologica IX," *Der Islam* 25 (1938); the manuscript is in Aya Sofya 2052, fol. 53b.

[17] Zenkai Shibayama, *Zen Comments on the Mumonkan* (New York, 1974), p. 19 (story no. 1).

[18] Eleanor McCann, "Oxymora in Spanish Mystics and English Metaphysical Writers," in *Comparative Literature,* 1969.

[19] W. H. Temple Gairdner, *Al-Ghazzālī's "Mishkāt al-anwār": The Niche for Lights* (London, 1915), p. 71.

taneously from experience,[20] and one of the weaknesses of *ulṭabhaṇsi* poetry, as well as of standardized Sufi poetry, is that the paradoxes soon become clichés, losing their spontaneity and thus their provocativeness.

Yunus seems to have been the first great exponent of the art of paradoxical poetry in Turkey. His *tekerleme* is, as far as we can judge, the starting point for this tradition, which became quite popular there. Yunus was followed and, in many instances, surpassed in this field by Kayğusuz Abdal, whose colorful poetry has been explained differently — after all, Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı has pointed out that *kayğusuz* is a catchword for hashish, thus implying that Kayğusuz's poems might be the results of "trips."[21] But even if this were the case, his verse falls into the same category as the paradoxes of the Sufis, the Indian mystical singers, the Japanese Zen monks, and the many other representatives of the mystical traditions. They all tried to allude to, rather than explain, the Truth that lies beyond the bifurcation into positive and negative, *yin* and *yang, Nunc aeternum* and serial time as it came into existence, according to Islamic belief, at the Day of the Covenant, the *rūz-i alast* (see *Sūra* 7/171) — a Truth that is not to be attained by philosophical inquiry, but only by experience, by *dhauq* ("tasting"), as the Sufis would say (the very word *dhauq* would fit perfectly with the kitchen imagery that looms large in both Rūmī's and Kayğusuz Abdal's poetry!).

Yunus Emre's "nonsense verses" must not be taken as an isolated phenomenon. Rather, they belong to a universal tradition of mystical expression, in which the mystic tries to explain that which is beyond words by using paradoxes. For the very fact that he who feels himself to be "mute, with no tongue [for] what he has seen" speaks, and despite a constant reiteration of the ineffability of the last experience, goes on writing poems and learned books describing that experience, is a paradox in itself.

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20 R. H. Blyth, *Zen in English Literature and Oriental Classics* (Tokyo, 1942; reprint, New York, 1960), p. 183.
21 *Kayğusuz Abdal, Hatayı, Kul Himmet*, ed. by Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı [Varlık Klasikleri] (Istanbul, 1953); also see Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, p. 335ff.. For German translations of his poems, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Aus dem goldenen Becher: Türkische Lyrik von 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Istanbul, 1973), pp. 59–63.

Constantinople Viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period*

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

I

The picture we have formed of the Byzantine Empire has been largely determined by Byzantine historiography and by rhetorical sources. Since in their majority the authors of these documents were residents of Constantinople, who, naturally enough, adopted the capital's perspective, we are inclined to make this perspective our own. We also tend to assume that the best of Byzantine art comes from Constantinople, either because we can surely assign first-rate works to the capital or because, as victims of circular reasoning, we assume that, being first-rate, these works must have been created there. On the other hand, there are objective reasons for centering our attention on the capital. For a long stretch of Byzantium's history, starting as early as the sixth century, Constantinople did in fact set the trend in letters and the arts for much of the empire. It was also there that imperial ideology was put together from preexisting elements, and it was obviously from there that the provinces were governed, manipulated, and exploited.

Exactly how large a city Constantinople was at various times we do not know, mainly because the Byzantines had no means of knowing it themselves. But we do know that its growth was initially so rapid that the government attempted to limit it in the early centuries, and we may safely follow those conservative estimates which put its population at 400,000 in the sixth century and at 200,000 to 250,000 on the eve of the Fourth

* It is not my aim to document all factual statements made in this essay. The reader will find, however, references to the principal (and, on the whole, easily accessible) texts from which these statements have been derived. Secondary literature is quoted only to highlight some points. An insight into the treatment of Byzantine provinces in modern scholarship is conveniently provided by several articles published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vols. 27–29 (1973–1975) and 31 (1977) (the last by C. Foss).

Crusade.[1] This means that for centuries Constantinople was the most populous city in all Christendom.

Some thirty years after its establishment, Constantinople found its first "systematic" panegyrist in Themistios, a senator, teacher of princes, rhetorician, and philosopher. Relying on the rules that governed city eulogies in late antiquity, he set up the pattern of *topoi* for Constantinople's subsequent laudations. The motifs he used included the city's close connection with the imperial power; hints at its coequality with the Rome on the Tiber; its favorable geopolitical situation on the confines of Europe and Asia; its propitious climate, sumptuous architecture, and — even at this early date — its role as the "hearth" of arts and letters.[2] The tone was thus set in the fourth century, although subsequent centuries would add some new elements to the stock: the city's special relationship to God or the Virgin as its protectors; its impregnability; its youth, which distinguished the vigorous daughter from her wrinkled mother, Rome, of the West; and, finally, its superiority over that Western Rome in all respects.

Virtually none of the vast number of eulogies praise the city of Constantinople alone. Like Themistios, all but two authors (both of them late) — who include the great names in Byzantium's literary history along with a few unknown to most Byzantinists[3] — couple praise of the city with praise of the emperor, the embodiment of the empire.

Thus the narrative historical sources, largely centered on Constantinople, and the court rhetoric, centered on the palace, leave us with a picture of Byzantine society in which Constantinople, the head, looms large and everything else, the tail, appears insignificant. Call it the tadpole

1 See H.-G. Beck, *Studien zur frühgeschichte Konstantinopels,* Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, no. 14 (Munich, 1973), p. 16; D. Jacoby, "La population de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine: Un problème de démographie urbaine," *Byzantion* 31 (1961): 109, fn. 1. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale . . .* (Paris, 1974), p. 525, postulates a population of 200,000 to 300,000 for the middle of the fifth century, and, if I understand him correctly, of 500,000 for the time of Justinian (p. 540). Cf. ibidem, p. 518, fn. 1, for a bibliography of earlier guesses on the population of Constantinople. Most recently, P. Allen, "The 'Justinianic' Plague," *Byzantion* 49 (1979): 10 and fn. 32, postulates a population of no more than 400,000 in 542.

2 Cf. Themistius, *Oration* 6, ed. by H. Schenkl-G. Downey, *Themistii Orationes quae supersunt,* vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1971), p. 122, 13–14 (connection with imperial power); *Oration* 3, ed. by Schenkl-Downey, vol. 1, p. 60, 7ff. (equality with Old Rome); *Oration* 6, ed. by Schenkl-Downey, vol. 1, p. 124, 4–17 (favorable situation); *Oration* 6, ed. by Schenkl-Downey, vol. 1, pp. 124, 17–125, 3; and *Oration* 31, ed. by Schenkl-Downey-Norman, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1971), pp. 191, 24–192, 1 (Constantinople as hearth of the Muses).

3 For eulogies of Constantinople in Byzantine literature, cf. E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae,* Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, no. 9 (Munich, 1968).

model. When we consider the size of the city and the number among its elite who were capable of dispensing artistic and literary patronage, we understand how modern scholarship, at least in intellectual and art history, has been influenced by this model. A moment's reflection, however, makes us realize that such a picture has its limitations, even when applied to letters and ideology. A number of familiar examples can be adduced to prove the point, especially for the early Byzantine period. We can quote centers of learning in law and the exact sciences and centers of artistic and literary production — such as Alexandria, Berytus (Beirut), Gaza, and Antioch — which claimed equality with Constantinople or superiority over it. In high-style literature, the fourth century provides a text containing a proposal which would have drastically reduced Constantinople's preeminence: in his *Antiochikos,* Libanius wished that the emperor's residence would be moved to Antioch.[4] In low-brow literature, Malalas has left us a "provincial" chronicle greatly concerned with that same city.

In the early period, many prominent men of letters and science, historians, and builders who worked for the greater glory of Constantinople came from elsewhere. Themistios came from Paphlagonia and Agathias (who had lived in Berytus) from Myrine, both in Asia Minor, and Procopius, from Caesarea in Palestine. The prefect of Constantinople and occasional poet who supervised the rapid restoration of the walls of the city in the middle of the fifth century was Kyros of Panopolis, in Egypt; of the two builders of St. Sophia, Isidore and Anthemios, one was from Miletus, the other from Tralleis (Aydın) in Asia Minor (the prolific medical writer Alexander of Tralleis was Anthemios's brother). If we turn to early Byzantine saints from the provinces who, like Daniel the Stylite (d. 492), ended up in or near Constantinople, we can come up with a much longer list, but its message is the same. Our short catalogue shows that between the fourth and the sixth century Constantinople was a magnet attracting provincial talent — and, in his letters, Libanius had to admit as much, with regret. But it also shows that the provinces had a culture that was at least sufficient to nurture talent and provide it with first polish.

Important works of art, texts, and at least one poetic genre absorbed by Byzantium in the early period were introduced not only from outside the capital, but even occasionally from outside the Greek cultural milieu. Romanos the Melode came from Berytus, and the *kontakion,* his literary

[4] Libanius, *Oration* 11, ed. by R. Förster, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Leipzig, 1903), cap. 180, p. 498, 3–13.

vehicle, introduced Semitic forms into Byzantium's liturgical poetry. The *Revelation* of Methodios of Patara, a prophetic text influential throughout the Byzantine, Slavic, and Latin Middle Ages, harkens back to a seventh- or eighth-century Syriac model,[5] and the splendid Syriac Rabbula Gospel of the year 586 comes from Zagba in Northern Mesopotamia, the eastern confines of the empire.

The great change came with the Persian and Arab conquests and the concomitant loss of the great cultural centers — Alexandria, Berytus, Antioch, and Jerusalem. This was a calamity, but for Constantinople the calamity brought an unforeseen advantage: by eliminating its competitors, it gave the empire's capital a near monopoly on culture which it was to enjoy without challenge from the eighth century on. But even from later times — say, in the Middle Byzantine tenth and eleventh centuries — we can quote examples of cultural impulses coming from the periphery. Armenia provided Trdat, the man who planned the rebuilding of the western arch and dome of Saint Sophia after the earthquake of 989, and an emperor, John I Tzimiskes (969–976), who had the Church of Christ at the Chalke Gate of the imperial palace built according to his architectural ideas, which stemmed from his native country. Other Armenian influences on eleventh-century church architecture of the capital have also recently been revealed.[6] Astronomical texts, dreambooks, and romances were translated from the Arabic, sometimes in Constantinople, but sometimes on the frontier. We know that an eleventh-century manuscript of the story of Syntipas was made for a *dux* of Melitene (Malatya), and we know that Aesop's fables were translated back into Greek from the Syriac.[7] One point must be granted, however, to the proponents of the

[5] Cf. P. Alexander, "Psevdo-Mefodij i Efiopija," *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka*, no. 10 (Sverdlovsk, 1973), p. 10; idem, "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs, the Legend of the Last Roman Emperor," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 2 (1971): 55; S. Brock, "Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976): 34. Latest edition of Greek texts is by Anastasios Lolos: (a) *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios* (Meisenheim am Glau, 1976) [= version 1 and 2]; (b) *Die dritte und vierte Redaktion des Ps.-Methodios* (Meisenheim am Glau, 1978).

[6] The important role played by Armenians in Byzantine civilization and military administration in the Middle Byzantine period, both in Constantinople and in the provinces, is a well researched topic. Cf., e.g., P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, 1963), and, especially, A. P. Každan's excellent *Armjane v sostave gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantijskoj imperii v XI–XII vv.* (Erevan, 1975). On Armenian and Caucasian influences in eleventh-century architecture, cf. C. A. Mango in *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976): 359–65 (bibliography).

[7] About the story of Syntipas, see H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (hereafter *Volksliteratur*), (Munich, 1971), pp. 45–48. For the so-called *Fables of Syntipas*, translated into the Greek from a Syriac corpus of Aesopic fables, see Beck, *Volksliteratur*, pp. 30–31; B. Perry, *Aesopica* (Urbana, 1952), pp. 511–50.

tine period, it is difficult to deny the overwhelming predominance of the capital.

When it came to producing culture, Constantinople had no absolute monopoly, not even in the Middle Byzantine period: in the ninth century Methodios came to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople from Sicily via Rome, where he had been active as a writer. Many of the families — Phokades, Skleroi, Doukai, Botaniatai, Synadenoi, Dalassenoi, Maleinoi, Gabrades, Palaiologoi, Angeloi, Dokeianoi, and even Kantakouzenoi — who came into prominence in the tenth and eleventh centuries and in many cases remained on the pages of Byzantine history to its very end, not only as magnates or rulers, but also as patrons of arts and sometimes as practitioners of letters, originated in Asia Minor, including its eastern areas.[8]

The fall of Constantinople in 1204 did not mean the fall of the empire, which survived as long as provinces remained to shelter its various Byzantine successor states. These provinces, even before 1204, had learned to look beyond the borders of the empire and not to Constantinople alone. On occasion they were in touch with one another, and they produced art, literature, *Vitae* of saints, and sometimes documents that round out the picture of society we gain from the narrative sources.

Byzantine Italy, Cyprus, and Syria-Palestine are three cases in point. All three had in common the characteristic that, whether held by Byzantium or lost to other powers, they were border provinces and areas of cultural interpenetration. In southern Italy Byzantines dealt with Lombards, Arabs, and Normans, and in Cyprus, with Arabs, the Western Lusignan rulers, and the Venetians. In Syria-Palestine, they lived as a minority in a Semitic milieu with a culture of its own. So long as they were part of the empire, all three provinces were linked to the capital by the movement of administrators, artists, authors, texts, and works of art. In addition, Cyprus and Syria-Palestine were linked to each other, both in the early period and at the time of the Crusades, as were Italy and Syria-Palestine at an earlier time. The *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschos described the monastic world of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, but seemingly was written in Rome, and the teacher of John of Damascus was a monk captured in Sicily and taken to the Arab East in the 660s.[9]

[8] For details, cf. the pioneer work by A. P. Każdan, *Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974), especially pp. 200–213.

[9] Of course, we could quote examples of literary and scribal activity in other, sometimes far-off, provinces during the Middle Byzantine period. Here are only two instances: (1) About the year 1000, the educated general Nicephorus Ouranos expected

Clearly, then, the tadpole model of the empire has its shortcomings. We shall submit that model to a test by asking two related questions at various points of this essay: first, just how large did the imperial city and its ruler loom in the minds of the Byzantines who lived outside the capital, and, second, how strong were the bonds of loyalty that attached them to Constantinople and its emperor? In carrying out our test we shall avoid adducing quotations or examples coming from chronicles, histories, or oratorical pieces. We shall begin with a letter.

II

About the year 1000, Leo, the metropolitan of Synnada (today's Şuhut) in west-central Asia Minor, wrote a letter to Emperor Basil II, in which he referred to the difficulties besetting his metropolis. The letter runs in part as follows: "We do not grow olive trees; nobody grows them in the Anatolikon theme. Our region knows no viniculture, for we are situated at a considerable altitude. Instead of wood, we use *zarzakon*, a specially prepared dung, a thing most vile and evil-smelling, for fuel, and all things needed by people, whether healthy or ailing, we import either from the Thracesian theme, from Attaleia, or from Constantinople itself. . . . May your great imperial and discerning mind let me not live on barley, hay and straw, like a horse; for the country of Synnada provides no wheat, only barley."[10]

At first sight, Leo's letter would seem a good beginning for an essay on Middle Byzantine provincial life, for it is easy to show that the metropolitan's statements about olive trees, vineyards, and certainly about dung were absolutely true. The only trouble is that it would be hard to take the discussion much further, for so far as I know, in the wealth of

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to receive a work on the saints of the whole year (a menologium?) which was to be composed by Nicholas, metropolitan of Neocaesarea (Niksar, in northeastern Asia Minor). It seems that Nicholas was to write this work while residing in his see. Cf. Nicephorus Ouranos, *Letter* 21, in J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle* (Paris, 1960), p. 227, 9–13. (2) In a testament drawn up in 1059, at a distance of a "week and a half" journey from Cappadocia (but journey in which direction? that of Armenian areas in today's northeastern Turkey? or that of the area of Edessa-Urfa, as Professor Lemerle has lately, and probably correctly, suggested?), by the Cappadocian magnate Eustathios Boilas, we read of one Gregory, a freedman of Boilas, a deacon who exercised "the art of a calligrapher" in a church on one of Boilas's estates; cf. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), p. 27, l. 218.

10 Leo of Synnada, *Letter* 43 (pp. 198–99), ed. by Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins*. Cf. the rich comments about this letter by L. Robert in "Les kordakia de Nicée, le combustible de Synnada et les poissons-scies. Sur des lettres d'un métropolite de Phrygie au X^e siècle. Philologie et réalites," *Journal des Savants*, 1961, pp. 115–66.

particulars he offers, Leo is the only epistolographer of his kind. Not that we are otherwise totally ignorant of the material aspects of life in the empire's provinces, but our information is spotty. We know that if Phrygia did not grow wheat, Galatia and Lydia did; that the grape was cultivated near Damascus during the second century of Arab rule and in the far east (or southeast) of the empire in the mid-eleventh century; that in the early ninth century two nomismata was the price for hiring a donkey to travel between Amorium and Nicaea or Pylae; that about the year 1000, twelve nomismata or a good lectionary would buy a place in a Palestine monastery, and thus we learn a volume's price and that books were accepted as currency. This is about all I need to recall at this point, however, to make clear that our information is haphazard and that, for the time being, we cannot begin to gather a sufficient number of these tesserae to lay out a complete mosaic of life in the Byzantine provinces.

The sources do allow us, however, to frame our two test questions and to examine the extent of the provincials' awareness of the capital and its emperor and even to assess the strength of their loyalties. In answering these questions, I shall select four zones of increasing distance from Constantinople, each of them representing a somewhat different perspective. The first zone, that of greater Constantinople, extends from areas in the capital's vicinity to those three or four days distant from it; the second includes provinces in western and west-central Asia Minor; the third comprises parts of the eastern frontier; the last extends into some of the territories that had been lost completely or partially to the Arabs (cf. fig. 1, p. 742). We shall thus be dealing with the eastern, and larger, part of the empire. I suspect that if we extended our investigation to the west as well, our general findings would undergo but a few modifications. Chronologically, our discussion will be confined roughly to the time between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, when Constantinople was still a supercity and Byzantium held sway over a large territory.

Information is most plentiful for the first zone, particularly for Bithynia and the Hellespont along the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara. People of middle or higher rank held property there, but resided in Constantinople, usually as officials of the central administration. The days of early Byzantium were over, and the distinction between urban and rural existence was blurred. Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818), himself a Constantinopolitan by birth, is a well-known example of this class. Three of the four monasteries connected with his name were founded on property owned by his family, and the most remote of them was distant indeed, just east of Cyzicus, near the present-day city of Bandırma. There were less

prominent landowners as well, like the *protospatharios* Staurakios, who lived in Constantinople, but owned property near Mt. Olympus and had it administered by a *curator*, or the family of Nicephorus, a native of Constantinople and later abbot of Medikion, close to present-day Tirilye (see fig. 6, p. 747), which had estates near Herakleion in Bithynia.[11] Others, who did not own property outright but derived revenue from monasteries along the coast of the Sea of Marmara, also resided in Constantinople in the service of the emperor. The most renowned of these was Michael Psellos, who in the mid-eleventh century was the *charistikarios*, or beneficiary, of several monasteries, some in the diocese of Cyzicus, and the best known of them was again Medikion.

Given the geographical proximity that made suburban property ownership possible, any alienation from the center that might have developed was clearly not a matter of communications, at least not in the ninth century. Business and other matters, such as the need to consult physicians, required constant travel back and forth, mostly by boat. In moments of danger Constantinople also functioned as a huge *kastron* or fortress — in the early ninth century, for example, a disciple of Saint Peter of Atroa in Bithynia entertained the cowardly, but reassuring, thought that he could always flee to the capital in the event of an Arab attack.[12]

11 On the monasteries in the first zone (as well as some in the second, such as that of Mt. Galesios), cf. now R. Janin, *Les Églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), pp. 1–214 (Bithynia and the Hellespont), pp. 241–50 (Mt. Galesios).

On Staurakios, cf. the *Vita* of St. Peter of Atroa (no. 2364 in F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed. [hereafter *BHG*³], Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 8a [Brussels, 1957]), V. Laurent, ed., *La Vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 29 (Brussels, 1956), cap. 57, pp. 177–79; *Vita Retractata*, (*BHG*³-*Auctarium*, Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 47 (Brussels, 1969), no. 2365), V. Laurent, ed., *La Vita Retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa*, Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 31 (Brussels, 1958), pp. 75–122. (Hereafter, Lives of saints will be referred to by their numbers in *BHG*³ or *BHG*³-*Auctarium*; under the appropriate numbers, both these works refer the reader to the pertinent editions of the respective *Vitae*.) On Nicephorus of Medikion (*BHG*³-*Auctarium*, no. 2297), cf. F. Halkin, "La Vie de Saint Nicéphore, fondateur de Medikion en Bithynie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 78 (1960): 405, 408. In the tenth century, Gregory, the author of the *Vita Basilii Junioris* (*BHG*³, no. 264) and not a rich man, rented a house in Constantinople, but owned a *proasteion*, or landed property, in Rhaidestos (present-day Tekirdağ) in Thrace. He went there partly by boat, partly by land. Cf. S. G. Vilinskij, "Žitie sv. Vasilija Novogo . . . ," pt. 2, *Zapiski Imperatorskogo novorossijskogo universiteta* 7 (1911): 318, 30–39. Cf. also the corrections by C. A. Mango in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 71 (1978): 113–16.

12 Disciple of St. Peter: the *Vita* of St. Peter of Atroa (*BHG*³, no. 2364), cap. 48, p. 165. Shortly before his death in 813, Nicephorus of Medikion went to Constantinople to consult doctors there: *BHG*³-*Auctarium*, no. 2297, pp. 398, 422, 423. Eustratios, abbot of the monastery Agauros (near Prusa, present-day Bursa), traveled to Constantinople by land and by sea (from Kios-Gemlik); once he did so to secure imperial

The alienation that did develop was, instead, ideological. After 815, under the Second Iconoclasm, monasteries could be found everywhere that opposed official policy and the official hierarchy. To meet the problem, imperial police escorted important abbots of Bithynia and the Hellespont to the capital, either for brainwashing sessions or to ensure that they would not be manipulated by the counter-emperor Thomas the Slav, who controlled these areas in the early 820s. They ordered local inhabitants not to shelter well-dressed people, presumably high-class laymen fleeing the capital; and they required an equivalent of today's passport for travel. The abbots had to submit to the ignominy of persecution in the capital, but the inhabitants otherwise disregarded police orders, at least on occasion, as we can see from Gregory the Decapolite's unhindered stay on the island of Prokonnesos in the Sea of Marmara.[13] The government's persecution was not very effective in the Opsikian theme. When the going got bad, whole communities and groups of prelates simply took to the hills. When pressure eased, the iconodules, like Peter of Atroa, soon learned that remaining on the good side of minor local military officers was a help in weathering more difficult moments. The writings of Theodore of Studios and of his pupil and successor Naukratios show that rapid communication through exchange of secret letters between the various Studite centers in exile in Asia Minor was possible. Possible, too, was the running of a clandestine government for the monastic republic in Bithynia, in defiance of the official hierarchy.

Travel between the first zone and Constantinople was frequent, but not universal. Ioannikios Boilas, the greatest of the Bithynian saints, is known to have visited Constantinople only once, at the end of his military service, about the year 795. In the whole of his interminable *Vita*, instances of people, such as an abbot from Prusa, going to Constantinople are few and instances of visitors or messages coming to Ioannikios from the capital number only four.[14] After he resigned as an imperial official, Theophanes the Confessor traveled little. We do not know whether he ever saw Constantinople between the time he settled in his new monastery and the time he was forcibly hauled to the capital toward the end of his

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help for his monastery. He died in the capital near the end of the ninth century. Cf. *BHG*³, no. 645, pp. 378, 390, 393.

13 For Gregory's stay on Prokonnesos, see the *Vita* of St. Gregory the Decapolite (*BHG*³, no. 711), p. 54, 4–7; for one's staying on the good side of officers, see the *Vita* of St. Peter of Atroa (*BHG*³, no. 2364), pp. 37–38.

14 *Vita* of Ioannikios (*BHG*³, no. 935), cap. 32 (abbot from Prusa); capp. 15, 33, 45, 53 (arrivals from Constantinople).

life. Saint Constantine the Jew hailed from Synnada; although he was in Constantinople later in the century, for the most part he satisfied his spiritual needs through a protracted stay in rustic Cyprus (see fig. 2, p. 743). Constantinople was a dangerous city for Saint Constantine and his like. Once, on his way there, he passed the former dwelling place of Saint Ioannikios and from the saint's grave received a star, which landed on his breast and entered his heart. As a result, says Constantine's biographer, he stayed in Constantinople as if he had never left the desert, and was thereafter ever immune to the passions of body and soul alike.[15] Others, scions of rich families, like Christopher-Makarios of Pelekete, Nicephorus and Niketas of Medikion, resisted temptation by fleeing the capital to settle in, and direct, monasteries of Bithynia.

The first zone had a quite reputable intellectual life of its own in the ninth century. Saint Ioannikios, who began to learn the alphabet at the age of forty-two, spent two years learning the first thirty Psalms, and three more years mastering the remainder of the Psalter, hardly measured up to its cultural luminaries or made use of its cultural resources. Sabas, the author of Ioannikios's *Vita,* was a Constantinopolitan who wrote in a Bithynian monastery. Theophanes the Confessor wrote his entire *Chronicle,* his main claim to fame, at his monastery of Megas Agros; this alone suggests that the bibliographical resources of this ninth-century monastery of the Hellespont must have been quite reputable. Even though he seems to have relied mostly on ready materials left to him by George Synkellos,[16] Theophanes does mention having "sought out many books" for the purpose of writing his *Chronicle.* In one bibliographical respect, Theophanes's monastic provincial library outdid the capital. Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us that Megas Agros possessed a treatise on procedures to be followed during imperial military campaigns, a topic on which the emperor had found no information in the imperial palace. Constantine obtained the text from the monastery and inserted its substance into his *De Ceremoniis.* As late as the thirteenth century, the monastery's library possessed thirty-five items,[17] and some of its volumes survive until today. Nor did Megas Agros stand alone: a large number of attested Byzantine scriptoria of Asia Minor were clustered in the first zone (see fig. 3, p. 744).

15 *Vita* of Constantine the Jew: *BHG*³, no. 370.
16 Cf. C. Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?," *Zbornik Radova vizantološkog instituta* 18 (1978): 9–17.
17 For details, cf. my remarks in C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973): 266 and fns. 152–53.

III

In the second zone, a distinction has to be made between places along the main lines of communication and those lying off the beaten track. A provincial who lived on the seashore — for the sea also served as a linking highway — or on a main military road leading from Constantinople had a good chance of remaining in contact with the capital and of hearing the latest news. Around 800 Saint George of Amastris made frequent voyages to Constantinople, long before he became bishop, or archbishop, of that coastal city.[18] About two hundred years earlier, Theodore of Sykeon, who lived on a military road, could send to Constantinople for the best liturgical silver vessels marked with five imperial stamps, and he could send them back; incidentally, he did this because he suspected — rightly, as it turned out — that the silver had been melted down from a prostitute's chamberpot.

Early as it is, the *Vita* of Theodore[19] offers information relevant to our period as well; for instance, it helps us to deduce the speed of communications between the capital and the provinces in cases of emergency. We know from the convergent evidence of several sources that Emperor Phokas was killed, and his successor Heraclius proclaimed, on Monday, 5 October 610. This was registered in Constantinople. From Sykeon's perspective, the *Vita* of Theodore tells us that while his community was celebrating the feast of Sergius and Bacchus, that is, on October 7 (the indication is in the Greek text), a courier sped by from Constantinople to announce Phokas's murder. This means that the couriers covered — in several relays, I assume — the distance of about 150 miles in at most two days. Compare this with the statement in a late source that Nicomedia (Izmit), which lies much closer to the capital than Sykeon, was three days' journey from Constantinople.[20]

Although living in the provinces, Theodore of Sykeon was wined and dined by three emperors in succession. George of Amastris was received by Constantine VI and Irene, and became the real-estate adviser and

[18] *Vita* of George of Amastris: *BHG*^{3}, no. 668.

[19] *Vita* of Theodore of Sykeon: *BHG*^{3}, no. 1748, to which add the most recent edition, with a French translation, by A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 48 (Brussels, 1970).

[20] From the *Vita* of Nicephorus of Medikion (d. 813; *BHG*^{3}*-Auctarium*, no. 2297), p. 424, we learn that the trip by sea from Chalki to the shore of Medikion — that is, probably to Tirilye — lasted four days, although it should be noted that the voyage was impeded by a strong south wind.

personal friend of Nicephorus I, who had ousted Irene. Both saints predicted a friend's accession to the throne — Theodore, that of Maurice, and George, that of Nicephorus I. Nicephorus of Medikion was a friend of unspecified "emperors," and had the opportunity to inspect the imperial treasury — which he fled, in order not to be beguiled by dead matter. We need not ask to what extent these stories reflect reality and to what extent a hagiographic *topos,* for the ease of communication between Constantinople and these saints' sees endows the *topos* with credibility.

Our main text for the study of the second zone is the *Vita* of Lazarus the Galesiote.[21] The importance of Galesios (in the diocese of Ephesus) which the saint founded and which was to become a center of book production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the saint's longevity (he lived to be eighty-one), and the extent of his journeys make his long *Vita* an appropriate source for our subject. But the most important reason for our choice is the fact that in all his reported travels, the saint never went to the capital. Lazarus was born near Magnesia (on the Maeander). By the time he was about eighteen years old he had made two unsuccessful attempts to visit the Holy Land and, finally, a third and successful one. The trip lasted many years. He went first to Chonae and from there followed the overland pilgrimage route leading to Attaleia (Antalya). He remained for seven years in the vicinity of that harbor and became a monk there, then finally continued to Antioch and Jerusalem. Once in Palestine, he spent thirteen years at the monasteries of St. Saba — where he became a priest — and Saint Euthymius, and in the desert. After the Saracen *razzia* on the St. Saba community in 1009, he returned to Byzantine territory, as did many other monks, to avoid compulsory conversion to Islam. His itinerary then was Laodicea to Antioch to Cilicia to Cappadocia (where he ascended Mt. Argaeus), to Euchaita (the shrine of Saint Theodore), to Chonae, and to Ephesus. From there, he intended to sail to Rome; instead, after visiting his native village and neighboring monasteries, he established himself at Mt. Galesios, where he remained for forty-one years until his death in 1053 (see fig. 4, p. 745).

Of the three major pilgrimage centers in his time, Lazarus knew well only Jerusalem and its vicinity. Rome was for him (or, rather, his biographer) a disembodied, ideal city, only to be dreamed about. His plans to go there are mentioned twice in the *Vita,* but he never managed it. Incidentally, Rome remains a dream city even in the *Vitae* of those saints who

[21] *BHG*[3], no. 979.

did manage to reach it although their biographers had not. The *Vitae* of Blasios of Amorium[22] and of Gregory the Decapolite, written by authors residing in Constantinople, are cases in point.

The world of the monastery on Mt. Galesios can be perceived in ever widening circles (see fig. 5, p. 746). Immediately surrounding were neighboring villages from which the monks got their wine and provisions. A *kastron* loomed near the monastery. Somewhat farther away was Ephesus and its metropolitan, with whom the monks had jurisdictional difficulties lasting for years. The first benefactress of the monastery, a lady from Calabria who contributed to the building of its church, was residing at Ephesus. Monks took ships to Crete from Ephesus's harbor Phygela, or Phygellae. Farther still was Attaleia, from where people came either to be healed or to hear Saint Lazarus expound the Scriptures. Dissenting monks went to Magnesia, to denigrate the saint before the local bishop. A defrocked Galesiote monk, who escaped from his brethren going through Amorium, settled down in Chonae, where he met a violent death. Other geographical names appear in the *Vita* as places from which monks were recruited and alms or supplies obtained: the Opsikian theme, Sardes, Lydia, Phrygia, Smyrna, Ikonium, Chios, Greece, and even the "country of the Armenians."

Much of the influence Lazarus exercised was local. Villagers submitted practical questions to him. He was generous to the local poor, who wanted him to be godfather to their children and thus, we may surmise, secure material support for their offspring. His contacts were not limited to the humble folk: his influence extended to local government officials of middle and higher rank, including several thematic judges and a tax collector from Ephesus, the capital of the Thracesian theme. Lazarus corresponded with a *protospatharios*, and he befriended a local *strategos*, Romanos Skleros by name, who claimed free access to the emperor.[23]

Although most of the monastery's contacts were local, Constantinople was still within its purview. Visitors, some of them distinguished, came

[22] *Vita* of Blasios: *BHG*³, no. 278. On the Constantinopolitan (Studite) origin of this *Vita*, cf. H. Grégoire, "La Vie de Saint Blaise d'Amorium," *Byzantion* 5 (1929–30): especially 411–14.

[23] At the time of our *Vita*'s reference (soon after 1042, the year of Constantine IX's accession), Romanos must have been *strategos* of the Thracesian theme. On the career of this powerful man, cf. now W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi: Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie* (Vienna, 1976), no. 18 = pp. 76–85 (cf. also Každan, *Armjane*, p. 78). Skleros was indeed close to Constantine IX, as he was the brother of the latter's *maîtresse attitrée*, Maria Skleraina.

from the city: a monk with a lay servant who tended to his needs was there at the time of Lazarus's death; a nun wearing men's clothes wanted to obtain the saint's blessing for going to Jerusalem — she was discouraged and told that "Jerusalem is wherever there are good deeds." Monks did not travel to Constantinople very frequently, but they must have done so regularly enough, because the monastery maintained a *pied-à-terre* in that city, in the house of a pious lady near the portico of Maurianos. We learn of two routes to the capital used by Galesiotes, one by sea via Smyrna, another overland, via Lopadion (Uluabad).

The author of Lazarus's *Vita* came from the capital, but he did not trust it. If we believe him, not all the Galesiote monks sent on business to Constantinople were as immune to its blandishments as Saint Constantine the Jew had been in his time. The capital ensnared them. One went to the games in the Hippodrome — for there was nothing sinful, he said, in watching people and racing horses. But he must have been wrong in disregarding Saint John Chrysostom's strictures against such pastimes, for the night after attending the spectacle he fell from the flat roof of the monastic *pied-à-terre* as he was about to go to bed, and died some days later. A second Galesiote monk visited Constantinople about 1042, and found out that Constantine Monomachos, who had been banished to Lesbos, was about to be proclaimed emperor; he then went to Mitylene on his own and pretended to predict Constantine's accession to the throne, presumably invoking the name of Saint Lazarus in vain. After Constantine actually became emperor, the monk went back to Constantinople to congratulate him. Finally, a third Galesiote monk discarded the frock, joined the revolt of Isaac Comnenus in 1057, and went to the capital.

Since to our knowledge Lazarus had never been to Constantinople, he did not have the distinction of dining at the imperial palace as Theodore of Sykeon or George of Amastris had, but he did have other contacts with the emperor. He wrote to Constantine IX at least twice, and received at least one letter from him. The correspondence touched on the monastery's typicon, the succession to the post of abbot, and, probably, the quarrel with the metropolitan of Ephesus. On the latter point, the emperor appears to have offered a compromise, although in vain, for Lazarus flatly refused to budge and accused Constantine of "lawless deeds."

These were strong words. But in spite of this, Lazarus never really wavered in his loyalty to the emperor in power. Once, he carefully avoided giving an opinion on the chances the pretender, Constantine Barys by

name, had for ascending the throne and returned the costly mantle and all the money sent him as advance payment for a favorable prophecy. He paid the messenger two nomismata for his trouble and said that he, Lazarus, was not worthy of knowing such things. His biographer praised him for his honesty: it would have been easy, he observed, to pocket the money and prophesy some pleasant outcome to the doomed man's venture. Lazarus was not always as reticent as he was with Barys. He correctly predicted that another exile, held under suspicion of coveting the empire, would be released, and the grateful man rewarded the saint for his prophecy with three pounds of gold.

The only case of disloyalty to the empire recounted in the *Vita* of Lazarus concerns the monk who pretended to predict Constantine IX's accession to the throne in 1042. Sent on business to Greece about two years earlier, he found himself in the midst of the uprising of the Bulgarian Odolianos, and to help oppose it he counseled the Byzantine *strategos* of an unnamed city in the vicinity to fight the Bulgarians on Sunday. As the monk already had some reputation as a prophet (a false one, of course) even before the imperial prediction, the *strategos* followed his advice, and promptly fell in battle. Thereupon the enraged citizens attempted to murder the monk, but he escaped, went over to the rebel side, and served as Odolianos's soothsayer until the Bulgarian himself was killed. Eventually, the enterprising pseudoprophet managed to return to Galesios, where he was pardoned by Lazarus.

Although most people we meet in the *Vita* of Lazarus are Greek, there are still sufficient numbers of non-Greeks to season the main demographic fare. An Arab baptized in Ephesus visits the monastery; a Georgian monk with extremely long hair passes by on his way from Palestine to Constantinople; a Paulician of Asia Minor visits Lazarus and then proceeds to St. Saba in Palestine, where he is tonsured; a pagan, whose nationality is not stated, is baptized and tonsured by Lazarus (he was the unlucky Hippodrome visitor who was later to fall off the roof); the Paphlagonian monk who attempted to sell the young Lazarus into slavery in about 985 speaks Armenian with a ship's captain at Attaleia. Some years later Armenian soldiers roamed near Great Antioch; and a "Bulgarian" village (χωρίον τοῦ Βούλγαριν) was reported to be near Galesios.

IV

The demographic makeup of our third zone, that of the eastern frontier, was different. So was the provincial inhabitants' awareness of the center

and their attitudes toward it. To determine the differences and to study this awareness in that zone,[24] we shall turn from hagiography to secular literature. Our first text will be one which has enjoyed great popularity among Byzantinists and friends of Byzantium for the last three decades: the *Admonitions* by the provincial magnate Kekaumenos.[25] To the reader of the dozens of *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, the *Admonitions* comes as a whiff of fresh air, for the mind it reveals was free of the constraints and pitfalls of the court and practically unencumbered by the burden of classical literary tradition.[26] In the *Admonitions* Kekaumenos views Constantinople from outside. Almost everything about the text is provincial, including its only extant manuscript, which was written, and for a time kept, in Trebizond. Kekaumenos wrote in the late 1070s, but his information, based on family tradition, goes back at least two generations. Both his father and grandfather, his chief sources for recent history, were Byzantinized Armenians, but members of the family held command posts in western provinces such as Greece and the Danubian frontier, as well as in the East, where the Kekaumenoi had their roots. His acquaintances

24 On the topic of Asian frontier zones, cf. the contributions by Ahrweiler, Pertusi, Oikonomides, Obolensky, Každan, Udal'cova, and Litavrin in the section, "Frontières et régions frontières du VII^e au XII^e siècle (les frontières asiatiques)," in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1974), pp. 207–313.

25 Edition by B. Wassiliewsky-V. Jernstedt, *Cecaumeni Strategicon* (St. Petersburg, 1896; reprint, Amsterdam, 1965); the latest, if not the most accessible, edition (with a Russian translation) is by G. G. Litavrin, *Sovjety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow, 1972); it offers page references to the Wassiliewsky-Jernstedt edition and an ample bibliography. Cf. also the German translation by H.-G. Beck, *Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten* (Graz, 1956). Another edition of Kekaumenos, with an English translation, is being prepared by Ms. Charlotte Wrinch-Roueché. Still of much use is the excellent monograph by P. Lemerle, *Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des "Conseils et Récits" de Kekaumenos*, Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique, no. 54, pt. 1 (1960).

26 One telling example (Wassiliewsky-Jernstedt edition, p. 13): Kekaumenos states that in struggling against the leader of the foreign army, one should employ all kinds of stratagems, not only those which one has learned from the ancients; one should also invent new ones. Do not say, observes Kekaumenos, that the ancients left nothing on such and such a topic; human nature has inborn cunning and wisdom; as the ancients were able to invent stratagems, you, too, should be able to do the same and be victorious. The ancients, after all, were men just as you are. Compare this with the pessimism of the learned statesman and writer of the Palaeologan period, Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), whose chief intellectual inhibition consisted in the fear that his epoch had nothing new to say, everything that was worth saying having been preempted by the ancients. Cf. Metochites' *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, ed. by Ch. G. Müller and Th. Kiessling (Leipzig, 1821; reprint, Amsterdam, 1966), cap. 1 = pp. 13–18: προοίμιον ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι νῦν λέγειν, and my remarks on the topic in "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in *The Kariye Djami*, ed. by P. A. Underwood, vol. 4 (Princeton, 1975), p. 44, with notes 188 and 189 (quotations from texts).

must have been, like himself, owners of agricultural estates and members of the provincial administration: *strategoi,* thematic judges, *akritai* — that is, governors of the frontier areas serving Byzantium — and *toparchai,* foreign local princelings residing in the buffer zones beyond the jurisdiction of the regular Byzantine administration. The author's own grandfather seems to have been such a toparch.

In his *Admonitions,* Kekaumenos protests his lack of formal schooling: his library must have been much smaller than that of his contemporary Eustathios Boilas,[27] another landowner of substance from the East. But Kekaumenos lays great store in the slow and careful reading of books, including histories. His historical horizon encompassed Pyrrhus, Hannibal, the Younger Scipio, Augustus, and Trajan, about whom he may have learned through some treatise on tactics or an epitome of Cassius Dio. He knew little of Byzantine history beyond the fourth-century emperors, however; the only other figures of the remote Byzantine past he mentions are the emperor Heraclius and Belisarius, whose name he both misspelled and mispronounced. Aside from them he does mention almost all of the eleventh-century emperors, but these ruled either in his own lifetime or during that of his father or grandfather.

In sum, Kekaumenos was no Psellos. He was a country squire, but one with a difference: on account of family tradition and his own career, he was familiar with the workings of the central military and civilian administration and consequently with Constantinople and the emperor. He was present in the capital at the time of the revolt of 1042 which toppled Michael Kalaphates; still, in the two most quoted passages of his work, he recommended (to his provincial readers, I presume) that political bets be invariably placed on the emperor, whoever he might be. Never join sides with a usurper, he cautioned, because the emperor who sits in Constantinople will always be victorious.

Kekaumenos's appeals for loyalty to the capital were largely self-serving and difficult to square with the fact that one of his relatives had defected — saying it was against his will, of course — to the Bulgarian tsar Samuel. Kekaumenos wished simply to remain at a safe distance from the throne and from the capital. Climbing too high on the social ladder and approaching too close to the imperial throne was undesirable, because it was dangerous. The instinctive loyalty of Kekaumenos, I suspect, lay instead with the soldier class threatened by mid-century measures leading

27 For the Testament of Boilas, see the first chapter in Lemerle, *Cinq études*; Boilas draws up a list of his books, pp. 24–25, ll. 141–66.

to the fiscalization of the military service, with the provincials, with people near the frontier, and even with those outside it.

The people who lived just beyond the frontier were a familiar sight to him. More often than not, they would cross over into Byzantine territory to set up marketplaces or for other such peaceful intentions. But even when hostile, Kekaumenos thought, they should not be despised. They were still rational beings, endowed with natural wisdom and cunning, and in that respect differed in no way from his readers. If the addressee of the *Admonitions* were to be entrusted with a command on the frontier, he would be wise not to pick fights with neighboring toparchs — that is, as we have just seen, with foreign princelings loosely allied with the empire. However, our author went one step beyond tolerance toward non-Byzantines.

In one part of his work Kekaumenos gives the Byzantine *akrites,* or frontier commander, advice about dealing with the toparch on the other side of the frontier; in another part he advises the toparch on how to deal with the Byzantine commander as well as with the central government. When it came to local matters, the advice given to the toparch was the same as that given to the Byzantine *akrites.* When it came to the toparch's dealings with the central power, Kekaumenos's advice was remarkably dispassionate for a loyal Byzantine to give: it was never to let the emperor take over "your country." At first he will honor you, runs Kekaumenos's admonition to the toparch, but soon he will treat you as his slave; your former subjects will turn against you and will accuse you in front of the emperor, who will either have you blinded or will only let you go after having stripped you of all your possessions. Do not come to Constantinople: if you do — to visit the emperor, to worship at the holy shrines, or to admire the good order of the palace or the city — do it only once; even so, you will no longer be the emperor's friend, but his slave. Thus, on the one hand, Kekaumenos recommends loyalty to the emperor because he always wins; on the other, he advises foreign allies of the buffer zones not to trust the central power too much, because dependence on it leads to ruin. This tells us something about just how steadfast the allegiance of the provincial aristocracy of foreign — in Kekaumenos's case, Armenian — extraction was, no matter how Byzantinized it may appear to have become.

Living away from the capital gave the provincials a different perspective on the imperial figure. Kekaumenos's emperor was powerful even when he was inept, and ought to be treated with deference and caution. But even a good emperor was to him no more than a supermagnate; he

was not a divine figure. "Do not put trust in your power" Kekaumenos tells the ruler, "and say 'Who will be able to topple me?'" One short moment, as Gregory of Nazianzus said, and as Kekaumenos himself saw when he watched the revolution of 1042 in Constantinople, is enough to bring catastrophe. "Do not say, 'I am clever and know everything'; I say unto you, you know many things, but there are many more things which you do not know." It was a peculiar language to apply to God's vice-regent on earth, for it suggested some equal ground between addressee and author. There is no parallel to it in any of the preserved Byzantine *specula principis* — and I venture to say, probably not in the lost ones, either.

The imperial regime in Kekaumenos's time was not to his liking. The emperor was a bureaucrat, with concerns far removed from those of Kekaumenos's world. The *Admonitions* closes with a plea for the emperor to visit the provinces, take part in military campaigns, inspect the fortresses and the *themata,* and not just to stay in the city of Constantine as if confined to a huge prison. Emperors of old traveled in the provinces and were rarely in Constantinople. At that time, the empire's provinces (a list is given, and it includes Armenia) were thriving on three continents. But ever since "indolence" — meaning staying in Constantinople, I assume — had come to prevail, nothing good has happened to the empire of the Romans.

Kekaumenos's closing remarks are almost the only pessimistic statement in his work about the empire, even though he wrote a mere ten years, or less, after the disaster of Mantzikert. He must have been convinced that things would get better, for much of his advice would only have been useful before the breakdown of Byzantine rule in Asia Minor.[28]

No such contradiction is found in the technical treatise *On Skirmish Warfare* (Περὶ παραδρομῆς πολέμου),[29] written by an unknown general well before the collapse of Byzantine rule in Asia Minor which began in the mid-eleventh century. In it, the situation in the east is depicted as

[28] I must report that in his notice on Kekaumenos, Každan, *Armjane,* pp. 30–31, draws a portrait of our author different from that presented here. (Každan finds no indication that Kekaumenos ever lived on the Armenian frontier or that he espoused "the principles of political independence and aristocratic freethinking"; instead, he appears to him as a bureaucratic worshipper of titleholders.) F. H. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie von Prokop bis Niketas Choniates* (Munich, 1971), p. 193, devotes only one sentence to Kekaumenos's views on the emperor.

[29] Edition by C. B. Hase after the text of his *Leo Diaconus,* pp. 179–258 (Bonn).

militarily favorable to the Byzantines. Emperor Nicephorus Phokas had been acquainted with the author, and although he had died in 969, he was still well remembered by him. *On Skirmish Warfare* is devoted almost exclusively to military matters. Like Kekaumenos, its author wrote mostly from experience, either his own or that of older people to whom he had listened. He claimed to have inspected personally all the roads leading from Byzantine to Arab territory across the Taurus Mountains. His intended audience, like that of Kekaumenos, were his own counterparts — the *strategoi* of various themes, large and small, and their immediate subordinates, the turmarchs.

On Skirmish Warfare reads like a James Fenimore Cooper novel, with the Byzantines as the Indians doing the stalking, relaying signals to each other by whistling, and watching over enemy camps at night. The scene of action is the eastern frontier. The westernmost theme our text mentions is Anatolikon. The westernmost place named in that theme is Mistheia, a *kastron* lying west of present-day Konya, and even that citation occurs in a passage summarizing material from the *Tactics* of Leo VI (886–912). Neither Constantinople nor, for that matter, any large city in the empire, is named in the treatise. The author's allegiance is to abstractions: to the empire and to its emperors, who are almost always unnamed, but not to Constantinople. He mentions, we remember, only two Byzantine emperors, one because he was his acquaintance, the other, because he had written a work on warfare from which the author quotes. He repeatedly referred to the empire, however, to the enhancement of the Christian emperors' glory that accrues from Byzantine victories, and to "the most powerful Romans," as opposed to "the vainglorious Hagarenes."

The author of *On Skirmish Warfare* was a better patriot than Kekaumenos was. When an Arabic incursion threatened, he advised the local Byzantine commander to pretend friendship with the emirs of the *kastra* that lay along the frontier, so that he could send them gifts and thereby allow his messenger to find out what was going on in a given emir's territory. But, unlike Kekaumenos, the general did not balance his advice to the commander with more advice to the emir, as Kekaumenos had done with his admonitions to the toparch. Judging from the terminology of the treatise, Armenians must have been numerous in the reconnoitering units under the author's command. Yet, he showed little or no solidarity with them. He may even have suspected them, for he remarked that Armenians perform poorly as sentries.

The general's patriotism is most fervent in passages expressing dissatis-

faction with the policies of the central government. If the soldiers were paid regularly and well, and provided with the best quarters and equipment, they would be more willing to risk their lives for the holy emperors and the Christian flock. If the military class had retained its social status, if the judges of the *themata* had ceased mistreating the soldiers and encroaching upon the prerogatives of the *strategos*, if the turmarchs had retained their own jurisdiction — in short, if the central administration had agreed to maintain the old system — then things would have been different; the army would regain its morale and the emperors would again be able to take the offensive.

In the landscape, locale, warfare, and enemy it describes, and even in its date, if not in the public it addresses, *On Skirmish Warfare* is the prose counterpart of the epic poem, *Digenis Akritas*, our last source for the third zone.[30] Before using it here, however, one must first borrow the epic hero's magic spear and vault over the Euphrates of scholarship on this work, whose current carries the flotsam of the poem's dating, double origin, versions, oral or written tradition, and growth.[31] Landing safely on the other side, one can claim that the poem's most interesting episode for its view of the central power is the encounter on the Euphrates between the hero and the emperor. There are two basic versions of that encounter. In one — preserved in a single Slavic redaction — Digenis Akritas vanquishes the emperor and supplants him; in the other — preserved in several Greek redactions — the encounter has a peaceful outcome after some tense moments. The anti-imperial passage of the Slavic version is not original: it is a fanciful elaboration of hints contained

[30] Synoptic edition of the various versions of the Digenis epic by E. Trapp, *Digenes Akritas, synoptische Ausgabe der ältesten Versionen*, Wiener byzantinistische Studien, no. 8 (Vienna, 1971); edition of the most coherent version (*Cryptoferratensis*) with an English translation by J. Mavrogordato, *Digenes Akritas* (Oxford, 1956); Russian (metrical) translation and commentary by A. Syrkin, *Digenis Akrit* (Moscow, 1960).

[31] For a summary of this scholarship, see Beck, *Volksliteratur*, pp. 63–97 (ample bibliographies); to which add, e.g., St. Kyriakides, "Forschungsbericht zum Akritas-Epos," in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress München 1958*, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Munich, 1958), pp. 1–33; A. Pertusi, "La poesia epica bizantina e la sua formazione: Problemi sul fondo storico e la struttura letteraria del 'Digenis Akritas,'" *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sul tema: La poesia epica e la sua formazione (Roma, 28 marzo–3 aprile 1969)*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, vol. 367, Quaderno no. 139 (Rome, 1970), pp. 481–545; L. Politis, "L'Épopée byzantine de Digenis Akritas. Problèmes de la tradition du texte et des rapports avec les chansons akritiques," *Atti del Convegno Internazionale*, pp. 551–81. Cf. also N. Oikonomidès, "L'épopée de Digénis et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux X^{e} et XI^{e} siècles," *Travaux et Mémoires* 7 (1979): 375–97 (poem written in twelfth-century Constantinople). The author's intriguing hypothesis could no longer be taken into account in the present essay.

in the qualifiedly loyalist Greek redactions.[32] We do not have to decide which of the two or three emperors mentioned in various recensions of the poem — Basil, Romanos, or Nicephorus (?) — was the ruler who met with Digenis Akritas, for any of the three fixes the encounter between the late ninth and the early eleventh centuries — that is, within our timespan as well as within the period to which we can assign other events reflected in the poem's kernel.[33]

The bare outline of the encounter is familiar. On a military campaign the emperor hears of Digenis's exploits and wishes to meet him. They exchange letters. Digenis invites the emperor to come with a small retinue to a meeting place on the Euphrates. The encounter takes place; the emperor is impressed. He wishes that he could find even four such men in his entire realm; he is further impressed with the prowess of Digenis, who can overtake an unbroken horse and break it. The two, emperor and hero, part in friendship.

So far, so good. Three details about the encounter are pertinent to our subject. First of all, Digenis Akritas does not go to the emperor's palace in Constantinople; the emperor comes to Digenis Akritas. Throughout the poem, Byzantium is referred to as "Romania," but the Romania of Digenis Akritas is a concatenation of *akrai* and eastern themes, and not an entity consisting of the capital with provinces clustered around it. The capital is mentioned once, and only in later versions of the poem, where it appears in a learned interpolation as one city among others that the Sassanian Chosroes planned to conquer. In the Slavic redaction, in which Digenis Akritas vanquishes the emperor and supplants him, there is no Constantinople at all. Digenis establishes himself in the city of the emperor, but it is given no name. On the other hand, when the epic poem mentions places like Edessa-Rehab, Mayafarakin, Amida or Tarsus, and eastern themes like Anatolikon, Cappadocia, Charsianon, Mesopotamia, Lykandos, the author knows quite well what he has in mind.

[32] For the Slavic Digenis, see V. D. Kuz'mina, *Devgenievo Dejanie* (Moscow, 1962); about the late (14th c.?) date of this version and its localization in the Balkans, cf. the remarkable article by A. Vaillant, "Le Digenis slave," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 21, nos. 3–4 (1955): 197–228. Cf. also E. Trapp, "Hatte das Digenisepos ursprünglich eine antikaiserliche Tendenz?," *Byzantina* 3 (1971): 203–211. The magic jump of Digenis across the Euphrates is known only from the Slavic version, where it is performed on two occasions. For an English translation of one Slavic version, cf. H. Graham, "The Tale of Devgenij," *Byzantinoslavica* 29 (1968): 74–91.

[33] The latest scholarly thinking gives preference to Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944). For earlier views, cf. A. Ja. Syrkin, *Poèma o Digenise Akrite* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 115–130.

Secondly, even in the loyalist version of the poem, there are signs of mistrust between the emperor and Digenis. When the emperor summons the hero, he tells him to come without having suspicions that anything untoward will befall him. Digenis treats the emperor with perfect reverence, but refuses to come, not out of disobedience, but because the emperor's entourage includes inexperienced and irreverent soldiers. Should one of them say something offensive — to Digenis, presumably — he would, as he puts it, be forced to deprive the emperor of the offender's service. The emperor heeds the polite threat and comes to the river with only one hundred men, whom he first enjoins to treat Digenis Akritas with respect. Finally, toward the end of the encounter, a lion appears. The emperor takes flight, Digenis Akritas does not. Intrepid, he kills the beast and offers it to the emperor, who must have felt sheepish indeed. In this game of one-upmanship Digenis wins hands down.

At the end of Book 7 of the Grottaferrata reworking of the poem, Digenis is provided with quasi-imperial epithets— εὐεργέτης and προστάτης (benefactor and protector) and, so the poet tells us, "many rejoiced in his imperial rule," καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπευφραίνοντο τῇ τούτου βασιλείᾳ. However, these flights of fancy — not common to other versions — only suggest that the poets of the Digenis epic had no firsthand experience with flesh-and-blood emperors. The poets' world is not even that of the *akritai*, if by that word we mean commanders of frontier areas who resided in *kastra*. For all the high-class trappings of the poem, large parts of it convey the dreams and reflect the flavor of life among frontier people of lower social station who, like Digenis himself, lived in tents.[34] They were the light irregulars and part-time brigands known under the Armenian terms τραπεζῖται, χονσάριοι or χωσάριοι, and τασινάκια and under the Greek name ἀπελάται, whom Digenis himself wanted to join in his youth, before taking up the struggle against them. Such people, some of them with Muslim antecedents, would accept at face value Digenis's title of *patrikios*, by which Arab writers denoted Byzantine *strategoi*. They would acclaim the only plausible action attributed to the emperor, the return to Digenis of possessions taken from his maternal grandfather, a *strategos* who had been banished and died in banishment, for such an action would have been familiar to them. They would not wonder how the emperor could have given Digenis rule over

[34] For information about the tents, cf. Digenis, bk. 6, 16 (p. 162, ed. Mavrogordato; p. 258, ed. Trapp); bk. 6, 170 (p. 172, ed. Mavrogordato; p. 268, ed. Trapp); bk. 6, 724–26 (p. 206, ed. Mavrogordato; p. 314, ed. Trapp). Cf. also A. Ja. Syrkin in *Vizantijskij vremennik* 21 (1962): 162.

"all the frontier areas," for they would have no way of knowing that there was no such official command.[35]

V

We shall now leave the third zone, cross the empire's frontier, and move first to Syria-Palestine, to ask a Christian's, not a Muslim's, question about the links that remained between the former Byzantine territories and Constantinople roughly two centuries after the Arab conquest. Greek hagiography will again be our guide.[36] Of two texts dealing with the St. Saba monastery in the 790s, one tells of the massacre of the twenty fathers of that monastery in 797;[37] the other is the *Vita* of St. Stephen, who died in 794.[38] Both texts are local in outlook. They do not go beyond Damascus, a city mentioned with laudatory epithets, Emesa (Homs), Jerusalem, Gaza, Alexandria, Cairo, Tiberias, or Mt. Sinai and Charakoma in *Palaestina Tertia.* We hear nothing about Constantinople or its emperor,

35 On the terms χωσάριοι and τραπεζῖται, cf. M. Canard, "Sur deux termes militaires byzantins d'origine orientale," *Byzantion* 40 (1970): 226–29; on ἀπελάται, cf., e.g., the paper by Pertusi in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Études byzantines,* p. 247. My view on the *clientèle* of the Digenis poem is less optimistic than H. F. Graham's, "Digenis Akritas as a Source for Frontier History," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès International des Etudes byzantines . . .* , vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1975), especially 329 (the poem reflects the habits of rural Byzantine warrior nobles), or G. Huxley's, "Antecedents and Context of Digenis Akrites," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 15 (1974): especially 317, 327, 338 (the poem gives an authentic picture of the akritic nobility). Somewhat closer (in substance, if not in terminology) is A. Ja. Syrkin, "Social'no-političeskie idei èposa o Digenise," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 20 (1961): especially 154–55 (a popular epic with traces of feudal ideology; Digenis as an ideal image for "wide strata" of "soldiers"). One must distinguish between wish-fulfilment and everyday reality in our poem's various realia. Raw material for such an operation has been collected by Syrkin, "Svedenija Digenisa Akrita o vizantijskom byte i pamjatnikax material'noj kul'tury," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 21 (1962): 148–64.

36 The document which comes first to mind when one searches for later links between Syria-Palestine and the empire is the letter of three oriental patriarchs to the emperor Theophilos, purportedly dating from the year 836. (The non-interpolated text ed. by Monsignor L. Duchesne is in *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 [1912–13]: 222–72, 273–85, 349–66.) I shall not use it here, because I suspect that it was doctored up, if not composed, by some committee for the reelection of an iconodulic patriarch, based either in Constantinople or Bithynia. The letter, which claims to emanate from Jerusalem, says unlikely things about that city, while the oriental patriarchs are remarkedly well informed about goings-on in St. Sophia and even know something about its layout. The milieu which could have doctored up the letter did exist in the capital at the time. Cf. J. Gouillard, "Un 'quartier' d'émigrés palestiniens à Constantinople au IXe siècle?," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 7 (1969): 73–76.

37 *BHG*³, no. 1200. Cf. also R. P. Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle," *Le Muséon* 78 (1965): 375.

38 *BHG*³, no. 1670.

but rather a long story about a monk's trip to Baghdad to pay a visit to the banished patriarch of Jerusalem. There is not a word about iconoclasm, or even about such a recent luminary of St. Saba's monastery as John of Damascus. The only references to Byzantium are indirect: an energetic lady and the two nuns accompanying her and living in the Palestinian desert are referred to as "Romans" and the brother of one of the monks goes to Byzantine Avlona on the Adriatic Sea, in the south of present-day Albania, to sell dates.

The world of St. Saba at the end of the eighth century is pervaded by ambiguity. Its monks were mishandled and robbed by Arabs, who acted on the instigation of the surrounding Bedouins and landowners coveting their gardens and oases. But life was such that an Arab and a Christian from Egypt could still go together on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the Christian to die there, the Arab to worship at his temples. The monastery was filled with Syrians — when St. Stephen of St. Saba wished to convey a message in secret, he had only to speak in Greek. Knowledge of Greek still retained its prestige in that milieu. We learn this from a story of a Syrian father anxious to learn Greek, who managed with great effort to learn the Psalter but encountered difficulties with the Holy Writ and had to be helped by one of the martyred fathers of St. Saba. This late friend of his appeared to him in a dream, asked him to stick out his tongue, massaged it, and disappeared. The Syrian, of course, was a master of Greek from that moment on.

One generation after John of Damascus, life in Greek Christian Damascus was even more circumscribed than it was in the community of St. Saba. As we know, after 750 the city was no longer the hub of the caliphate. Only two towns appear in the *Vita* of Elijah the Younger,[39] who died in 795: Damascus itself, the scene of the saint's activity and martyrdom, and Baalbek, his place of origin. The Christian community in Damascus appears as a ghetto which seems to have lost its upper stratum — Elijah is a carpenter who makes saddles for camels. The Christians there are bilingual; their symbiosis with the Arabs is based on a community of economic interests tempered with fear. The author of Elijah's *Vita* knows no Roman emperor, but mentions the name of an Abassid caliph, even if it is the wrong one; he refers to him as *basileus*. In nomenclature as well, the Arab ruler has replaced the Roman one.

St. Saba and Damascus were both under undivided Arab domination,

[39] *BHG*[3], no. 579.

but Cyprus was an Arab-Byzantine condominium, so one might expect some reflection of that dual sovereignty in the dual, and balanced, outlook of local texts. But it simply is not there. The only Cypriot saint's *Vita* dealing with the period of condominium, that of St. Demetrianos, bishop of Chytri,[40] presents a world which is but a reduced copy of that of St. Saba.

Demetrianos's *Vita* is written in elegant style, and is something of a literary counterpart to the frescoes of the Cypriote churches of St. Chrysostomos and Asinou. It was first recited at the tomb of the saint in Chytri, on some anniversary long after his death, in the presence, I imagine, of refined colonial officials not unlike those who, around the year 1110, sponsored paintings in the two churches I just mentioned. But it must reflect earlier materials. St. Demetrianos himself was born at the beginning of the reign of Theophilos, who started his sole rule in 829. His world included his native village, Sykai; his monastery, St. Anthony; the church of Chytri, of which he was first *oikonomos* and then a bishop; Salamis, the principal see of Cyprus; and Baghdad, where he talked to the caliph, and brought about the release of prisoners from among his flock who had been taken there, apparently toward the beginning of the tenth century. He was successful, because he could prove that the Arab *razzia*s had violated the treaty of condominium (called ἀναδασμὸς πολιτείας). The *Vita* of Demetrianos mentions the Arab capital and the Arab ruler, but neither Constantinople nor its emperor — not even Basil I, who reconquered Cyprus when Demetrianos must have been about forty-five and held it for seven years. This latter omission could be the fault of the late biographer, but it could also be that Demetrianos and his helpers were too involved in small-scale agricultural pursuits, such as the purchase of an ox for sowing time, reported in the *Vita*, to have noticed.

VI

If monks of Mt. Galesios or of St. Saba, the turmarchs and braves of eastern themes, the holy saddle-makers of Damascus, and the bishops of Cyprus did not often think of Constantinople, there was another class of

40 For the *Vita* of Demetrianos, cf. *BHG*³, no. 495; for Cypriote churches and colonial officials on the island about 1100, cf. the excellent contribution by C. Mango, "Chypre carrefour du monde byzantin," in *XV*ᵉ *Congrès International d'Études byzantines, rapports et co-rapports, V. Chypre dans le monde byzantin* (Athens, 1976), especially pp. 6–11 of the offprint.

people residing in the provinces who, judging by what they wrote, thought of little else. These were the old Constantinople hands removed from their habitat: the exiles of high rank; the generals sent out from the center on far-flung campaigns; the officials assigned to eastern towns; and the prelates who voluntarily exchanged a deacon's position at the Constantinopolitan patriarchate for the metropolitan miter in faraway sees. They were like French academics for whom being forced to teach at Strasbourg used to be tantamount to mental genocide. They suffered from their version of the Paris complex.

We can best understand the complaints of the forced transplants who clamored to be returned to Constantinople. One of them was Alexander, a mid-tenth-century metropolitan of Nicaea. This refined prelate was banished to Monobata, "at the farthest confines of the Emperor's land,"[41] where he was deprived of meat and of any chance to take baths. He was kept incommunicado for five months; monks who entered his cell were searched by a special patriarchal guard to be sure they did not smuggle in paper and ink. Even his excrement and urine were examined lest their container hide a letter. Alexander was plagued by lice, bedbugs, the evil odor of his cell, the lack of sun and air, and had to drink water full of worms. He lost his hair, and — greater horror — his beard became thin. He wanted to go home to his native Constantinople, or at least to Nicaea. For a man so deprived of friends, not to mention pen and ink, our metropolitan did a miraculous job. He must have had a superb memory and great inventiveness, since he quoted canons of several councils by chapter and verse, and described his tribulations in letters which he managed to write "after the departure of his guard" and dispatch from Monobata. We also know that in the end he was allowed to return to the capital.

About the year 1000, Nicephorus Ouranos, statesman, writer, and general, was sent to Antioch, still a sizeable city, to which the emperor had gone before him. He complained about the journey, the lack of wine on the trip, and the stone-like bread that caused indigestion and even endangered life. Nicephorus's thoughts turned to the city which had nurtured both his body and his soul, to its large churches, porticoes, streets along

[41] Alexander of Nicaea, *Letter* 1, l. 46 = p. 69, ed. by Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins*; almost all of the twenty Letters of Alexander (pp. 67–98, ed. Darrouzès) refer to his tribulations at Monobata. The precise location of Monobata, known to historians of Byzantine art on account of the famous Sinai Lectionary (*Sinaiticus Graecus* 204), is unknown. It was in "the land of the Cimmerians" (Alexander of Nicaea, *Letter* 3, p. 74, 10, ed. Darrouzès). Quite plausibly, Father Darrouzès takes this to mean the border area between the Pontus and Armenia (p. 74, fn. 14).

which one could walk, and, above all, to conversations with friends. If only he could fly back to Constantinople![42] One could be marooned in worse places than Antioch, however. A flatterer who wrote Ouranos from Tarsus complained of having become barbarized among the mindless Cilicians, and expressed his desire to go to Antioch to see the general, that perfect Constantinopolitan. One might even say the city of Byzantium itself had come to visit Antioch when Ouranos arrived there.[43]

We have least patience with the established prelates who suffered from the Paris complex. Whether they were in Nicaea like Ignatios, in Athens like Michael Choniates, in Ochrid like Theophylact Hephaistos, or in Ephesus like George Tornikes, whether they lived in the ninth century, the tenth, the eleventh, or the twelfth, they mourned their lot. Each despised his flock: if the flock was Bulgarian, they were likened to frogs; if Greek, they were rebellious, wild, cunning, evil, and unpardonably indigent. Being a sophisticate, Choniates vented his spleen on the barbaric speech of the Athenians by adapting a line from Euripides.[44] Like Choniates, the prelates felt intellectually isolated and feared going to seed. They wanted to leave behind their dilapidated churches with tesserae falling off the mosaics; none seems to have recorded the thought of having his church repaired. They wanted to go back to Constantinople and to the emperor.

Not being able to see the capital was the ultimate hardship. Leo of Synnada, whose letter we quoted earlier, was once prevented from attending the election of the patriarch and stopped at Pylae (see fig. 6, p. 747), near modern Yalova, on the Sea of Marmara, a natural checkpoint for those traveling between Asia Minor and Constantinople. He described the beauties of the capital and poured scorn on Pylae, an execrable hole whose inhabitants were busy slaughtering and transporting pigs, donkeys, bulls, horses, and sheep to the capital. We are happy to have this precious piece of information on the sources and modalities of provision-

[42] Nicephorus Ouranos, *Letter* 47 = pp. 244–47, ed. by Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins.*

[43] The flatterer was Philetos Synadenos; cf. his *Letter* 7 to the patriarch of Antioch (p. 254, scorn for the Cilicians) and *Letter* 11 to Nicephorus Ouranos (p. 257), ed. by Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins.*

[44] I have in mind Michael Choniates's often quoted phrase βεβαρβάρωμαι χρόνιος ὢν ἐν 'Αθήναις, in Sp. Lampros, ed., Μιχαὴλ 'Ακομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σῳζόμενα, II (1880), p. 44. Compare Euripides, *Orestes,* 485: βεβαρβάρωσαι χρόνιος ὢν ἐν βαρβάροις. For this connection, and a view of complaining exiles similar to the one offered here, cf. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner,* vol. 1 (1978), p. 228.

ing Constantinople. We therefore pardon Leo for the fatuity of his wish to be slaughtered along with all those animals, so that he could be transported with them to view — although how, if he had been slaughtered, he does not say — the holy and venerable city.[45]

If life in the provinces was so dreary, one wonders why these members of the talent pool at the patriarchate and the court, these professors, *skeuophylakes*, hypomnematographers, and authors of mirrors of princes, ever agreed to go to provincial sees in the first place. For the people associated with the patriarchate, at least, a possible answer is contained in a passage which one of them, who became the metropolitan of Ephesus, wrote to his friend back home in Constantinople toward the middle of the twelfth century: "Even if you should hear that an abyss is welling up with money outside of the boundaries of our city" — I take this to mean Constantinople — "or that torrential downpours rain gold. . . , stuff your ears with wax: may the family hearth be unto you both the Pactolus and the Elysian Fields."[46] The message, loosely translated, is: "Remain in the capital; the province is not the paradise it is made out to be; there is less money in it than you might be led to believe." By inference we learn thus that ecclesiastics of the patriarchate turned provincial to get rich, just as Kekaumenos's provincial tax farmers did and, back in the capital, bought houses with their ill-gotten gains.

But people venturing from Constantinople to the provinces to make money, and provincials — including provincial saints and the families of imperial brides such as the eighth-century Maria of Amnia — flocking to Constantinople to improve themselves, are topics for another essay. Here we were looking at Constantinople and its most important inhabitant, the emperor, from the perspective of the provincials who lived outside of the city and on the whole stayed put. One exception was our first and closest zone, where communications with the capital were routine; even there, the central government already had difficulty in exercising control, as shown by the success of the iconodule opposition in the ninth century. In the second zone, the capital was still not lost from sight, but local contacts and concerns had begun to take precedence. In the frontier zone, judging by what Kekaumenos, the author of *On Skirmish Warfare* and the Digenis poet tell us, Constantinople was mistrusted and sometimes disregarded; its emperors were seen in their human dimension, treated

[45] Leo of Synnada, *Letter* 54 = pp. 208–210, ed. by Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins*.

[46] George Tornikes, *Letter* 26 to John Pantechnes, *skeuophylax* of St. Sophia, J. Darrouzès, ed., *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès: Lettres et Discours* (Paris, 1970), especially pp. 170, 3–17. Cf. also *Letters* 21 = pp. 152–55, and 23 = pp. 159–61.

with ambivalence and overshadowed by local heroes. The empire and the faith remained the only effective, if abstract, symbols of coherence. The impact of the capital, and awareness of the imperial power and loyalty to it, thus diminished with distance. Testing the tadpole model of Middle Byzantine history, we found that the head of the empire may have been large and important, but that seen from the far end of the tail, that head appeared insignificant indeed.

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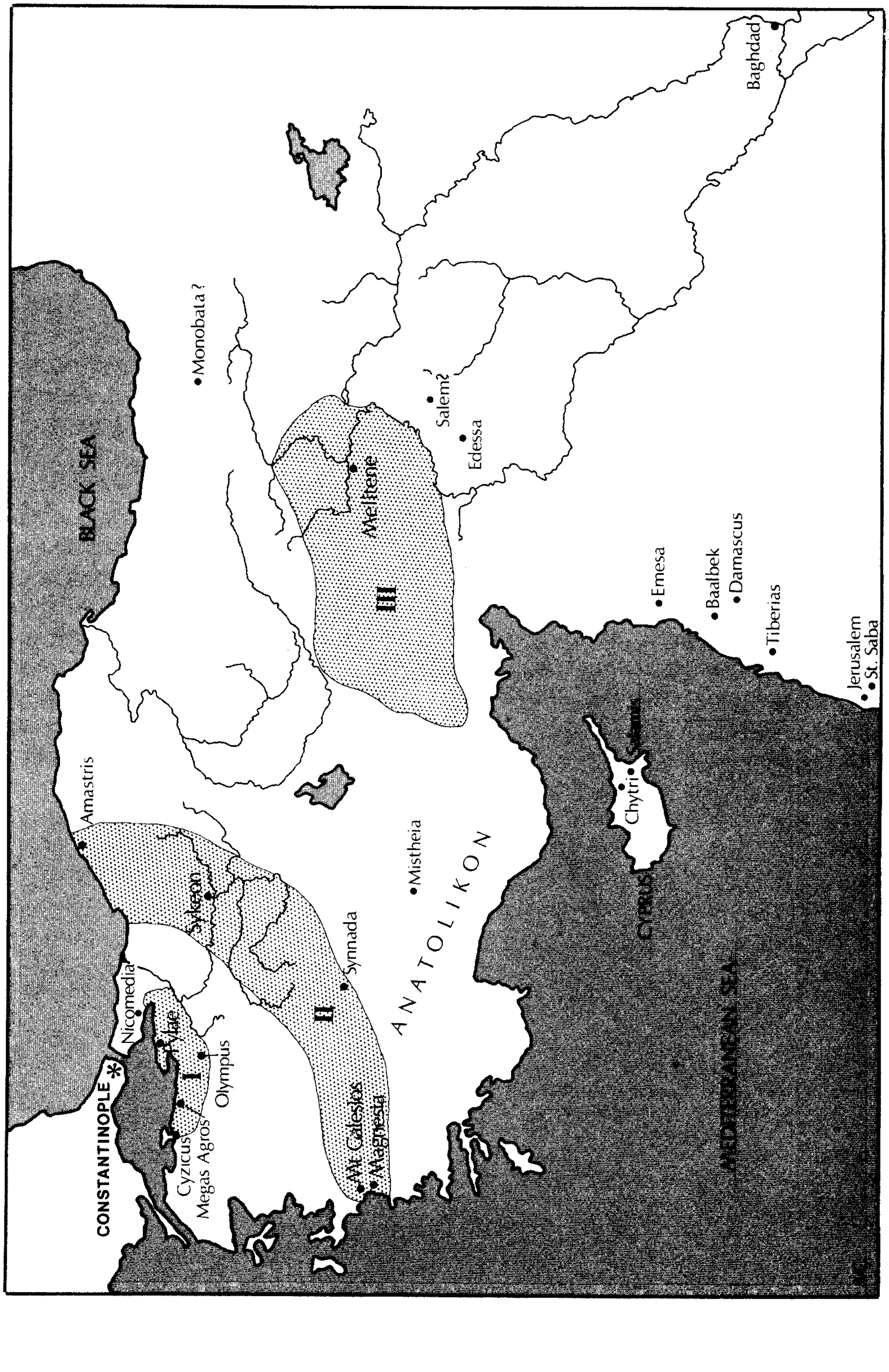


Fig. 1 THREE PROVINCIAL ZONES AND SOME TERRITORIES LOST TO THE ARABS

Fig. 2 TRAVELS OF CONSTANTINE THE JEW

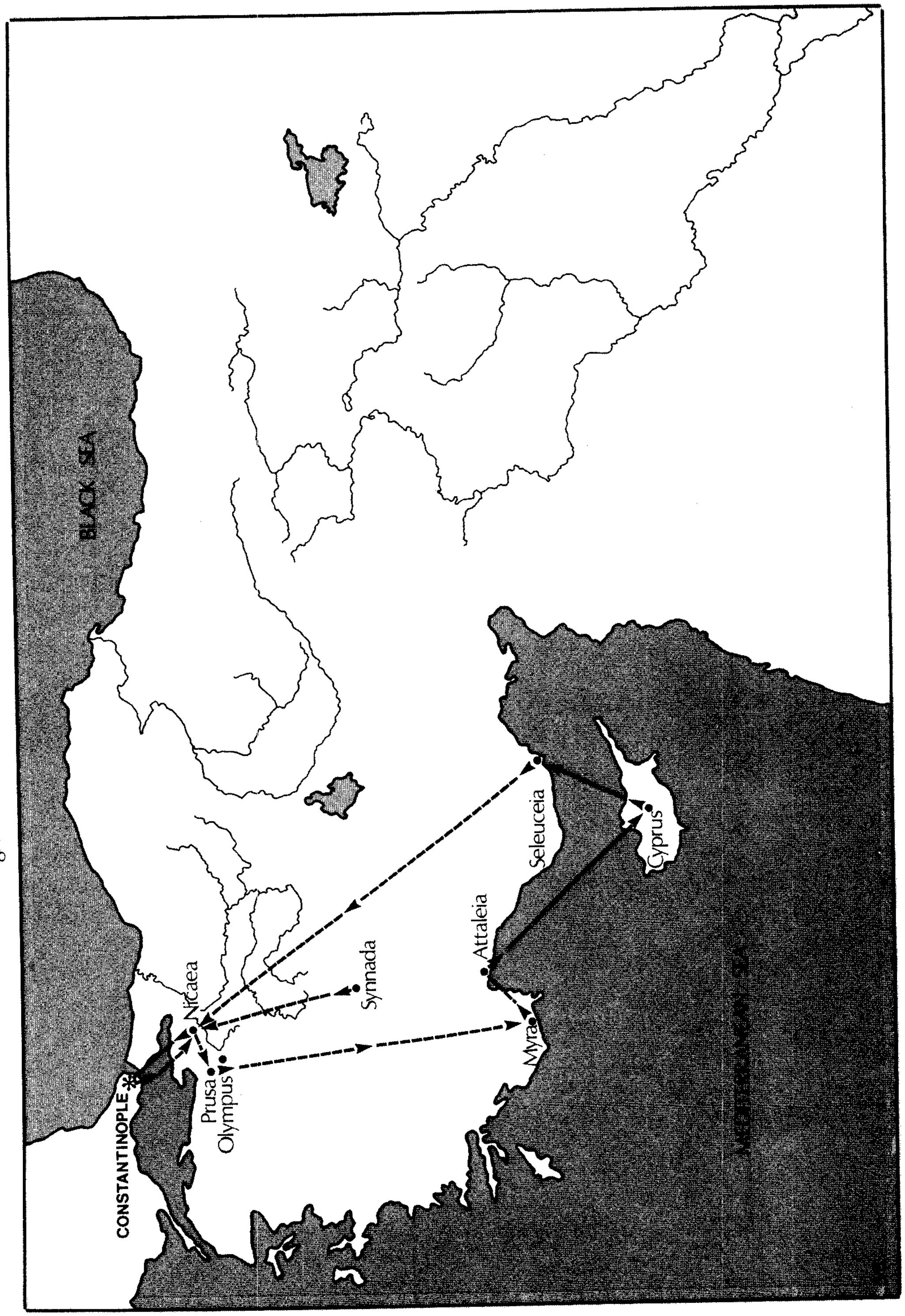


Fig. 3 MANUSCRIPTS FROM ASIA MINOR

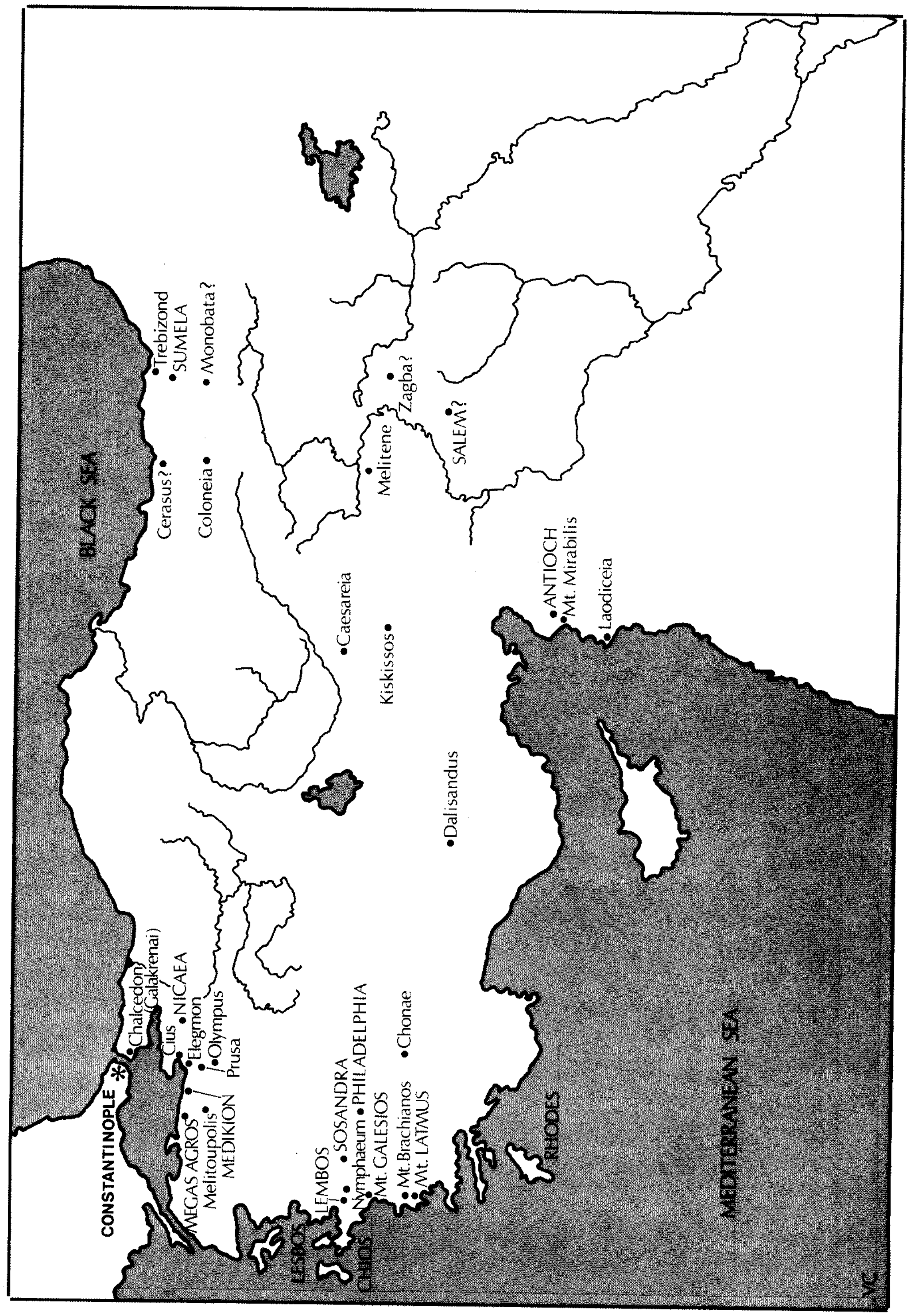
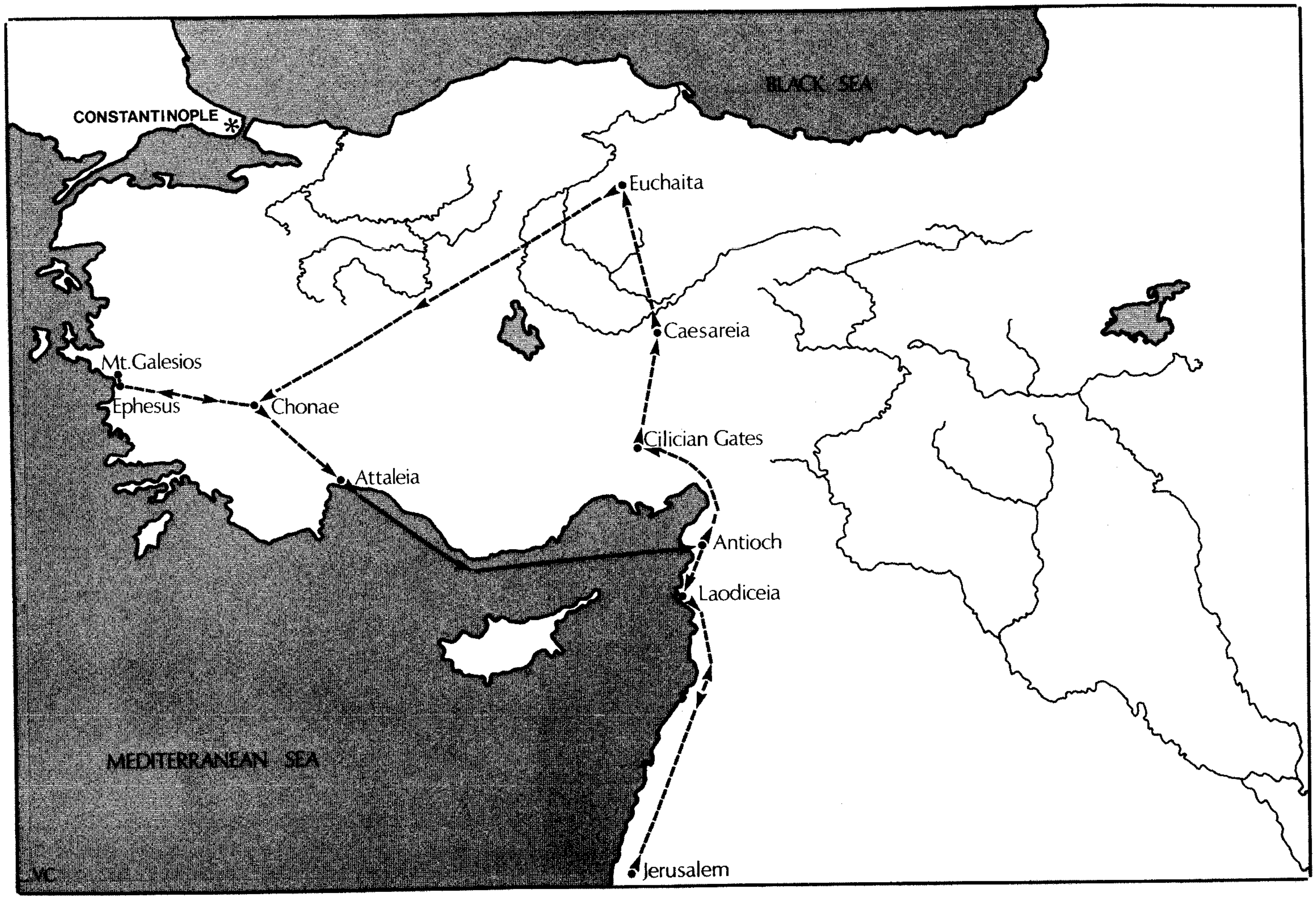


Fig. 4 TRAVELS OF LAZARUS THE GALESIOTE



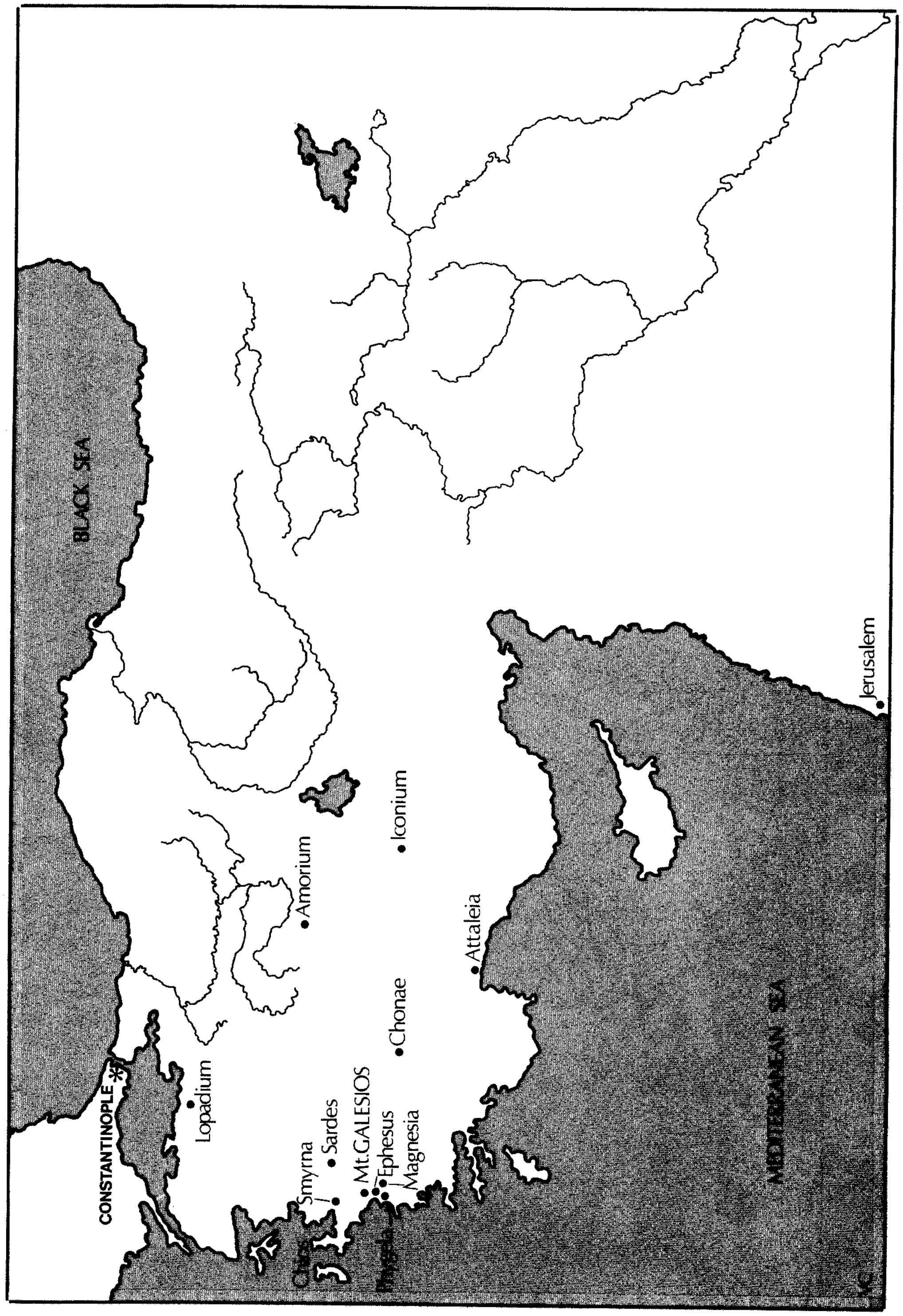
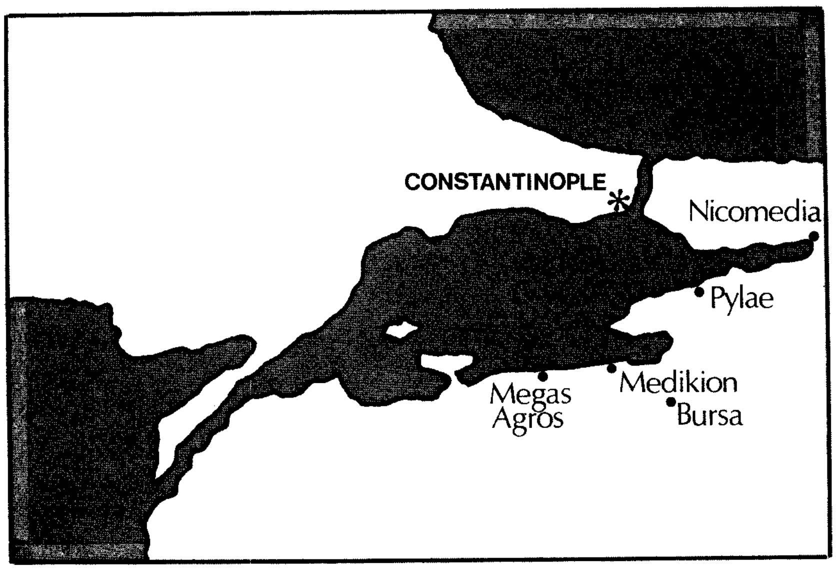


Fig. 5 WORLD OF GALESIOS MONASTERY

Fig. 6


CONSTANTINOPLE
Nicomedia
Pylae
Megas Agros
Medikion
Bursa

On Reflexivization in Turkish

ENGIN SEZER

1. INTRODUCTION

In English a reflexive pronoun must be in the same clause as its antecedent. For instance, only in (1a) below is it possible to interpret *herself* as coreferent with *Ayşe*:

(1a) Ayşe killed herself.
(1b) *Ayşe knew that herself would be blamed.

(1b) is ungrammatical because the reflexive pronoun, *herself,* is in a subordinate clause, whereas its intended antecedent is in the main clause.

In Turkish, on the other hand, a reflexive pronoun need not be in the same clause as its antecedent:

(2) Ali	kimsenin	kendine	kızmayacağından	emin.
	no one's	self-to	not be mad at	sure

Ali is sure that no one will be mad at him.

In this paper I inquire into some of the basic characteristics of Turkish Reflexivization and point to the underlying principles that regulate them. I present evidence to show that Reflexivization in Turkish is governed by the speaker's attitude towards the person(s) he is describing, rather than by the syntactic configurations that contain coreferential Noun Phrases. More specifically, I am concerned with the difference in usage between the two third-person singular reflexive pronouns, *kendi* and *kendisi.*

1.1. THE REFLEXIVE PARADIGM

A reflexive pronoun agrees in person and number with its antecedent, and in the nominative each form is morphologically distinct from all others:

(3) kendi-m	'myself'
kendi-n	'yourself'
kendi, kendi-si	'himself/herself'
kendi-miz	'ourselves'

kendi-niz	'yourselves'
kendi-leri	'themselves'

In the oblique cases *kendi* takes a final *-n,* whereby the distinction between the second-person and the third-person singular is neutralized:

(4)	kendini	Accusative
	kendine	Dative
	kendinde	Locative
	kendinden	Ablative
	kendinin	Genitive

2. EMPATHY AND INTERNAL FEELING

Besides being a statement about a fact or an event, a sentence can also display the speaker's attitude towards the person(s) he is describing. A speaker can, and often does, place himself closer to a certain person who is the focal character in his description. The following two examples illustrate the point:

(5a) It was a beautiful summer's day. Ayşe was still asleep.

(5b) Ayşe remembered the day she met Ali. It was a beautiful summer's day.

Both (5a) and (5b) contain the same sentence, *It was a beautiful summer's day.* In (5a) the narrator is merely an outside observer of a situation. He maintains some psychological distance from the person he is describing. In (5b), on the other hand, he has placed himself in *Ayşe's* mind: that it was a beautiful summer's day is not the narrator's own observation as an outsider — which is the case in (5a) — but a representation of *Ayşe's* internal feeling. In other words, it is *Ayşe,* not the narrator, who recollects that it was a beautiful summer's day.

Kuno and Kaburaki (1977, p. 628) define Empathy as "... the speaker's identification, *with varying degrees,* ... with a person who participates in the event that he describes in a sentence." According to this definition, Empathy is a continuum from one extreme, where the speaker fully identifies with another person, to the other, where he is an outsider observing an event from a distance.

The two types of story telling illustrated by (5a) and (5b) are referred to as Reportive and Nonreportive, respectively. In the reportive style the speaker represents his own point of view, whereas in the nonreportive style he becomes someone else and represents the internal feeling of the person he is describing.

Empathy and Internal Feeling are the two key concepts that Turkish

Reflexivization hinges on. The following short passage from Reşat Nuri Güntekin's *Dudaktan Kalbe* illustrates how the choice of a particular reflexive pronoun is indicative of the author's attitude towards the event he describes:

(6) *Lâmia,* yüzbaşının elini, kolunu sallayarak birşeyler anlattığını, binbaşının arasıra başını çevirip vagona baktığını görüyordu. *Genç kız* onların ne konuştuklarını işitmediği halde *kendinden* bahsettiklerini zannediyor, Makbule'ye söyleyeceği sözleri şaşırıyordu.

Lâmia could see that the captain was talking about something waving his arms and hands, and that the major was turning his head every now and then to look at the wagon. *The young girl,* although she could not hear what they were saying, thought that they were talking about *her* (literally: self), and she did not know what to say to Makbule.

The choice of *kendinden,* instead of the alternate form *kendisinden,* is very significant here. That the *young girl* thought that they were talking about her is not the author's observation from outside; rather, it is the representation of *Lâmia's* internal feeling in an indirect way. The relevant portion of (6) may be adequately paraphrased not as (7a) but as (7b), below:

(7a) The author: (I am telling you) Lâmia thought that they were talking about her.

(7b) Lâmia: (I think) they are talking about me.

The difference between (7a) and (7b) is that, although they refer to the same fact, the former represents the author's observation, whereas the latter is the direct expression of *Lâmia's* internal feeling. I shall call (7b) the Direct Discourse Representation of *Lâmia's* internal feeling. The formulation of the same internal feeling in (6), I shall refer to as the Indirect Discourse Representation.[1]

It is interesting to observe at this point that the reflexive pronoun, *kendinden,* in (6) corresponds to the first-person pronoun, (*about*) *me,* in the Direct Discourse Representation of the same sentence in (7b).

The alternate reflexive form, *kendisinden,* may be used in the same context, with no effect on the grammaticality of the sentence, except that some psychological distance between the author and his focal character will be apparent:

(8) Genç kız onların kendisinden bahsettiklerini zannediyor . . .
young girl their self-from talk about thinks

The young girl thinks that they are talking about her.

[1] The concepts and terms "Direct Discourse" and "Indirect Discourse" are due to Kuno (1972), who shows the relevance of these two levels of representation in English Pronominalization.

Now, instead of (7b), (7a) is the appropriate paraphrase of this sentence. Notice this time that *kendisinden*, in (8), corresponds to a third-person pronoun, (about) *her*, in (7a).

In plain conversational Turkish, too, the choice between *kendi* and *kendisi* indicates whether or not the speaker is fully empathizing with the person he is describing:

(9)	Ali	Can'ın	kendinden	korktuğunu	zannediyor
		's	self-from	scared	thinks

Ali thinks that Can is scared of him/himself.

(9) is genuinely ambiguous, since *kendinden* may refer to either *Ali* or *Can*. The Direct Discourse Representations of the two readings of (9) may be formulated as (10a) and (10b) below — showing the speaker's identification first with *Ali* and then with *Can*:

(10a) (Assume that I am Ali, and) I think that Can is scared of me.

(10b) (Assume that I am Can, and) Ali thinks that I am scared of myself.

It is interesting to observe that in both (10a) and (10b) the first *I* refers to the speaker as we know him; but the following first-person pronouns refer to the speaker, who has identified totally with another person. In other words, these first-person pronouns refer to the speaker who, through full empathy, is playing the role of another person.

In (9) *kendisinden* may be substituted for *kendinden*, resulting in the same type of ambiguity (11 below), but the lack of total empathy, on the part of the speaker, with either of the persons being described becomes obvious:

(11)	Ali	Can'ın	kendisinden	korktuğunu	sanıyor.
		's	self-from	scared	thinks

Ali thinks that Can is scared of him/himself.

Let me summarize the observations I have made so far in a generalization:

(12) The Empathy Constraint on *Kendi*

The third-person reflexive pronoun, *kendi*, corresponds to a first-person pronoun in the Direct Discourse Representation of its referent's internal feeling.

3. INDEPENDENT EVIDENCE FOR EMPATHY AND DIRECT DISCOURSE

The direct representation of internal feeling is not confined to cases that involve Reflexivization. An extremely interesting peculiarity of Turkish,

which is mostly ignored in traditional grammars, can be explained with reference to the two important concepts of Empathy and Direct Discourse.

(13) Ayşe	de	herşeyi	ben	bilirim	zannediyor
	and	everything	I	know	thinks

. . . and Ayşe thinks she knows everything

(Literally: Ayşe thinks I know everything)

In (13), *ben* 'I' can refer to someone other than the speaker, because through total empathy the distinction between the speaker and the person he is describing has vanished.

The object clause in (13) is not a direct quotation in the sense that this term has been traditionally used in linguistics. It is totally irrelevant whether or not the referent of the main subject ever said that she knew everything. The clause represents *Ayşe's* internal feeling within the speaker's characterization of this person. In other words, it is the speaker who assumes that *Ayşe* thinks she knows everything.

Consider, in this context, the following example:

(14) Ayşe	herşeyi	becerebilirim	sanıyorsa	aldanıyor
	everything	manage-can-I	thinks-if	is mistaken

If Ayşe thinks that she can manage everything, she is mistaken.

Notice in (14) that the subordinate clause is not a quotation of anything that was actually said by *Ayşe*. In fact, the speaker is not even sure whether *Ayşe* thinks she can manage everything, as is clearly indicated by the conditional mood of the sentence.

3.1. AN EXTRA-LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE FOR EMPATHY AND DIRECT DISCOURSE

In most cultures native speakers may choose to point to themselves when they are making a statement about themselves. In Turkish culture, too, a speaker may point to his chest as a gesture accompanying, mostly, an emphatic first-person pronoun. I shall call this gesture Pointing to Self (abbreviated PS), for want of a better term. Now PS may accompany any explicit form of the first-person pronoun, as well as the third-person reflexive pronoun, *kendi*:

(15) Ayşe	Hasan'ın	kendiné	aşık	olduğunu	sanıyor
	's	self-to	in love	be	thinks

Ayşe thinks that Hasan is in love with hér/himsélf

The ambiguity of (15) is not resolved when the emphatic reflexive pronoun *kendiné* is accompanied by PS. Its antecedent in a discourse context will be the person that the speaker is empathizing with. The important point here is that a native speaker of Turkish should be able to point to himself when he is not using an overt first-person pronoun that would normally attract the PS gesture. This apparent incompatibility, however, finds a natural explanation under the Empathy Constraint on *Kendi* (12 above). Through full empathy with the referent of *kendine,* the speaker assumes the role of the person he is describing. In other words, the PS in this case accompanies the first-person pronoun underlying the reflexive *kendiné* in the Direct Discourse Representation of (15).

When the alternate form *kendisine* is used in a context like (15), PS cannot be employed for it would seem extremely awkward if PS accompanied this pronoun.

4. EMPATHY HIERARCHIES AND THE PRINCIPLE OF MOST NATURAL INTERPRETATION

Underhill (1976, p. 356) observed that while *kendi* in a subordinate clause refers to the subject of the clause, *kendisi* may refer to the subject of the clause or of the main sentence.

(16a) Orhan Methmet'in kendine palto almasına sevindi
'S self-to coat buying pleased

Orhan was pleased that Mehmet bought himself a coat

(16b) Orhan Mehmet'in kendisine palto almasına sevindi
'S self-to coat buying pleased

Orhan was pleased that Mehmet bought him a coat

I believe that *kendine* in (16a) can also refer to *Orhan,* if this person is the topic of discussion or if he is more important or closer to the speaker than *Mehmet.*

Consider now the following sentences, in which the primary interpretation calls for a coreferent reading between the reflexive pronoun and the subject of the main clause:

(17a) Ayşe Can'ın kendine aşık olduğunu anlıyor,
'S self-to in love be realizing

sevincinden göklere uçuyordu.
joy-her-from skies-to flying-was

Ayşe was realizing that Can was in love with her, (and) she was flying in the sky, in joy.

(17b)	Ayşe	herkesin	kendine	saygı	duymasını	bekliyor,
		everyone's	self-to	respect	feel	expecting
	bunu	elde	edemeyince	çılgına	dönüyordu	
	this	hand-in	not do-when	crazy	turning-was	

Ayşe was expecting everyone to respect her, (and) was getting exasperated when she could not get (what she wanted)

Even without further context the reflexive pronoun in each case refers to the main subject, although syntactically it is not altogether impossible to establish a coreferent reading between the pronoun and the clause subject.

The reason for this is that in each instance of (17a) and (17b) there is a second conjunct which is a further statement about the main subject. This makes it pretty clear that each sentence is a statement about its main-clause subject; that is, the main subjects are the themes of their respective sentences. It is a fairly common tendency for the native speaker to identify himself with the theme of his sentence, rather than with another person who is of secondary interest in a conversation.[2]

The second reason why the reflexive pronouns are primarily interpreted as coreferential with the main subjects lies in what I will call here the Principle of Most Natural Interpretation, which simply means that a native speaker interprets an ambiguous sentence in the sense that would come most natural to him, given a particular discourse context and/or his knowledge of the outer world. The semantic contents of (17a) and (17b) are such that it makes more sense if we interpret the reflexive pronouns as coreferent with the main subjects. In (17a), for instance, the primary interpretation of coreference is due to the fact that it is more natural, or it makes more sense, to say that someone rejoices because someone else is in love with her, than to say that someone is overjoyed to find someone else to be in love with himself. Similarly, for (17b), the most plausible meaning is the one that expresses *Ayşe's* indignation for not having received the respect she expected from other people.

The Principle of Most Natural Interpretation, as vague as it may be, must have been known for ages. It would not have been necessary to bring it up, were it not for the fact that ignoring such a simple truth might lead us, at least in the case of Turkish Reflexivization, into an endless search for a purely syntactic solution.

[2] Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) observe that, although "Theme" and "Empathy" are very closely related concepts, they have to be distinguished in view of certain data from Japanese.

Aissen (1974, p. 342) observed that in causative sentences *kendi* may be coreferent with a preceding Noun Phrase which is not a subject when there is only one morphologically possible antecedent for the reflexive pronoun. However, when there are two morphologically possible antecedents, then the only (and for some speakers, the primary) interpretation is the one in which *kendi* is associated with the subject.

(18a) Mehmet	kızlara	aynada	kedilerini	gösterdi.
	girls-to	mirror-in	themselves	showed

Mehmet showed the girls themselves in the mirror.

(18b) Mehmet	Ali'ye	kendini	aynada	gösterdi.
	'to	self	mirror-in	showed

Mehmet showed himself to Ali in the mirror.

In (18a), *kendilerini* must refer to *kızlara* and not *Mehmet* because the plural morphology rules out the singular *Mehmet* as a possible antecedent. In (18b), however, both *Mehmet* and *Ali* are possible antecedents for *kendini.* Without an appropriate context, native speakers prefer the reading given above.

I believe that the reason why *kendini* in (18b) refers primarily to the subject is because of a general tendency (due to Kuno and Kaburaki, 1977) to empathize more readily with the subject of a sentence than with its object. This is probably because subjects are more often, but not always, the themes of their sentences. Nevertheless, (18b) may be interpreted with a coreferent reading between the reflexive pronoun and the object if *Ali* is the topic of discourse. Let us assume that someone named Ali has a serious accident which disfigures his face and that the people around him are reluctant to have him look at himself in the mirror. Finally, Mehmet allows Ali to look at himself in the mirror. In this hypothetical case the theme of the sentence becomes Ali, and Mehmet lies outside our focus of empathy.

Consider now the following sentences in which, although there are two morphologically possible antecedents for the reflexive pronoun, the antecedent is the object.

(19a) Yeni	tanıdığı	kadın	Ali'ye	kendini	unutturdu.
new	meet	woman	'to	self	caused to forget

The woman he recently met made Ali forget himself

(19b) Arkadaşı	Ali'yi	kendinden	bezdirdi.
friend-his		self-from	caused to be tired of

His friend caused Ali to become tired of himself.

Of the two possible antecedents for *kendi,* Ali in each case seems more important to us than the other person. This is because the woman he met

and his friend are characterized with respect to their special relations to Ali. Without any other context, they seem to be of secondary importance. This makes it very difficult to empathize with the subjects of these sentences and associate the reflexive pronouns with them.[3]

5. RESPECT OR FAMILIARITY

It is generally believed that the main difference between *kendi* and *kendisi* is that the former shows familiarity, whereas the latter indicates some level of respect towards the referent of the reflexive pronoun. I believe that this observation is only partially correct, and that the different levels of respect displayed by these two forms is due to an extension of the empathy principle that governs their usage. Consider the following sentences:

(20a)	Ahmet	aptalı	bizim	kendine	kızığımızı	söylüyormuş
		idiot	our	self-to	be mad at	is saying-I hear

I hear that that idiot Ahmet says we are mad at him.

(20b) Ahmet aptalı bizim kendisine kızdığımızı söylüyormuş
(same as 20a)

Both (20a) and (20b) are perfectly acceptable. That the speaker has no respect for the person he is referring to is obvious from the way he characterizes him. If it were true that *kendisi* showed respect for the referent, we would expect to find (20b) at least somewhat awkward, because of the conflicting characterizations of *Ahmet* in the same sentence. The only difference between these two sentences is that in the former the speaker fully empathizes with the referent of the main subject, whereas in the latter a certain psychological distance towards the same person is apparent.

(21a)	*Ali	bizim	kendine	güvendiğimizi	bilir,	kral	hazretleri
		our	self-to	trust	knows	king	majesty

[3] Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) propose an interesting principle called *The Ban on Conflicting Empathy Foci* which predicts that a simple sentence may not contain conflicts in empathy relationships. Hence,

(i) *Mary's husband hit his wife.

is unacceptable because the subject, *Mary's husband*, is a Mary-centered expression showing that the speaker is empathizing with Mary. But the same person is referred to as *his wife* in the object position, indicating that the husband is the focus of empathy. This creates a conflict with respect to the focuses of empathy.

I should add outright that it is possible to empathize with the subjects of (19a) and (19b) if the conversation is about *the woman Ali met* or *his friend*, and if these persons are referred to as such because the speaker does not know their names.

Ali knows that we trust him, your majesty.

(21b)	Ali	bizim	kendisine	güvendiğimizi	bilir,	kral hazretleri
				(same as 21a)		

Although (21b) is perfectly normal, (21a) sounds extremely awkward. The expression *kral hazretleri* 'your majesty' indicates that these sentences are uttered in a very polite context. In (21b), *kendisine* shows that the speaker keeps some psychological distance between himself and the person he is describing. Notice that there is nothing in the content of the sentences that would imply disrespect for anyone. The apparent awkwardness of (21a), I believe, comes from the violation of a general principle which I will call the Politeness Constraint on Empathy.

(22) The Politeness Constraint on Empathy

Do not empathize fully with the person you are describing when your relations with your addressee requires formality.

Empathy and Familiarity are two closely related concepts. The person we empathize with is usually the one we feel closer to or someone we are familiar with. The speaker of (21a) violates (22) by showing too much familiarity with a person in a highly formal situation. I think it is because of (22) that in written or broadcast Turkish one almost never encounters sentences containing *kendi,* regardless of whether or not the referent of this pronoun deserves respect.

6. REFLEXIVIZATION IN SIMPLEX SENTENCES

In simplex sentences *kendi* ordinarily refers to the subject, but *kendisi* may refer to the subject as well as its genitive modifier.

(23a)	Ali'nin	karısı	kendini	öldürecek.
	's	wife	self	will kill

Ali's wife will kill herself

(23b)	Ali'nin	karısı	kendisini	öldürecek.
	's	wife	self	will kill

Ali's wife will kill him/herself

The reflexive pronoun *kendini* in (23a) cannot possibly refer to *Ali.* In (23b), however, both interpretations are possible.

A generalization based on these facts would be rather premature, because in (24a) and (24b) below *kendi* may refer to the genitive modifier of the subject:

(24a) Orhan'ın oğlu kendinden büyük.[4]
's son self-from big

Orhan's son is bigger than he.

(24b) Hasan'ın maaşı kendine yetiyor.
's salary self-to is sufficient

Hasan's salary is sufficient for him.

In (24a), because of the semantic nature of this sentence, *Orhan* is the only possible antecedent for the reflexive pronoun. Otherwise, it would be semantically anomalous to say that a person is bigger than himself. In (24b) *kendi* naturally cannot refer to an inanimate subject. The acceptability of these sentences shows once again that whether or not *kendi* may refer to the genitive modifier of the subject is controlled by semantic than syntactic factors.

The following sentence presents an interesting case:

(25) Herkesin çocuğu kendine güzel görünür.
everyone's child self-to pretty seems

Everyone's child seems pretty to him.

It is not the case here that a coreferent reading between *çocuğu* 'his child' and *kendine* yields a logically impossible sentence. Here again, I think, the Principle of Most Natural Interpretation is responsible for the only possible reading of this sentence.

These observations indicate that in simplex sentences *kendi* may refer to the genitive modifier of the subject if a coreferent reading between the reflexive pronoun and the real subject yields a completely nonsensical or a highly unnatural sentence. In terms of Empathy, this means that it is possible to empathize with the referent of the genitive modifier when it is not possible to empathize with the referent of the real subject.

7. SUMMARY

This paper by no means provides an exhaustive analysis of Turkish Reflexivization. I merely attempted to show that the relevant regulating principles should be sought in the realm of semantics and the speaker's attitude towards the person (s) he is describing, rather than in the syntactic

[4] That *kendi* may refer to the genitive modifier of a subject was, to my knowledge, first observed by Underhill (1976).

properties of the constructions that contain reflexive pronouns and their antecedents. Although a more detailed investigation is indispensable for pinpointing the exact details of this issue, a good deal of evidence suggests that Empathy and Direct Discourse are in fact our key concepts.

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ВЕРЕМІЯ: З історії українсько-білоруських мовних зв'язків

GEORGE Y. SHEVELOV

Кілька років тому, відкидаючи можливість здогадного зв'язку з словом *вéрем'я* 'час, погода' (Rudnyc'kyj, 352),[1] я висловив припущення, що українське *веремíя* 'кутерьма, суматоха, смятение' (Грінченко, s.v.) становить собою народно-етимологічно перекручене ім'я князя Вишневецького, винятково динамічного польського протикозацького військового ватажка (1612–1651), Ярема ~ Єремія (*Language*, 44 [1968]: 864). Ця стаття — спроба уточнити і частково переглянути цю пропозицію.

Можливість певного впливу тут не виключена. Якщо говорити про Вишневецького, він лишив довгий кривавий слід в історії козацько-польських воєн 17-го століття, і, згідно з переказами, українські матері лякали його ім'ям дітей; одначе менш імовірно, щоб його ім'я було першоджерелом слова *веремія*: діяльність Вишневецького була близька в часі до перших засвідчень слова (Климентій Зіновіїв, коло 1690, С. Величко, коло 1720), а семантична зміна такого розміру — надто різка: від імени особи до абстрактного поняття. Нарешті, здається, ім'я Вишневецького на Україні — так воно принаймні в фолкльорі — було вживане в формі *Ярема*. Імовірніше, що це ім'я було накладене на якесь інше первісне слово, і при тому слово, що починалося на *в*-.

[1] Найновіша спроба оборонити етимологічний зв'язок *веремії* з діял. *верем'я* (Кочерган), як і попередні, не спромоглася пояснити ні закінчення *-ія*, ні зміни місця наголосу, ні семантичної зміни, ані не довела, що слово *верем'я* було вживане в 17-му сторіччі на Лівобережній Україні. Асоціяція двох слів — власне сучасна і характеристична для західніх українців, які ще мають *верем'я* в живому вжитку, а *веремія* для них — новонадбаний зайда зі Сходу. Пор. у поезії Ігоря Калинця, —

А може для нього те золоте верем'я,
що по веремiях усіх навертає стопи

(Ігор Калинець, *Поезії з України*, Брюссель 1970, ст. 24).

Я схильний думати, що цим словом було те, що тепер вимовляється *áрмія*.

Остаточне джерело цього слова — французьке *armée*. З французького воно було позичене до німецької мови (за Kluge, s.v., перше засвідчення 1617). Звідти воно, з тим же наголосом, було позичене до польської мови. Я не маю даних про його перше засвідчення в польських текстах, крім даних неґативних: слóва ще не було в 16-му сторіччі (що цілком природно, якщо в самій німецькій мові воно з'явилося в 17-му сторіччі), Linde (1814, зданий до друку 1806) наводить слово, але без прикладів, а *SW* не подає документованих прикладів. Не буде, мабуть, помилкою думати, що слово з'явилося в польській мові в середині або другій половині 17-го сторіччя; треба також припускати, що тут воно дістало типову кінцівку багатьох слів, запозичених із західніх мов — *-ija* з наголошеним *i*, а згодом тут таки наголос був перенесений на попередній склад, у даному випадку перший, як це типово відбувалося в словах цього типу (див. далі). Саме з цією кінцівкою, але ще без пересуву наголосу, слово було позичене до білоруської і, можливо, української мов. Російська мова, можна думати, має це слово безпосередньо з німецької мови в формі *армея* (1705, Vasmer, s.v.) і з польської, у формі *армія* (Vasmer, ibid., з яким наголосом і чи безпосередньо, — важко сказати). Болгарська і, мабуть, сербо-хорватська мови мають слово найправдоподібніше з російської. (*RJA* виводить сербо-хорватське *àрмиjа* з німецької мови, одначе час позичення — 19 століття, закінчення слова і можливо характер наголосу радше вказують на російське джерело). Сучасні українське й білоруське *áрмія* теж ледве чи продовжують слово 17-го сторіччя, взяте з польської мови, а, мабуть, позичені заново з російської десь у 18-му сторіччі.

Уже в польській мові слово *armija,* зберігаючи свої первісні значення (1 — військо; 2 — військова одиниця найбільшого розміру), набрало нового, похідного значення, засвідченого в *SW*: 'mnóstwo, tłum, chmara, ciżba, kupa, tłuszcza, zgraja', звідки легко зрозуміти перехід до сучасного значення слова *веремія* в українській мові. Це третє значення польського слова має *армия* також у псковських говірках російської мови: «множество, толпа. Народ армией валит» (Пск. слов., s.v.). У пам'ятках білоруської мови 17–18 століть засвідчення слова мені не відомі (Булика його не має). Але присутність його, і то в усіх значеннях польського слова, в українській мові, з одного боку, і в псковських говірках російської мови, з другого, змушує припускати, що воно не було чуже і білоруській мові.

Зрештою, воно наводиться, без льокалізації й без диференціяції значень, у словнику Носовича, себто для 19-го сторіччя, і при тому з дуже для нас важливою фонетичною зміною, а саме з протетичним *v-*: *вармія* (s.v.). І справді, протетичне *v* в позиках 17–18 століть перед *а-* (звичайно ненаголошеним) не типове ні для польської, ні для української мов, але знане в білоруській. Носович подає слово з наголосом на першому складі, але наявність протетичного *v* підказує, що слово було позичене з польської мови тоді, коли наголос був ще на *і*: * *вармія.* Про вживання форми *вармія* в українській мові говорить виправлення (харків'янином графом П. Кеппеном?) форми *армія* в рукописному словнику Ол. Павловського, 1826, опублікованому Бучком, на *вармія* (ст. 97).

Саме з цієї форми, отже, взятої через білоруське посередництво, походить українська форма *веремія.* Голосний першого складу *а* був сприйнятий як прояв білоруського акання і був гіперистично заступлений на *е,* сполучення приголосних *рм* було розбите другим *е,* що творило характеристичний «повноголос.»

Існує в українській мові середньої доби випадок майже цілком паралельного розвитку: в слові *орація,* що перетворилося на *вереція*: «А вереці болшеи говорит не вмѣю» — «Драма про Олексѣя, чоловѣка Божого,» 1673–1674 (Рєзанов, 147). Польське *oracýja* > білоруське **варацыя* > українське *вереція.* Різниця супроти *веремія* тільки та, що в *вереція* не було первісного сполучення приголосних. Слово *вереція* не вийшло поза межі середньо-українського періоду, *веремія* ввійшло до новітньої української мови.

Теоретично міркуючи, білоруське «акання» в *веремія* могло бути усунене заміною або на *о* або на *е.*[2] Вибір саме *е* стався можливо не без впливу секундарних асоціяцій з ім'ям *Ярема.*

У другій половині 17-го сторіччя на Лівобережній Україні ім'я *Ярема* ~ *Яремій* часто виступає з початковим *v-*. Знаходимо такі форми в багатьох документах того часу, напр.: «Панъ Веремѣ(й) К(ор)неевичъ» — Выпис с книг мѣских . . . ратуша черниговского, 1659 (Панашенко, 82); Веремѣю Левченку, Веремѣемъ Левченком — Бориспіль, 1665, 1666 (74, 77); Веремѣя Богдановича — Стародуб, 1666 (93); Веремѣенъко — Полтава, 1677 (III, 87). На ознаку тієї самої особи ім'я може виступати то з початковим *v-*, то з *j-* напр.: Верем̃ѣ(и), Веремѣеви — і Яремѣеви — Полтава, 1676 (III, 58). Ця

[2] До взаємоміни *о* ~ *е* при заступанні білоруського *а* пор. *церомонѣя* (3х) на переклад польского *ceremonia* в Крехівському Апостолі к. 1570 р. (Огієнко, ст. 505).

традиція доходить до часів Сковороди. Він пише: «друзья Іереміины» і, в тому ж творі, «на Веремѣеву юность,» 1781 (263н). Особове ім'я це відклалося в двох формах і в топоніміці. Самовидець, 1702, пише: «татар погромил у Веремѣевцѣ» (64). У сучасних назвах сіл маємо такий розподіл: назв типу *Веремiївка* з початковим *v* — 7, з них 6 на схід або побіч Дніпра; назв, що починаються на *є* — одна (Єреміївка — Одеської обл.); назв, що починаються на *я* — 6, з них 2 західні.[3] Пояснити форми з початковим *v* на українському ґрунті ледве чи можна. Фонетичних передумов для заміни *j* на *v* тут не було; протетичне *v* не розвивалося перед *e* (*HPUL*, 449). Найімовірніше думати тут про білоруський вплив, і географія імен на *v*- потверджує це. У самій білоруській мові форми з *v*- легше знаходять своє пояснення в умовах акання. У білоруській мові написання типу *Веремей* з'являються від 1582 р. (Бірила, 79), себто на кількадесят років раніше, ніж в українській. У топонімах форми типу *Верамейкі, Верамееўка, Верамееўшчына* поширені по всій країні, від півночі до півдня (пор. Жучкевич, 47; Рапановіч, 77).

Якщо висловлені тут міркування слушні, розвиток *v*- і в імені власному *Єремія* ~ *Ярема* і в слові **армія* характеризував білоруську мову й ширився на Україну з Білоруси. Взаємовпливи цих змін у двох словах були цілком можливі, але це були два окремі процеси, і збіг кінцевих вислідів розвитку — *Веремія,* ім'я власне, і *веремія* 'метушня, безлад' — явище секундарне. Роля асоціяцій з ім'ям Яреми Вишневецького тут вельми сумнівна: адже подібний фонетичний розвиток відбувся і в слові *вереція,* де ніяких асоціяцій з якоюнебудь історичною особою бути не могло.

Наявність білоруського посередництва в появі українського *веремія* потверджується географією не тільки топонімів, а й самого слова *веремія.* Як показують матеріяли словника Грінченка, це типове «лівобережне» слово, властиве насамперед говіркам Чернігівщини й Полтавщини, при одному прикладі з розташованого безпосередньо над Дніпром, хоч з правого боку, Канева. З тих же територій походять приклади з 18-го сторіччя, зібрані Тимченком (s.v.). При безпосередньому позиченні з польської мови тереном найбільшої концентрації, природно, були б західні говірки.

Слово *веремія,* відколовшися семантично й фонетично від первісного *армія,* зберегло старший наголос на *і.* Цей наголос був типовий

[3] За абетковим показником в *Адм. поділ,* з додатком *Веремiївки* Золотонісього району Черкаської области, згаданого в статті М. Пономаренка в *Повідомл.,* ст. 29.

для слів на *-ія* і в польській і в українській мові 17-го і, мабуть, 18-го сторіччя. Для обох мов, як добре відомо, це засвідчене передусім римами, напр., у Марціна Бєльського: *Konstancyja*: *i ja* (Topolińska, 1959, 33); у М. Рея *skomedią* : *biyą, melánkolia* : *dopiya, bestyie* : *tyie* та ін. (Kuraszkiewicz, 1960, 122); пор. також Brzezina, з бібліографією, і особливо Gonschior, 176 нн); в українській поезії: *днъи* : *лінѣи* (Сакович, 1622 — Тітов, 44); *малзамѣя* : *добродѣя, малзамѣи* : *голосѣи* (Драма про Олексѣя чоловѣка Божого, 1673–1674, цитовано з Білецького 206, 298, 300) (сучасне польське *małmazja*). Для української мови до цього ж висновку провадить свідчення словників і інших текстів з позначеним наголосом. Напр., Адельфотес, 1591, ст. 3, має *ορθографи́я, просоди́я, етимологи́я*; у Беринди знаходимо *астрономі́а* (183), *Дари́а* (200), *ектені́а* (203), *епархі́а* (204), *Еутимі́а* (205), *икономі́а* (208); Копистенський, 1623, має *лѣнѣю, полі́тіи, фамі́ліи* (і *фамі́ліи)* (Тітов, 71, 73, 76н). Додаткові приклади з авторів 16–17 століть у Веселовської, 1964, ст. 135, і 1970, ст. 64, — хоч паралельно, скажімо, в Беринди бачимо *астроло́ґіа* (183), *ґеогра́фіа, ґеоме́тріа* (199). (Для нашої теми не важить, чи український наголос на *і* знаходив свій підтрим у грецьких або італійських формах, а чи був суто польського походження).[4]

Згідно з найпоширенішим поглядом наголос на *і* тримався в польській літературній мові аж до початку 19-го сторіччя, коли клясицисти в граматиці відновили латинський наголос на третьому від кінця складі, що спричинило в дальшому заник *i* (*y*) (Topolińska 1961, 77н, 213н): *armí(j)a* > *ármija* > *ármja* (ортографічно *armia*). Тополінська (1961, 78) наводить список польських говірок, що не пішли за модою й досі зберігають наголос на *i*. Вони досить численні. Цікаво, що є говірки на півдні Польщі, що усунули проблему іреґулярного для польської мови пропарокситонічного наголосу, відкинувши кінцеве *a*: *-ija* > *-ij*. Зв'язок українського варіянту *веремій* (спеціяльно в виразі *веремія крутити* 'делать быстрые нападения, атаки, нападать то здесь, то там' [Грінченко, s.v.]), що, здається, був типовий для 17-го й 18-го сторіч, а в 19-му сторіччі використовувався тільки в стилізаціях козацької доби, з цим польським варіянтом непевний: «закруты́въ веремѣя» — Зіновіїв, 227; «Хмелницкий з Ордою началъ около них [поляків] веремѣя кру-

[4] Така вимова ширилася з Польщі й України й до Росії. Московська Біблія 1663 року має в титулі позначений наголос: *библі́я*. Сумкіна, 267, наводить російські наголоси 18-го сторіччя *поэзи́я, аллегори́я, мєлоди́я, оргі́я, симпати́я*.

тити» — Величко, к. 1720; «крутив ляхам . . . веремія» — П. Куліш, 1846, ст. 53.

Зволінський, 253, пропонує пересунути хронологію перенесення наголосу на третій від кінця склад у словах цього типу в польській літературній мові на далеко давніший час: 1690 або навіть 1649. Але Woyna (1690) в цитаті, що її наводить Зволінський, оперує ідеальною вимовою, яку він протиставить іншій, уважаній ним за «rusticam ac barbaram», а висловлення Меньєна (Mesgnien, 1649) не доводять, що всяке сполучення літер на позначення приголосного + *i* (*y*) читано в польській мові того часу як приголосний + *j*. Свідчення українського *веремія,* як і інші дані української мови 17-го сторіччя, змушує прийняти для польської мови кінця 17-го сторіччя поширену (хоч не конечно єдино наявну) вимову з наголошеним *i* в словах цього типу.

Ця коротка розвідка дає підстави висловити такі припущення:

1. Українське *веремія* походить з польського *armíja* через посередництво білоруського **вармíя,* що секундарно схрестилося з ім'ям *Єремія* ~ *Веремія* (останнє правдоподібно за походженням білоруський варіянт).

2. Білоруська мова 17-го — початку 18-го сторіччя додавала факультативне протетичне *v* до чужих слів, що починалися на ненаголошене *а-*. (Менше ймовірне було б припущення, що *v-* тут постало з прийменникових конструкцій: *в армію* ~ *ув армію* ~ *у вармію*).

3. У польській, українській і білоруській мовах 17-го сторіччя був поширений (панував) наголос на *i* (*ы*) в словах чужого походження, що кінчалися на *-ija.*

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Samoyed and Ugric Elements in Old Turkic

DENIS SINOR

1. *ay* 'Word'

In Old and Middle Turkic there are three principal verbs for "to speak, to say": *sözle-*, *te-*, and *ay-*. On their relationship Clauson (p. 266) has this to say: "There is little difference of meaning between *ay-*, *té:-* and *sözle:-*, but at any rate in the earliest period *ay-* seems to be to some extent honorific, while the others are not. Noted only as below; apparently became obsolete when *ayït-* came to mean 'to say'. . . ." The most complete listing of the verb's occurrences is given by Sevortjan (pp. 111–12) who makes the following remark: "Формы *ейт-*, *әйт-*, чув. *ыйт-* — из *айт-* под влиянием *-й-*. Господствующей в современных тюркских языках . . . прежде всего в турецком, азербайджанском и гагаузском — она вытеснена другим глаголом — *сөйле-*, известным также в ряде языков остальных ареальных групп." The occurrences of *ay-* are given by Sevortjan (p. 111).

It is clear that, since *ay-* cannot be considered Common Turkic, there is an a priori likelihood that it is either a loanword or an archaic remnant in Old Turkic. I think it must be connected with a Finno-Ugric word, attested principally in Ostiak.

A word *ay* 'Wort, Kunde, Botschaft, Nachricht, etc.' is known in virtually all the Ostiak dialects. There are dialectal variants (*äy*), and a number of derived forms, e.g., *ay-kel, ay-kïl* 'Botschaft, Nachricht'. In Literary Ostiak (Steinitz, 1950) *ay* has the meaning 'Erzählung, Nachricht.' A detailed listing of Ostiak dialectal variants can be found in Steinitz, 1966, pp. 14–15; cf. also Paasonen, 1926, p. 7, and Toivonen, 1948, p. 5. Derivations from the same root appear in Vogul — as signaled by Paasonen — e.g., *aygel* 'voice, shout', or in Zyryen *ayəl* — 'berichten', listed in Steinitz, 1966.

Phonetically as well as semantically, the correspondence between the Finno-Ugric and Turkic words is unassailable. The former do not belong to Common Finno-Ugric, and the Turkic words have no correspondents in Mongol or in Tunguz. For this reason *ay-* cannot be considered an

Altaic or a Ural-Altaic word. It is either a Ugric loan in Old Turkic, or an Old Turkic loan in Ugric, or a borrowing by both from a third, perhaps substratum, language.

2. *sab* 'Word'

Ugric connections can be established for another word well attested in Old and Middle Turkic: *sab, sav* 'word, speech'. Clauson (p. 782) who, mistakenly, admits only a *sāv* reading, has this to say: "the difference between this word and *sö:z*, if it is not simply one of chronology or dialect (*sö:z* is rather rare in the early period), seems to be one of quantity; *sa:v* seems to mean 'a (full-length) speech, a narrative or story, a message,' while *sö:z* seems to mean basically 'a single word, or short utterance.' Very common in the earlier period, but not noted after the XIV century except in the hendiaduoin *söz sav*." DTS (pp. 478, 491–92) contains a fairly complete listing of the occurrences of *sab* and *sav* which is certainly sufficient for our present purpose.

As noted by Clauson, the standard Common Turkic expression for "word" is *söz*, after the fourteenth-century *sab* ~ *sav* disappeared altogether from the vocabulary of the Turkic languages. Derived forms such as, e.g., Turkmen *savči*, Uzbek *sovči* 'matchmaker (< he who speaks on behalf of someone)' are still in use. The word is well attested in Old and Middle Turkic (*sabčï, savčï*) in the general meaning "messenger," hence also "prophet." Relevant data are given by Clauson (p. 785) and DTS (pp. 478, 479). Cf. also TMEN III (pp. 226–27). Curiously enough, *savči* appears in an undated but early Mongol manuscript text from Turfan and is translated as "Sprecher" by Herbert Franke, 1970 (p. 143). J. Hamilton, 1974 (p. 114), advances an ingenious and credible explanation for the "disappearance" of *sab* ~ *sav* which, according to him, developed into *soy-* in Old Anatolian. There it served as a root for the verb *soyla-* 'to declare, to recite' and brought about — *per analogiam* — the transformation of the old verb *sözle-* 'to speak, to say' into *söyle-*. Be that as it may, the fact remains that *sab* ~ *sav* (hence probably **saβ*) cannot be considered the standard term for "word" in Old Turkic and even less so in Common Turkic. The origin of this word already puzzled Radloff (*Wörterbuch* IV, p. 410), who derived it from Chinese!

Old Turkic *sab* ~ *sav* must be connected with the following Ugric words: Vogul *såw, sou, sang* 'word, sound, voice'; Ostiak *sǫu, sɒu̯* 'voice', *saw* 'melody'; Hungarian *szó* (pronunciation: *sō*, root: *sav-*) 'word'. An up-to-date and complete listing of all the forms and of the relevant literature appears in MSzFgrE III (pp. 591–92).

On phonetic as well as semantic grounds the relation between the Turkic and Ugric forms is undeniable. However, it can be and has been explained in various ways. Today there is general agreement on the point that the Ugric forms have a common origin and that Hungarian *szó* is not a direct borrowing from Turkic. The correct equation for the Turkic and Ugric forms quoted above was established by Németh, 1942 (p. 47), in the German version of an article first published in Hungarian in 1928. Németh saw proof of early Turko-Uralic relations in the correspondence between the forms. In Sinor, 1969 (p. 274), I protested against counting *szó* among the basic Finno-Ugric elements of Hungarian. According to MSzFgrE, the Common Ugric word was borrowed from Turkic at some time prior to the disintegration of Ugric unity. On purely linguistic grounds this theory is defensible. It does present a historical problem, however, if we try to harmonize it with the chronology usually proposed for the separation of the Ugrians from the other Finno-Ugric peoples and for the disintegration of the Ugric community. The first event is normally thought to have taken place towards the end of the third millennium B.C., the second some 1,500 years later, in the first half of the first millennium B.C. (Cf. Hajdu, 1975, p. 67.) If we could be certain — which I am not — that at that time a Turkic, say Proto-Turkic, unity existed, it would be difficult to account for the *absence* of *sab* in the Common Turkic vocabulary. No such difficulties arise if Old Turkic *sab* is taken to be a Ugric loanword.

Of course, the question of Turko-Ugric linguistic contacts hinges on the possibility of intercourse between Ugrians and Turks. On this point, a relatively recent interpretation of a passage in the Old Turkic Tonyuquq inscription may provide an important clue. According to a reading proposed by Ramstedt and endorsed by Aalto (1958a, p. 45; 1958b, p. 23), line 45 of the inscription contains the name *Mančud* for a people listed among other peoples sending tribute (or perhaps embassies) to the Türks. Ramstedt and Aalto see in *mančud* a plural in *-ud* or *-d* of the name *manśi, mänći,* etc., still used as a self-designation by the Voguls. Since the same name is most probably also incorporated into the name *magyar* of the Hungarians, it must have been in use before the disintegration of the Ugric community. This point concerns us only insofar as it shows that in the eighth century A.D., when the Tonyuquq inscription was engraved, *Mančud* could have been the name of any Ugric people. Ligeti, 1964 (p. 390), rightly calls for caution in the acceptance of the reading, which is, of course, hypothetical. But the reading and, with it, the theory of Ugro-

Turkic contacts gain credibility through the etymologies of *ay* and *sab* presented above.

3. *tan* 'Cold Wind'

Old and Middle Turkic *yunt* 'horse' seems to occur only in Ottoman. References are to be found in Clauson (p. 946) and DTS (p. 281) where some forms are given with *-d*. There is no reason to include *yunt* in the Common Turkic vocabulary. The Samoyed parallels are well known, and I have dealt with this question in some detail (Sinor, 1965, pp. 309–319). Since that time, I. Vásáry, 1971, has convincingly shown that the river name *Käm*, applied in Old Turkic to the Yenisei, is of Samoyed origin. According to Vásáry (p. 482): "If the name of the river *Käm* is really of Samoyed origin, this fact gives us solid evidence for proving that the Samoyeds lived in South-Siberia at a fairly early date, as the name of *Käm* in the Chou-chu refers to the 5th century A.D." I am quite certain that he is right, and that in historical times — and particularly during the Türk period — we must reckon not only with Turko-Ugric, but also with Turko-Samoyed contacts. In support of this statement I propose another Turko-Samoyed equation, which has the added advantage of throwing some light on the hitherto unknown origin of a Middle Turkic word.

Middle Turkic *tan* 'cold wind' (references in Clauson, p. 516); Sagay, Koibal, Kačinsk (Radloff III, p. 822) *tan* 'der Wind, der Nordwind, Wind der für das Werfeln des Getreides passend ist'; Khakas *tan* 'ветерок': ~ Kamass Samoyed *t'aṅ, t'o̥ṅ* 'kalter, sanfter Winterwind; Norden, Nord-'. Joki, 1944 (p. 68), considers this a loan from the Altai dialects mentioned above, and Räsänen, 1969 (p. 460), adopts the same view, adding kumandin *tang* to the list of Turkic forms. Of course, it is perfectly possible that the Turkic word was borrowed by Kamass, but the process could also have taken place in the inverse direction. Once more, I do not wish to exclude the possibility that *tan* was an area word — with a very limited geographical distribution — which was preserved by Turkic as well as by Samoyed.

The region of the Altai, like most high mountain ranges, was a reservoir of archaic languages and a refuge for peoples unable to assert themselves against their more powerful Turkic, and specifically Türk, neighbors. The Ugric and Samoyed elements of Old and Middle Turkic have much to say about the early history of the Türks.

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The Arabic *Qaṣīdah*: From Form and Content to Mood and Meaning

JAROSLAV STETKEVYCH

To gain a summary, cohesive view of lyricism in Arabic poetry, we must eventually turn to the poetic vehicle itself, to the poem as formal structure, to nothing other than the *qaṣīdah.* Even this preliminary phrasing of intention, however, introduces some of the problems of a "formal" inquest: the distinction of a specific "vehicle" of lyricism has been made, its structure suggested, and its unique name ascertained. What has been opened, too, is the trap door to the sterile, abstract dichotomy of form and content where any aesthetic bias can be bent almost at one's own pleasure.

Arabic poetry has fared particularly badly in the debate over form and content. It is true that Arabic poetic theory has not been very helpful in providing an alternative to the utilitarian, rhetorical approach to poetics as craft. There is little one can say in behalf of Arabic poetics after reading al-Jāḥiẓ's statement that poetic content (*al-ma'ānī*) lies scattered all over the road, and that the business of poetry is to choose from it and to put it in order, since "After all, poetry is a craft, a sort of weaving, a kind of figural design."[1] Qudāmah Ibn Ja'far speaks about the issue with more "Aristotelian" precision. To him, the *ma'ānī* are the given raw matter, and poetry consists in imposing a specific form on that matter.[2] In this he also sees an analogy with every other kind of "craft." 'Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī uses the analogy of the body and its attire: one is the meaning, the other the word.[3] To go no further, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā al-'Alawī, in his *'Iyār al-Shi'r,* gives a step by step procedure by which someone who is not a poet can

[1] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān,* vol. 3 (Cairo, 1938), p. 131. Wolfhart Heinrichs remarks correctly that in 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, who also quotes al-Jāḥiẓ, the term *taṣwīr* already means "forming," or "Gestaltung." See his *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik: Ḥāzim al-Qarṭagannīs Grundlegung der Poetik mit Hilfe aristotelischer Begriffe* (Beirut, 1969), p. 71. But then, a definite cliché grouping of these terms seems to have developed by the time of 'Abd al-Qāhir, especially in *Dalā'il al-'I'jāz* (Cairo, 1968), p. 80.

[2] Qudāmah Ibn Ja'far, *Naqd al-Shi'r* (Cairo, 1934), p. 16.

[3] 'Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayn* (Istanbul, 1320 H./A.D. 1902), p. 51.

create poetry easily; the secret is to put all the ingredients together and "shake well."[4]

In these uninspired postulations of the chief problem of all aesthetic thinking, however, Arabic rhetorical theorists are perfectly neo-classical in the post-Aristotelian sense. There is not very much to differentiate them from the whole European neo-classical tradition. It is only in the instances where the Horacian simile *ut pictura poesis* shows its semblance that form and content seem to unite more closely under the general intention of mimetic function. In Ibn Rashīq, such references are reduced to mere hints, as little more than somebody else's happy phrasing.[5] In 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, they become his many personal theories of the *ma'ānī,* often reiterated but without the lapidary force of formulation.[6]

Yet, the separation of form and content, which certainly drops all its defenses in medieval critical writings, should perhaps be reconsidered. In the philosophical atmosphere of the age, there were two roads to choose for the setting of aesthetic premises: the Platonic and the Aristotelian. As suggestive as the Platonic idea of unity of form and content may appear to us, it is of a limited, turned-against-itself effect in literary practice. Within Platonism, a poet would, at best, aim at achieving a phantom of an image of an ideal reality. If this phantom was obtained in imitation, that imitation itself had a secondary object as its model. The direct vision of the ideal remained restricted, as yet, to the realms of prophetic revelation and mystic contemplation. From the first realm poetry remained most emphatically excluded, while in the second it was a stepchild and a subterfuge. The lack of faith in poetry as statement may ultimately have had its origins in the Platonic incompatibility, and poetry's self-defense is then psychologically true to itself in its use of irony and paradox: "In poetry the most mendacious is the truest" will be the Arabic maxim.[7] Shakespeare phrases this somewhat less epigrammatically —

4 Muḥammad Ibn 'Aḥmad Ibn Ṭabāṭabā al-'Alawī, *'Iyār al-Shi'r* (Cairo, 1956), p. 5.

5 Ibn Rashīq, *Al-'Umdah fī Maḥāsin al-Shi'r wa 'Ādābihi wa Naqdihi,* 3rd ed., vol. 1 (Cairo, 1963), p. 123. Cf., for instance, "Hearing words is like seeing images."

6 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī, *Dala'il al-'I'jāz* (Cairo, 1969), p. 123.

7 See J. Christoph Bürgel's most detailed work on the problem of truth in Arabic poetry: "Die beste Dichtung ist die lügenreichste. Wesen und Bedeutung eines literarischen Streites des arabischen Mittelalters im Lichte komparatistischer Betrachtung," *Oriens* 23 (1974): 7–102. The discussion of "truth in poetry" should be differentiated from the discussion of "sincerity in poetry," even though the difference may seem to be only one of viewpoint or aspect. The topic of "truth" tends to lead us into historically and metaphysically oriented investigations, while that of "sincerity" tends to be more literary, dealing with practical criticism and with psychology before metaphysics, implying in the end what is now termed poetic experience. Sincerity in Western literatures is discussed by Henri Peyre, *Literature and Sincerity* (New Haven and London, 1969).

Audrey: I do not know what poetical is: is it honest in deed and word? is it a true thing?

Touchstone: No, truly: for the truest poetry is the most feigning . . . ,[8]

— while to Vico, man the dreamer, wanting to become man the creator (poet), searches for self-realization not so much in the lie as in the paradox of poetry, "the credible impossibility."[9]

The Aristotelian pragmatism of mimesis, where object and means are clearly defined, is thus most welcome. In an age where the symbolic dimension of poetic creativity as yet evades the conscious conceptual grasp, the concretizing principle of mimesis may itself be understood as a methodological proto-simile. Mimesis, thus, comes close to the very essence of the prime poetic principle by which the poet is allowed to hang on to his realm of reality and truth. Of concern to the pre-romantic and pre-symbolic poet is not whether he achieves the visionary unity of form and content, but whether his form and content are as closely united as possible without losing themselves conceptually. To base one's understanding of Arabic aesthetics and creative mechanics on the stereotype of a form-content dichotomy is, to say the least, inadequate. The definition of poetry given by standard Arabic criticism as "measured and rhymed speech"[10] is always and only preliminary. This is an initial external and descriptive statement. An Arab critic would have to be blind and deaf not to have noticed what is so obvious. After this first glance, Arabic critical sources and poetic confessions display a sufficiently representative diapason of emotive "Platonic" statement on the sources, nature, and effects of the poetic feeling. The lack of a corpus and the many internal contradictions in such statements are a sign of the times rather than a peculiarity of Arabic aesthetic attitudes.

Instead of looking for signs of dichotomy of form and content, one could, with equal ease, reverse the lens and see in Arabic poetry the closest possible — or the will to the closest possible — marriage between form and content, precisely because that poetry is so highly "formalistic." Actually, in instances where form becomes its own content, a sui generis unity becomes perfect, as may be seen in the arabesque. In the paratactic

[8] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, act 3, sc. 3.

[9] Giambattista Vico, *La Scienza Nuova*, vol. 1 (Bari, 1928), pp. 146 and 150: ". . . che la di lei propia materia è l'impossibile credibile. . . ."

[10] See, for example, the review of the definitions of Arabic poetry which revolve around this concept given by Bint al-Shāṭi' in her *Al-Ḥayâh al-'Insânîyah 'inda al-'Arab* (Cairo, 1944), pp. 32–33.

structure of the Arabic *qaṣīdah,* content is, admittedly, divided into small, independent units of meaning. Such a structure brings content in a material sense much closer to form than loose, outstretched discourses of an epic nature. In the formal unit of the Arabic verse, content is under the closer control of form than it is in practically any type of European poetry. The subdivision of the Arabic verse into hemistichs invites a further sectioning of content, and the most characteristic "formal" phenomenon of parallelism of meaning between two hemistichs incorporates, in an almost organic way, the so-called content into form. All these factors, together with the meter and, to a much lesser degree, the rhyme, could not possibly or reasonably be considered as simply superimposed upon the content from the outside. No content in the abstract would survive a similar rod of iron. Instead of succumbing under the constraint of form, however, we must admit that poetic content not only survives, but flourishes, extracting out of its predicament a strange power and solidity of imaginative impact.

Cohesiveness of form and inner harmony of structure most preoccupied the ancient theorists and their Arab and European successors. Horace begins his *Ars Poetica* with the example of a mixed species: a woman with the neck of a horse, some odds and ends of arms and legs, feathers of different colors, all this tapering off into a slimy, discolored fish. After laughing at this, and more composites like it, he gives the aspiring poet a master's advice: "Make it anything at all, so long as it hangs together (*Sit quod vis, simplex dumtaxat et unum*)."[11] Likewise, to al-Jāḥiẓ: "the best achieved poetry should be a more free-flowing, cohesive unit. This way one knows that it was also melted and cast all as one."[12] These general remarks of aesthetic principle, however, have run their course almost as soon as they are issued. Most of all one must not carry them over into poetic practice as truly interchangeable or analogically valid from one literary tradition to another, particularly not on the level of genre and structure. As much as the mimetic principle applies to the handling in Arabic poetry of subject, theme, and motif, its implication of an "organic" concept of form and structure strikes a discordant note with basic Arabic ideas of form. With regard to form, we must, in our Arabic case, approach poetry not from the Aristotelian mimetic side, formulated by Horace in "ut pictura poesis"; instead, we must paraphrase Horace into "ut musica

[11] See the whole argument in the first sixty-odd verses of *Ars Poetica* and its discussion by William K. Wimsatt, Jr. and Cleanth Brooks in *Literary Criticism: A Short History* (New York, 1965), pp. 81–82.

[12] See al-Jāḥiẓ quoted in Ibn Rashīq, *Al-'Umdah fī Maḥāsin,* 1: 257.

poesis" — this without the Herderian romantic intention — and leave aside all associations with the Platonic "language of the souls" and the psalmodic-rhythmic properties of Arabic versification. What ought to concern us here is the poetic mood as subject or theme, its structural function in the poem, and the analogies with music on the level of the same structural function of mood-determined theme.

When the Greek lyrical poet Alcaeus left us the fragment presently referred to as the *Maiden's Complaint,* he seems to have posed a problem to classical literary criticism. The poem's opening verse is concerned with a maiden's complaints about some great sorrow, yet the next subject is the belling of a stag. "No one has satisfactorily explained this connection," remarks Albin Lesky.[13] In the Arabic lyrical tradition, where the easily dismissed Greek anomaly is the norm, the riddle nonetheless stands. The structural-thematic elements of the *qaṣīdah,* in their abrupt changes, contrasts of subjects, and reversals of moods, have not been "satisfactorily explained" either.

Attempts have been made, perhaps legitimately, to tell the Arabic *qaṣīdah* as a story. Such an approach, however, is obviously simplistic, and its validity is that of a secondary allegory. It is retold here only to serve for subsequent reference. Thus we first meet the poet pensive and suffering in the abandoned encampment scene, for his memories of his beloved have been awakened. Logically, therefore, there follows almost a cinematographic change of scenery, a flashback, and in it the beloved herself appears. The daydreaming and erotic fantasizing ends when the poet regains self-control. He mounts his camel and rides forth. The journey is difficult, but his bravery is great and the qualities of his riding beast are formidable. So the poet reaches what proves to be his real goal: the court or presence of his king or benefactor. The appearance at court with a eulogy is the final major theme, but it may also be followed by a brief return to one of the previous moods, as, for instance, by the poet's expression of self-esteem or by a recourse to epigrammatic maxims.

Putting such efforts at forcing a cohesive story aside, however, we are left in the Arabic *qaṣīdah* with three or four topics, at times evenly developed until they appear to be self-contained units, paratactically strung into a random containing structure. In fact, these sections in themselves are like rigorous formal units with individualized theme, mood, and diction. Under such conditions, the abrupt change from one section to another is bound to produce in the listener or reader an emotive

[13] Albin Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature* (New York, 1966), p. 137.

jolt, an awakening from one particular mood in the face of perhaps not discordant, but certainly different, stimuli. The aesthetic reception of such changes is what in the end determines the aesthetic quality of the given poetic form, that is, the *qaṣīdah*. For this reason, Arabic *qaṣīdah* criticism insists on circumstances which would counterbalance the jarring effect of these violent changes of theme and mood. In the main there is the critical attempt to establish a rule of balance and harmony between the thematic component units of the *qaṣīdah*. The result should then be an even, or harmoniously adequate, development of each section, so that changes from one mood to another would take place after the satisfying effect of full thematic development has been obtained. Furthermore, the balance between theme and theme, mood and mood, will ensure the duration of a compounded, satisfying aesthetic effect after the completion of the *qaṣīdah* as a whole.

Although the above elucidation of the Arabic ode corresponds in spirit to what one should call the Arabic neo-classical critical period (third to fourth centuries H.), its practical, poetic basis is not only of its own time, but also of the autochthonously classical *Jāhilīyah* of the *mu'allaqāt*. There had taken place, however, a formal sifting and schematizing of the more inordinately strung thematic sections of the pre-Islamic ode, and there had been an attempt to explain at least the first major contrast of mood which exists between the elegiac-"erotic" *nasīb* and what follows. Yet Ibn Qutaybah, a typical neo-classicist, sees the complex ode too much as an entity with a rhetorical purpose. To him the *nasīb* is there because it is functionally structured into the poem as psychological bait.[14] This sort of structural criticism, motivated by the rhetorical usefulness of the *qaṣīdah* as form, does not tell us enough about the nature of the poetic structure itself. It leaves us uneasy about unresolved, if not unsuspected, formal riddles, for which rhetorical criticism has neither ear nor answer.

If in matters of aesthetics explanations can fail, comparisons must never do so. Thus in the case of the structure of the Arabic *qaṣīdah*, we must return to our paraphrase of Horace's maxim, "as music, so is poetry." In doing so, we must realize that it is particularly the structured, paratactical contrast of moods in the *qaṣīdah* which brings it close to one of the most cherished artistic conventions of the West, namely, the balanced contrast of *tempi* and moods in the structure of the classical sonata or symphony. There, too, the movements are independent units, and the sequence of tempi obeys no immediately evident inner logic, but,

14 Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Shi'r wa al-Shu'arā'*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1966), pp. 74–76.

rather, is based on tradition. Thus, after the opening allegro, there usually follows a sharply antithetical adagio or andante. The third movement may be a minuetto, and the finale a presto or another allegro. As Romain Rolland describes the pre-Beethoven sonata:

The whole structure obeys not merely the fundamental laws of each particular genre but the still more imperative laws of the society to which the work is addressed, — laws of discretion, of good taste, of both technical and moral equilibrium between the various parts. Whatever the emotion or the humour that possesses the artist, he must not wholly abandon himself to it; he stands before a select public, and his first duty is to speak for this before speaking for himself; he must conform to the rules of good company. The first of these is, "*Ne quid nimis!*" Do not insist too much!... It is for this reason that in the order of succession of the several movements care is taken that the mind shall taste of everything without being overborne by anything. . . . Learned yet not pedantic, sensitive yet not doting, gathering at its choice the flowers of feeling but lingering over none of them, this exquisite art is for the lovely butterflies of the salon and is made in their image.[15]

If the eighteenth-century, pre-Beethoven sonata offers a specific analogy in form and spirit to the "exquisite art" of the courtly Abbasid *qaṣīdah,* it corresponds to, or even accentuates, the essential *qaṣīdah's* characteristics as a generic form even as it had crystallized in pre-Islamic times.

Continuing with our formal parallelism between the different symphonic tempi and the themes of a schematized *qaṣīdah,* we note, with regard to the emotional curve in both, that their only difference is that in the sonata the slow and lyrical andante movement comes after an initial allegro, whereas in the *qaṣīdah* the sad and emotional themes of the abandoned encampment and the *nasīb* precede the allegro of the journey or hunt theme.[16] As for the third movement of the symphony, the minuetto, it is as much a courtly theme as the *madīḥ* and the poet's genuflections, polite excuses, and supplications. The final presto of a scherzo or rondo can be conceived as a parallel to the signing off of the *qaṣīdah.*

Western literature has known imitations of the sonata form in mood and structure, but these were either impressionistic approaches to the total sequence of moods in specific musical works or studied experiments in form transplantation, which never acquired a fully literary form-consciousness.[17] The Arabic *qaṣīdah,* on the other hand, possesses the

[15] Romain Rolland, *Beethoven the Creator. The Great Creative Epochs: From the Eroica to the Appassionata* (New York, 1964), pp. 91–92.

[16] It is of interest to note that in the baroque sonata a slow movement does precede a fast one, the sequence then being: slow — fast — slow — fast.

[17] In spite of the imitative nature of Western literary attempts to invade the realm of "musical" forms, Rene Wellek and Austin Warren correctly notice that "it is hard to

highest degree of literary form-consciousness, and it is precisely out of this solidly literary position that formal analogies between it and its musical counterpart become meaningful.

The discussion of the Arabic lyrical phenomenon as genre brings us finally to the thematic composition of the *qaṣīdah*. Here we refer not to the overall aesthetics and mechanics of structure, a glimpse of which we had in the *qaṣīdah*-sonata analogy, but, rather, exclusively to the problem of poetic meaning as it is contained in the main sections of the *qaṣīdah*.

In its extraordinary formal continuity, the Arabic *qaṣīdah* has maintained the most rigorous observance of the canon which rules its content. All through the main creative periods of Arabic literary history, there took place in that form a crystallization of theme and meaning and, as it were, an accumulation of formal solemnity. This crystallization of meaning in a very limited number of structurally determined themes and the formal solemnity of their succession and interplay have an almost ritualistic power over poet and audience. The submersion in the solemn process of the expected is total. It is because of this peculiarly charged crystallization that Arabic poetic forms may be studied as abstractions; and, even more, they must be perceived as abstractions, as quintessential conventions where every bit of formal stylization and thematic congealment reveals a basic abstraction or an underlying symbol. In such quintessences we may even suspect elemental filtrations of ancient concerns of nation and race. As such a valency-laden form, the *qaṣīdah* gives poetic expression a great sense of inner control and self-containment. It draws a precise horizon to a comprehensive aesthetic vision reduced to microcosm. Out of this microcosm, as a pattern of the mind, a habit of thought or mode of vision, it then seems to reach out to a similar need for comprehensive synthesis in an entire culture's view of the world, life, and historical experience. The emergence of this poetic form within the historical process of transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages is in itself significant: quintessential synthesizing was the mold of thought and expression at the cultural threshold from antiquity into the new age. The Arabic culture of the *Jāhilīyah* may be viewed as a geographically marginal culture in itself; but as one born in the shadow of two formidable inheritors of Hellenistic antiquity, Byzantium and Sassanid Persia, it could not escape being part and parcel of the process of gestation which finally produced what we call

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see why repetitive motifs, or a certain contrasting and balancing of moods, though by avowed intention imitative of musical composition, are not essentially the familiar literary devices of recurrence, contrast, and the like which are common to all the arts" (*Theory of Literature*, 3rd ed. [New York, 1956], p. 127).

the medieval man and the medieval mind. It is thus in the meaning of the main sections of the Arabic *qaṣīdah* that some faded features of that remote man and that elusive mind will have to be sought.

The sections of the *qaṣīdah* are obvious. In a thousand *qaṣīdah*s, we have a thousandfold repetition of the series of themes that characterize each section. Such a structure and such themes are certainly obvious. But the strict regularity of the obvious soon begins to produce the contrary effect. As in a precise geometric mosaic looked into too intently, the lines and surfaces begin to acquire a liquid, elusive motion. Soon a vortex of a new dimension of depth draws all surfaces upon itself, and the precision of the geometric lines, the order of the obvious, is no more. Indeed, the monotony and the predictability of the main themes of the *qaṣīdah* produce the effect of numbness; but with this numbness comes a loss of the contours of the obvious, and one begins to have the feeling that what on the surface seems monotonous is capable of unsuspected aspects. Whether this feeling is produced by an absorption into "pure" form or by the intimation of a new meaning is at first difficult to tell. Both sensations are, after all, aesthetic experiences. But unlike the experience of form, that of a new meaning is not exhausted in the aesthetic moment. It can be pursued, grasped, and preserved.

In trying to seize the meaning beyond the theme in the *qaṣīdah,* we are initially guided by the feeling that a rigorous repetition of an identical theme may be the re-enactment of something, and that that something may then be the meaning of the theme. We realize that what the theme tells us is not the story. A story reduced to a quintessence is no longer a story but a symbol, and even as symbol it is a typological manifestation on the level of the archetype. The re-enactment, therefore, is that of the archetype. It is the search for the concreteness of experience in the realm of symbolic connotation. In brief, it is an overtly absurd enterprise whose form of action is the performance of the ritual. In the Arabic *qaṣīdah* we are given both the themtic fixation of the archetype, and the escape from the absurd into the formal sublimation of ritual re-enactment.

In the thematic-structural sequence of the *qaṣīdah,* there are three thematic nuclei in which the archetypal concentration of meaning takes place. These nuclei comprise (a) the theme of loss and yearning (*nasīb*); (b) the travel or "setting out" theme (*raḥīl*); and (c) the themes of praise of self (*fakhr*), praise of others (*madīḥ*), and the reverse of praise, the invective (*hijā'*), in the satirical alternative to the "straight ode."

Taking the Arabic genre-critical standpoint, it is fascinating to see C. S. Lewis extract from the European medieval "primary epic" and the heroic-

courtly literary tradition a theory of thematic range which comes so close to that of the classical *qaṣīdah.* The Arabic form, too, developed within the aristocratic (*khāṣṣah*) social ethos, is either directly "courtly" or — in a broader, tribal sense — a ceremonial ritual which in turn brings it close to what we understand under courtly. Thus, C. S. Lewis writes:

In lines 2105 and following [of Beowulf] we have a performance given by Hrothgar himself. We learn that he sometimes (*hwilum*) produced a *gidd* or lay which was *sop* and *sarlic* (true and tragic), sometimes a tale of wonders (*sellic spell*), and sometimes, with the fetters of age heavy upon him, he began to recall his youth, the strength that once was his in battle; his heart swelled within him as he remembered the vanished winters. Professor Tolkien has suggested to me that this is an account of the complete range of court poetry, in which the three kinds of poem can be distinguished — the lament for mutability . . . , the tale of strange adventures, and the "true and tragic" lay . . . , which alone is true epic.[18]

It is of no passing interest that what C. S. Lewis and Tolkien identify as "the complete range of court poetry" is precisely the *complete range* of the Arabic *qaṣīdah.* Furthermore, the *qaṣīdah,* too, presents certain "genre-tensions" between the lyrical and the epic-dramatic. The three main sections of the *qaṣīdah* — the *nasīb,* the *raḥīl,* and the *fakhr-madīḥ* — are at the same time the main courtly poetic subjects. In the Arabic case, however, the *qaṣīdah* combines all three elements: it is complete, but it has the inevitable triadic tension.

Of this triad, the *nasīb* has exerted the most sustained fascination on those critically concerned with Arabic poetry. But it was, and remains, that part of the *qaṣīdah* whose presence in the poem and reason for being there have been the most consistently distorted and extrapoetically exploited. It is against this background that the present discussion, too, will conclude with the *nasīb* to illustrate how, within the containing structure of the *qaṣīdah,* poetic mood becomes meaning.

Ibn Qutaybah understood the *nasīb* as a conceit on the part of the poet. Its purpose was to captivate the listener's attention; and furthermore, he equated the term with the erotic turn which the whole opening section of the *qaṣīdah* had taken in later development.[19] Sir Hamilton Gibb, with his customary critical precision and cultivated insight, hastens to correct Ibn Qutaybah's statement — at least where the pre-Islamic ode is concerned:

This theme, which is often called erotic, is in fact something quite different. It is an elegiac reminiscence of love; its essential emotional element is the evocation of

18 C. S. Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (London and New York, 1942).
19 Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Shi'r wa al-Shu'arā',* 1: 75.

parting, and it has little in common with the love-poem or *ghazal*, no example of which is to be found in what has come down to us of pre-Islamic poetry. Passages of erotic description occur, but they are clearly distinguished from the *nasīb*-theme. The *nasīb* itself has a function only in relation to the *qaṣīda*.[20]

The supposition that what is involved in the *nasīb* is also a design to captivate attention may, however, be sustained. But a design like this, which is co-essentially embedded in a poetic form or into a whole genre, could not truly be a conscious one, except in the mind of a psychologically naive theorist. It is true that there is an empathy factor involved in a culturally attuned listener's or reader's response to the *nasīb*; but empathy is established from the very start of the ode, from the *maṭla'* and its evocation of abandoned but unforgettable places:

O abodes, in our hearts you abide,
You deserted, they of you so full.[21]

Although not even written by a pre-Islamic poet, this verse — so hauntingly beautiful in its Arabic original — leaves no room for doubt as to

[20] Sir Hamilton Gibb, *Arabic Literature: An Introduction*, 2nd rev. ed. (Oxford, 1963), p. 16. There is one type of *nasīb*, however, discussed by Renate Jacobi under the heading of "Die Erscheinung des Ḫayâl" (in *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde* [Wiesbaden, 1971], pp. 35–37), which comes closest to being a mode of *ghazal*. Jacobi notes that in the earliest poetry it is relatively rare: "Seine mangelnde Beliebtheit mag daher rühren, daß es nicht so geeignet ist, den Liebesschmerz zu motivieren und damit auch die Stimmung der Hörer entsprechend zu beeinflussen [unavoidably Ibn Qutaybah? — J.S.]. In unseren Texten verwendet nur Ṭarafa das Motiv und auch nur einmal selbständig als Grundlage eines Nasîb" (p. 35). The poem in question is Ṭarafah's somewhat chaotically preserved:

'A ṣaḥawta al-yawma 'am shâqatka Hir
wa min al-ḥubbi junūnun musta'ir?

Ḥusayn 'Aṭwān, too, considers this type of *nasīb* to be basically a later development. He sees the love theme as originally part of the "desolate scene" section. Furthermore, he, too, refers us to Ṭarafah's famous *nasīb*. The *khayāl*-type *nasīb*, however, he treats under its specific heading. See his *Muqaddimat al-Qaṣīdah al-'Arabīyah fī al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī* (Cairo, 1970), pp. 95–96 and 104–107. In an approach to the *khayāl*-type *nasīb*, one should notice how this theme relies on molds of metaphoric imagination and language which are part of the imaginative visualization of the *'aṭlāl*. A representative anthology and most perceptive critical study of the *khayāl* theme at the point of its highest development was done by none other than al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, himself one of the finest practitioners of the *khayāl*-type *nasīb*. See his *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* (Cairo, 1962), provided by the editor, Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, with extracts from other pertinent medieval Arabic critical sources.

[21] 'Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, with commentary by Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1964), p. 348:

Laki yā manāzilu fī al-qulūbi manāzilu
'aqfarti 'anti wa hunna minki 'awāhilu.

when the magic of empathy is cast over the listener-reader. And the poet himself, had he seen the deserted abodes and waning campsites with his own eyes? Is the beginning of each one of his poems a concrete experience of sorrow, or is he the first victim of his own conceit? Neither supposition is true. The ode is a way, a manner, an inescapable mold of vision to the poet, as it is to his audience. There can be no conceit in speaking the only way one knows how to speak. The experience of sorrow, too, when it is undergone thousands of times, when it becomes the way of life of the tribe and the race, ceases to demand the explicit, individual moment. It becomes an archetypal symbol of generic experience, without losing the strength to give separate meaning to each pointed instance. Once it is the sea into which the rivers run, another time it is the fountain out of which they flow. In the face of concrete, or poetically recreated, deserted abodes and campsites, both poet and audience are equally able to feel and say: "I have been here, but when and how?" This is the moment of archetypal recognition, and the yearning which follows such recognition is the true tie of empathy. Only this empathy does not "function," as Ibn Qutaybah's *qaṣīdah* theory would have it. It is simply the poem. The eventual erotic continuation of the *nasīb* is then a "development" (sonata) of the dominant theme of loss and desolation.

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Were the Antes Eastern Slavs?*

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1. According to the standard view in Slavic countries (as well as in some non-Slavic ones), the question of whether the Antes were Eastern Slavs does not exist. For example, the authoritative and representative Polish *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* states without hesitation: "Antowie . . . , nazwa oznaczająca w w. IV–VI Słowian wsch[odnich]."[1] This belief is based mostly on two early medieval sources — Jordanes and Procopius of Caesarea. The former stated in his *De origine actibusque Getarum*, completed in 551, perhaps in Ravenna: "Ab ortu Vistulae fluminis per immensa spatia Venetharum natio populosa consedit; quorum nomina licet nunc per varias familias et loca mutentur, principaliter tamen Sclaveni et Antes nominantur." Jordanes returned to the same subject in another place in his book: "hi / = Venethi/, ut in initio expositionis vel catalogo gentium dicere coepimus, ab una stirpe exorti, tria nunc nomina ediderunt, id est Venethi, Antes, Sclaveni."[2] The two passages are not logically well coordinated: the first suggests that a common group called Venetians was composed of the Slavs and the Antes, whereas the second makes one think that the group had three cognate members — the Venetians, the Antes, and the Slavs — with the name of the first also used as a designation for the entire group. If one accepted the assumption of many Slavists that the names of these three member groups reflected three branches of the Proto-Slavic people, one would expect the name "Sclaveni," rather than "Venetians," to be used as the common name for the group as a whole. The other source, Procopius, in his Ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων, written in the years 545–554, after describing the habits of the Slavs and the Antes, states this: ἔστι δὲ καὶ μία ἑκατέροις φωνὴ ἀτεχνῶς βάρ-

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[1] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, vol. 1 (Wrocław etc., 1961), p. 35.

[2] Iordan, *O proisxoždenii i dejanijax gotov: Getica* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 136, 150.

βαρος.[3] But could Procopius, who was born in Palestine, lived in Byzantium, and traveled to Africa and Italy, have known much about the language of the Slavs and the Antes? After all, even in our times of general enlightenment and easy communication, one tends to identify disparate languages in remote ("barbaric") countries as cognate on the basis of their geographic neighborhood.[4] Procopius's linguistic information about the Antes need not have been any better than that of Theophylactus Simocatta, who, in his Ἱστορίαι (602 or later), mentioned a Μουσώκιον τὸν λεγόμενον ῥῆγα τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ,[5] although in reality ῥῆξ was the Latin *rēx* applied by the Byzantines themselves to the chiefs of Slavic and Antian tribes. Thus, the information of Jordanes and Procopius alone is not clear or reliable enough to solve the problem of the ethno-linguistic character of the Antes.

2. It is unnecessary for us to discuss here the enigmatic ethnic name *Cissianti*, mentioned between *Cimmerii, Achaei*, and *Georgili* by the Roman geographer Pomponius Mela in his *De chorographia* (written between 40 and 80 A.D.),[6] repeated by Plinius the Elder in his *Naturalis historia* (completed in 80 A.D.) as *Cissianthi*, again between *Cimmerii* and *Georgi*.[7] The name is connected with *Antes* by the abovementioned *Słownik*. It is only from the 370s on — a period establishable on the basis of Jordanes — that one can talk of the Antes as a people.

3. The etymology of the name *Antes* remains unclear, but its explanation is irrelevant for the question posed here. The ethnic character of a nation does not have to be reflected in its name (e.g., the Slavic Bulgarians have a Turkic name, the Romance French have a Germanic name, etc.).

4. It is rather more important to analyze the personal names of the Antes as they appear in historical sources. The most complete overview of these names to date was done by Stanisław Rospond in 1968.[8] He had no

3 Prokop, *Gotenkriege* (Munich, 1966), p. 528.

4 For example, in the *Census of population. Subject reports. National origin and language* (Washington, 1973), pp. 98, 492, Slavic languages in the United States are called "Balto-Slavonic dialects," and in Max K. Adler's *Welsh and the Other Dying Languages in Europe: A Socio-Linguistic Study* (Hamburg, 1977), p. 1, Prussian is called a Slavic language.

5 Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. by K. de Boor and P. Wirth (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 236; the word is interpreted as Latin and not as being "barbaric" by Marian Plezia, *Greckie i łacińskie źródła do najstarszych dziejów Słowian*, pt. 1 (Poznań and Cracow, 1952), pp. 95, 108.

6 Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia libri tres* (Göteborg, 1971), p. 5.

7 *Histoire naturelle de Pline*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1855), p. 244.

8 Stanisław Rospond, "Słowiańskie imiona w źródłach antycznych," *Lingua Posnaniensis* (Poznań), 12–13 (1968): 99–117.

doubt that the Antes were Slavs; hence his etymologies for their names are consistently Slavic.

4.1. The first Antian name analyzed by Rospond is *Booz*//*Boz*, from Jordanes. Describing the situation after the conquest of the Ostrogoths by the Huns (in the 370s), Jordanes says this about the Ostrogothic king Vinitharius: "paululum se subtrahens ab illis [= the Huns] suaque dum nititur ostendere virtute, in Antorum fines movit procinctum, eosque dum adgreditur prima congressione superatus, deinde fortiter egit regemque eorum Boz nomine cum filiis suis et LXX primatibus in exemplum terroris adfixit, ut dediticiis metum cadavera pendentium geminarent."[9] According to Rospond, the name of the Antian leader is the Slavic **Bosъ* 'Barefooted'.[10] He also cites other Slavic etymologies suggested by Stanisław Urbańczyk in *Słownik* (**Božь* 'Divine,' **Vo(d)žь* 'Chief') as being "less probable."[11] The former would imply that the first palatalization (*gь* > *žь*, etc.) had already occurred in Slavic by the 370s, which is not particularly convincing because this palatalization was not yet completed in the 5th or 6th c. (or even later), when the Slavs were colonizing the upper Dnieper region. It was after that colonization that the Baltic *Akesa*, etc., changed into *Očesa*, etc.[12] Even less acceptable is *Vo(d)žь*, because it would suggest that the local East Slavic *dj* > *ǯ*//*ž* change occurred in a period when the common Slavic language still existed. For the Ukraine George Y. Shevelov dates it to the 8th c.,[13] but it may have been even later.[14]

[9] Iordan, *O proisxoždenii*, p. 170.

[10] Rospond, "Słowiańskie imiona," p. 102.

[11] Rospond, "Słowiańskie imiona," p. 103; cf. *Słownik*, 1:155. The *Božь* etymology was already suggested by Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj in *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1913), p. 177.

[12] George Y. Shevelov, *A Prehistory of Slavic* (New York, 1965), p. 252; Zdzisław Stieber, *Zarys gramatyki porównawczej języków słowiańskich: Fonologia* (Warsaw, 1969), p. 67.

[13] George Y. Shevelov, *A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language* (Heidelberg, 1979), p. 70.

[14] The records dating to A.D. 948–952 in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De administrando imperio*, ed. by G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Dumbarton Oaks, Wash., 1967), still show a hesitation on *tj* > *č*, which was obviously simultaneous with *dj* > *ǯ*: Βερούτζη < **Vьrǫtьjь* (pp. 60–61), τῶν Κριβιτζῶν < **Krivitjь* (pp. 62–63) //οἱ Κριβηταιηνοὶ (pp. 56–57). An earlier anonymous Arabic source, dating to the late 9th c., gives the Proto-South-Russian tribe the name **Vętitji*, not *Vjatiči*: وايب = *وانيت, an emendation confirmed by later Arabic and Khazar-Jewish sources (Tadeusz Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, vol. 2, pt. 2 [Wrocław, etc., 1977], pp. 35, 110–11).

To support the *Bosъ* etymology (also taken from Urbańczyk), Rospond refers to a passage in the Old Ukrainian *Слово ѡ пълку Игоревѣ* of 1187:

> Се бо́ го́тьскыя кра̑ныя дѣ́вы, въ̑пѣша на́ брѣ́зѣ си́немъ мо́рю. звона̑ Роу̑кы̑ злато̑. поють вре́мя Боу́сово. лелѣю̑ ме́сть Шарока́ню.[15]

Rospond accepted the old view (first expressed by Omeljan Ohonovs'kyj in 1876) that *Боусъ* equalled *Booz* in Jordanes. But if Booz was an Eastern Slav who fought against Goths, why did Gothic girls (in Crimea or in Tmutorokan', under Cumanic rule) sing about "Booz's times," rather than about "Vinitharius's times," i.e., the victories of their ancestral king over Booz, the supposed ancestor of the Ruthenians? After all, the Goths were then on the Cumanic side, they shared in their Ruthenian booties (звона̑ Роу̑кы̑ злато̑.), and they dreamed of Cumanic revenge for Şaruxān,[16] the Cumanic khan who was defeated or assailed by Ruthenians in 1068, 1107, 1111, and 1116.[17] The only logical conclusion is that *Боусъ* was considered by the Maeotic Goths to be their own hero. Since the Slavic *u* corresponds to *ō* in loanwords from Gothic (e.g., **buky* < *bōka,* 'sign of script'), we might assume that the name was something like **Bōs* in Gothic. A similar feminine name really existed in West Gothic: *Bōsō,* of uncertain date, probably meaning 'Sorcerer'.[18] Its masculine equivalent could be **Bōs* or **Bōsa* (cf. Anglo-Saxon *Bōsa,* from the 7th c.).[19]

15 Volodymyr Peretc, "Slovo o polku Ihorevim," *Ukrajins'ka akademija nauk: Zbirnyk Istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu* 33 (1926): 112.

16 "Yellow Ruler." Although accepting this etymology, Karl H. Menges, in "The Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the Oldest Russian Epos, the Igor' Tale," *Supplement to Word* (New York), 1951, no. 1, p. 65, questioned whether it could not be the Proto-Bulgarian **Šaraqan* 'Dragon'. Supporting the accepted etymology, however, is the existence of the Turkish and Azerbaijani masculine names *Sarıhan*//*Sarhan* and *Сархан,* respectively. Şemsettin Kutlu, *Türkçe kadın ve erkek adları* (Ankara, 1969), p. 85; A. R. Maxmudov, *Fonetičeskie osnovy peredači azerbajdžanskix imen sobstvennyx na russkom jazyke i russkix imen sobstvennyx na azerbajdžanskom jazyke* (Baku, 1973), p. 66.

17 Peretc, "Slovo o polku Ihorevim," pp. 264–65.

18 M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg, 1911), pp. 52, 283; F. Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1934), p. 16.

19 Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* p. 16; Hans Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien* (Berlin, 1912), p. 82.

4.2. Rospond also considers the personal name in the following passage to be Antian, i.e., East Slavic: τοῖς Ἄνταις ἡσσηθῆναι τῶν ἐναντίων [= Σκλαβηνῶν] τετύχηκεν. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Σκλαβηνὸς ἀνὴρ τῶν τινα πολεμίων ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα, Χιλβούδιον ὄνομα, αἰχμάλωτον εἷλεν (Procopius, Ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων).[20] Rospond interpreted this as Slavic **Xvalibudъ*, 'the Awakener of glory'.[21] He had to admit, however, that "the first component is unclear." Apart from the phonetic difficulties (Χιλ(ι) = *Xvali-* ?), the semantic-formal interpretation is untenable because *Xvali-* in Slavic names is a verbal (optative), and not nominal, element, which is followed by a nominal (objective), and not verbal, one, e.g., **Xvalibogъ*, 'Praise God', **Xvalimirъ* 'Praise peace', **Xvalislavъ*, 'Praise glory', etc.

The -βούδιος element makes one think of Germanic names with the second component coming from the Indo-European stem **bheudh-*// **bhoudh-*//**bhudh-*. The closest equivalent to our name is the 7th c. German *Hillibodo*//*Hildibodo*, 'Battle messenger'[22] (Old High German *hiltia*, 'battle', and *bodo*//*boto*, 'messenger' < Proto-Germanic **buðan* < **bhudhōn*). The first component of this name (**xilði*, Gothic **hildi*) shows a similar *ld* > *l*(*l*) simplification, as we see in Χιλβούδιος//Χιλιβούδιος (the latter, more complete form is known from a Constantinople sepulcher dating to 529).[23] As for the reduction of the final vowel in *hildi*, cf. the 6th c. East Gothic name Ἰλδούφ//Ἴνδουλφ, 'Battle wolf'.[24] This syncope of the final vowel in the first component occurred especially before the labial *w* (as in Gothic *wulfs*, 'wolf') of the second component.[25] Apparently the same was true before the labial *ƀ*, into which Gothic *b* developed in an intervocalic position (as was the case in Χιλιβούδιος).

But apart from the West Germanic *-*buðan* names, there were also some with a different form of the second component: *-*bauðijaz* < *-*bhoudhijos*, most likely having the same meaning.[26] In particular, we see it in the Gothic *Cannabaudes* of ca. 300 A.D.,[27] probably meaning

[20] Prokop, *Gotenkriege*, pp. 522–24.
[21] Rospond, "Słowiańskie imiona," p. 104.
[22] Ernst Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1900), pp. 823–24. Förstemann adduced Χιλβούδιος from Procopius, with a question mark.
[23] Lubor Niederle, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Prague, 1906), p. 196.
[24] Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien*, p. 47; cf. Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 45.
[25] Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 129.
[26] Cf. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, p. 249; Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 42.
[27] Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 60; Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 13.

"Messenger of a sign," cf. Old Nordic *kanna*, 'mark, sign (Kennzeichen)', and Gothic *-kannjan*, 'to make known', as well as a number of other Germanic names: 4th c. *Bainobaudes*, 'Messenger of help', 4th c. Alemanic *Hariobaudes*, 'Army messenger', 4th c. Frankish *Merobaudes*, 'Glorious messenger', etc.[28] Thus the Gothic equivalent of the German *Hillibodo* may have been **Hil*(*i*)*baudeis* (built like other *i̯o*-nouns with a long-vowel root, e.g., *xirðii̯az* > *haírdeis*, 'shepherd'). The monophthongization of *au* into an ού in Χιλ(ι)βούδιος can be explained as a tendency in north Pontic Gothic, as recorded by the Dutchman Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecke in 1560–62 in the Crimea, e.g., classic Gothic *augona*, 'eyes', *haubid*, 'head' — Crimean Gothic *oeghene, hoef* (Dutch *oe* = *ū*).[29] Thus we can establish the Gothic form of our name as **Hil*(*i*)*būdeis* (with *ei* pronounced as *ī*). Since Greek names in -ις were considered abbreviations of -ιος names,[30] our name could easily have received the Greek -ιος ending. In general terms, the Germanic origin of this name was considered "doubtless" by Max Vasmer in 1942.[31]

Procopius reported that the name Χιλβούδιος belonged not only to an adolescent Antian captive, but also to a well-known Byzantine troop commander who fell while fighting the Huns, Antes, and Slavs ca. 533. This commonality of names allowed the young Antian captive of the Slavs to pretend to be the fallen Byzantine commander.[32] Apparently, **Hil*(*i*)*būdeis*, 'Battle messenger', was a popular name among the bellicose eastern Germanic people in the 6th c., for we encounter three different persons with this name during the brief period of the 520s and 530s.

4.3. The next name analyzed by Rospond is Δαβραγέζας in Ἱστοριῶν τόμοι ε', by Agathias of Myrina, who died in 582 leaving his work unfinished. In the description of a Byzantine war in Georgia (Caucasus) against Persia, Agathias mentions the following officers of the Byzantine army: Δαβραγέζας, Ἄντης ἀνήρ, ταξίαρχος, καὶ Οὔννός τις λοχαγός, Ἐλμίγγειρος ὄνομα.[33] Rospond interprets the former (Antian) name as

28 Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 42, 127, 167, 298.
29 Max Hermann Jellinek, *Geschichte der gotischen Sprache* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926), p. 97.
30 W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, vol. 1 (Braunschweig, 1875), p. xviii. Cf. the change of Latin *-is* words into -ιος ones in Byzantine Greek: Stamatios B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Kroniken* (Göttingen, 1913), p. 185.
31 M. Vasmer, "Beiträge zur slavischen Altertumskunde," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* (Berlin), 18 (1942): 55 (reprinted in M. Vasmer, *Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde*, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1971], p. 915).
32 Prokop, *Gotenkriege*, pp. 520–23, 525–31.
33 Agathias Myrinaeus, *Historiarum libri quinque* (Messina, 1969), p. 170.

Slavic **Dobrogostь*,[34] which cannot be considered a satisfactory explanation. Earlier, in 1938, J. J. Mikkola tried to interpret the name in question as Slavic **Dobrojězdь*,[35] but M. Vasmer rightly rejected this idea[36] (as Rospond also did) because no Slavic names with a *-jězdь* element are known. Instead, Vasmer proposed a Germanic interpretation: **Dapragaizaz*, '(Having) a heavy spear'. This is an attractive suggestion in view of the West Gothic (Vandalic) antonymical personal name of the 5th c., *Radagaisus*, '(Having) a light spear' (*raþs*, 'light', **gais*, 'spear').[37] The Gothic *ai* normally turned into *ē* at a later stage: e.g., the 6th c. West Gothic name *Gēsalēcus*, '(Doing) a spear dance', the 5th c. Gothic name *Gēsimundus*, '(Having) spear protection', the 6th c. East Gothic hypocoristic name *Gēsila*, '(Having) a little spear', etc.[38] The unexpected β rather than π, before ρ, can be explained by a Turkic mediation, cf. Turkish *Kıbrıs* from the Greek Κύπρος. After all, we see a Turkic (Hunnic) 'Ελμίγγειρος[39] right alongside our taxiarch **Dapragēs*. It is doubtful that the Greek -ας represents the archaic Germanic *-az* ending. It may, rather, have been built on the Gothic dative **Dapragēza*, to which an -ς was added because a man's name in -α would sound strange in Greek (i.e., as if it belonged to a woman), whereas there were many Greek masculine names in -ας.

4.4. The other three Antian names listed by Rospond belonged to an Antian envoy to Avars, to his father, and to his brother. They are recorded in the fragments of a history by Menandros, who wrote in 582 in Byzantium: Πιεζόμενοι δ'οὖν ταῖν τῶν πολεμίων [= 'Αβάρων] ἐπιδρομαῖς ὡς οἱόν τε ἐπρεσβεύσαντο ὡς αὐτούς, Μεζάμηρον τὸν 'Ιδαριζίου, Κελαγαστοῦ ἀδελφόν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν χειροτονήσαντες.[40]

4.4.1. Rospond interprets the first name as Slavic **Mežьmirъ*, 'Interglorious' (*sic*), with the East Slavic change *dj* > *ž*.[41] Here, we can repeat the objections raised against the reconstruction of *Booz* as East Slavic

[34] Rospond, "Słowiańskie imiona," p. 105.

[35] J. J. Mikkola, *Die älteren Berührungen zwischen Ostseefinnisch und Russisch* (Helsinki, 1938), p. 21.

[36] Vasmer, "Beiträge," p. 915.

[37] Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 35, 79; Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, p. 1211. Cf., with a different interpretation, Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 182–83; Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien*, p. 55.

[38] Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, p. 646; Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 107; Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 35.

[39] This name is left unexplained by Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1958), p. 123.

[40] *Historici Graeci minores*, vol. 2, ed. by L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 5–6.

[41] Rospond, "Słowiańskie imiona," pp. 106–107.

Vožь: such a change was simply impossible for the year 582. The semantics of *Mežьmirъ* is hardly acceptable, either. In Slavic names **-mirъ*// **-mĕrъ* signified "peaceful community," "the peaceful," or "peace," rather than "glorious," and such names usually contained a verb in the first component (**Voldimirъ* 'Rule the peaceful', **Kazimirъ* 'Disturb peace', **Xvalimirъ* 'Glorify peace', etc.).

The name Μεζάμηρος should, instead, be ranked together with the numerous Gothic names in *-mīr(us)*//*-mēr,* with the usual Gothic *ē*/*ī* hesitation, probably because of a narrow pronunciation of *ē*,[42] from the Proto-Germanic **mēraz,* 'glorious'[43] (in Gothic this archaic form is preserved in names only; otherwise *mēreis,* a *i̯o-* stem adjective, is attested to in *wailamēreis,* 'of good reputation'). The first element is usually a noun (e.g., 4th c. *Fredumīrus* 'Glorious in peace', *Gundemīrus* 'Glorious in battle', 6th c. *Vidimēr* 'Glorious in forests', 6th c. *Thiudemēr* 'Glorious in the nation'), but not infrequently it is also an adjective (e.g., *Armīrus* 'Glorious for being ready', 6th c. Vandalic 'Οάμηρ 'Glorious for being high', 6th c. Vandalic *Geilamir* 'Glorious for being joyful', etc.).[44] The first element of Μεζάμηρος can be identified with the Gothic adjective *maiza,* a masculine comparative meaning "greater." Thus, the Gothic form of our name should be **Mēzamīrs,* with the *ai*>*ē* change. Its meaning was "Glorious for being greater." It is obvious that such a name would be adapted in its suffix to Greek names of the Ὅμηρος type.

4.4.2. 'Ιδαρίζιος is interpreted by Rospond as Slavic **Idarъ* or **Idorъ.* He identifies the anlaut with the Slavic *i-* in **iti,* 'to go', or in **inъ,* 'other', and the second element with **darъ,* 'gift'; he explains -ίζιος as a Greek dialectal form, rather than as the normal patronymical -ιδης suffix. This etymology is so improbable in its Slavic application that its refutation is superfluous. To discredit his etymology even more, Rospond identifies the anlaut in the Old Ukrainian *Игорь,* of Scandinavian origin, with that in his "Slavic" *Idarъ.* In reality, *Игорь* < Scandinavian *Yngvarr* comes from **Inguhari,* '(One of) Ingu's (Freyr's) army'.[45]

The final -ρίζιος makes one think of Germanic names with the **rēðaz,* 'rede, advice' element (Gothic **rēþs,* usually recorded with an *ī* in names

42 Jellinek, *Geschichte,* p. 45.
43 Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien,* pp. 53, 143; Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache,* 20th ed., by W. Mitzka (Berlin, 1967), p. 461.
44 Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch,* p. 570; Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch,* pp. 104–105; Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien,* pp. 35, 46, 53; Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* pp. 8, 32, 40, 124.
45 Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien,* p. 96.

and only among Western Goths with an *ē*).[46] They were often rendered with -ρις by Greek authors.[47] Examples are 6th c. Vandalic *Γειλαρις, genitive Γειλάριδος, '(Giving) joyful advice'; 6th c. East Gothic Λεύδερις '(Giving) people's advice', 6th c. East Gothic Ὄπταρις '(Giving) oft advice'; 6th c. East Gothic Ῥάγναρις '(Giving) council's advice'; 6th c. East Gothic Οὐάλαρις '(Giving) favorite advice'; Gothic *Brandarīz* '(Giving) sword advice'.[48]

For the first element we can posit the Gothic **iþs*, genitive **idis*, 'business', as in West Gothic *Itemundus* of uncertain date (= Nordic *Iðmundr*), meaning "(Giving) business protection."[49] Thus, if we assume an *ă*-stem in the first component, we would get something like **Idarīþs*, '(Giving) business advice'. The Greek ending of the name may have been built on the Gothic genitive **Idarīdis*, in which *-is* was replaced by -ιος, as in **Hilbūdeis*, and -διος expressed by -ζιος, because ζ could be a substitute for *d* (as Rospond noted) or *dj*.[50]

4.4.3. Rospond makes Κελαγαστός or Κελαγαστής into Slavic **Kaligostъ* (from **kaliti*, 'make glowingly hot'), for which purpose he takes the erroneous form Καλαγαστος.[51] This interpretation is structurally improbable because Slavic -**gostъ* names usually begin with an adjectival component (**Dobrogostъ* 'Good guest'; **Milogostъ* 'Nice guest'; **Radogostъ* 'Welcome guest', etc.). The name in question has played an important role for Slavists because it seemed to date the fall of diphthongs in Proto-Slavic: **Kailagastu* > **Kēlagastu* (before a final **Cělogostъ*, 'Healthy guest').[52] Semantically and structurally, this etymology might be acceptable.

But Vasmer noted that the Slavic etymology of this name is not the only possible one. He pointed to the Gothic *-gasts* names and suggested a con-

46 Burgundian *Baldaredus* of A.D. 487 = "(Giving) bold advice"; 6th c. West Gothic *Theodoredus* = "(Giving) people's advice," etc. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 43, 226.
47 Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 69.
48 Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 105, 154, 178, 184, 251–52; Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 17, 79, 119.
49 Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien*, p. 97; Holthausen, *Gotisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 54.
50 Hans Krahe, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen (Laut- und Formenlehre)* (Würzburg, 1948), p. 33; H. C. Muller, *Alt- und Neugriechisch*, fasc. 1 (Leiden, 1895), p. 28.
51 Rospond, "Słowiańskie imiona," p. 107; the mistaken Καλα- is taken from Plezia, p. 84. Although Rospond also cites *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. by K. Müller, vol. 4 (Paris, 1851), p. 204, he obviously did not consult this book because it has the Κελαγαστοῦ form, only.
52 Stieber, *Zarys*, p. 68. He establishes an improbable Slavic **Kelagasti* from Κελαγαστής (we only know Slavic names with *-*gostъ*).
53 Vasmer, "Beiträge," p. 916.

nection with the Old Nordic *kalla* = English *call* in the first component.[53] Vasmer was right in the second part of his suggested etymology, only. Germanic **-gastiz* names were at least as common as Slavic *-gostь* ones. But Vasmer's idea of positing a verbal first component is just as unfortunate as Rospond's proposal, because Germanic **-gastiz* names also begin with semantically adjectival (grammatically often nominal) components: e.g., 6th c. East Gothic *Cunigastus*, 'Kin's guest'; 5th c. Frankish *Arvagastes*, 'Quick (ready) guest'; 4th c. Chamavian Νεβιόγαστος, 'New guest'; Nordic *Góðgestr*, 'Good guest'; 8th c. Frankish *Hartigast*, 'Hard guest', etc.[54] The Slavic **Kailagastu* etymology can be easily transposed into the Germanic **Hailagastiz*, having the same meaning. Such a name is actually known in Germanic (Nordic *Heilgestr*),[55] whereas the Slavic **Cělogostь* is unknown from any record other than the uncertain place in Menandros. The normal late Gothic form would be **Hēlagasts*. In view of the Gothic names of Kelagastos's father and brother and of all other Antes known to us, the Gothic etymology of his name is more natural than the Slavic one. *K-* instead of *X-* was a frequent Greek and Latin substitution in the early records of Germanic names.[56] An additional factor could have been the attraction to the Greek names beginning with Κελα- (for instance, Κελαδιανός, Κελάδιος, Κέλαδος, Κελαινός, etc.).[57]

5. In concluding, we can state that the Antes were most likely north Pontic Goths (ancestors of the Crimean Goths), rather than Slavs, let alone Eastern Slavs. Their conflict with the Ostrogoths in the 370s was apparently an intra-family feud, like the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. This conclusion may sadden Ukrainians, who have become accustomed, since Hruševs'kyj's time, to consider the Antes as their glorious ancestors.[58] It may also worry those Circassians who have considered the Antes to be their ancestors since Nogmov's collection of legends.[59] Finally, it

53 Vasmer, "Beiträge," p. 916.
54 Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 31–32, 172; Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien*, pp. 38, 40, 44.
55 Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien*, p. 146.
56 Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, p. 22.
57 Pape, *Wörterbuch*, 1:642–43.
58 Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, "Anty," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka* (Lviv), 21 (1898); idem, *Istorija*, 1:165 ff., 172 ff., 366 ff., 546 ff.
59 Schora-Bekmursin Nogmow, *Die Sagen und Lieder des Tscherkessen-Volks* (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 4 ff. It is possible, however, that some traditions of the Antes were absorbed by Circassian folklore from the Tetraxite Goths — in particular, the tale of Baksan, who was "vom Könige der Gothen mit allen seinen Brüdern und achtzig der vornehmsten Narten getötet" (Nogmow, *Die Sagen*, pp. 30–31); cf. the place about Booz in Jordanes quoted above.

may worry those Ostyaks and other Finno-Ugric people whose historical pride may have been stirred up by a new Soviet Antian theory.[60] But myths, though they be part of a national tradition, should not be cultivated in scholarship.

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[60] M. V. Fedorova, *Slavjane, mordva i anty: K voprosy o jazykovyx svjazjax* (Voronež, 1976), pp. 62 ff. (*Anti* = *Hanti,* Ostyaks, an Ob-river Ugric people). The whole book, although published by Voronež University, is amateurish.

‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī: *Bakhshī* and *Beg*

MARIA EVA SUBTELNY

By far the most outstanding eastern Islamic court in the second half of the fifteenth century was that of the Timurid prince, Sultan Abū ’l-Ghāzī Ḥusain Mīrzā, known as Ḥusain Baiqara, the great-grandson of Timur. That his court at Herat, where he ruled from 1469–1506, presented a picture of intense cultural activity was already noted by contemporary writers. Davlatshāh (d. 1494/95?) wrote that his rule was characterized by a general preoccupation with artistry (*hunarmandī*) and the fostering of art (*hunar-parvarī*).[1] Bābur (d. 1530), who visited Herat soon after Ḥusain Baiqara’s death, wrote about it in his diary in glowing terms: “His was a wonderful age! In it, Khorasan and above all Herat was full of learned and matchless men. Whatever task a man took up, he aimed and aspired at bringing that work to perfection.”[2]

It would not be an overstatement to say that the de facto overseer of the cultural life at the Herat court was Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Navā’ī (1441–1501). He personally encouraged and financially supported the numerous poets, painters, musicians, calligraphers, architects, and historians who produced a breadth of cultural activity which some later Western scholars have called the “Timurid Renaissance.” Muḥammad Ḥaidar (d. 1551), author of the *Tārīkh-i rashīdī,* stressed that it was ‘Alī Shīr who was responsible for the careers of the most talented people of the time. Fakhrī Haravī, translator of ‘Alī Shīr’s *Majālis an-nafā’is,* named him the single most influential figure in cultural life within recent memory: “So many matchless and excellent calligraphers, singers, musicians, painters, gilders, artists, writers, composers of *mu‘ammā* and poets thrived under

1 Davlatshāh (Dawlatshāh), *The Tadhkiratu ’sh-shu‘arā* (hereafter Davlatshāh), ed. by Edward G. Browne (London, 1901), p. 481.

2 Bābur, *The Bābar-nāma* (hereafter Bābur), facsimile ed. by Annette S. Beveridge (Leiden, 1905), fol. 177b; Bābur, *The Bābur-nāma in English* (hereafter Bābur trans.), trans. by Annette S. Beveridge (London, 1969), p. 283.

his patronage that it is not known whether [as many] have ever been in evidence at any other time."[3]

Because of his prominence as patron and philanthropist during almost the entire reign of Ḥusain Baiqara — a role reinforced by his own literary accomplishments — 'Alī Shīr was well served by his numerous panegyrists. The effect of their works, however, was a certain stylization that neglected specific details and blurred the nature of his position at the court and of his relationship to Ḥusain Baiqara.[4] Moreover, this idealization was reflected in the secondary literature, particularly in the depiction of his personal relationship to Baiqara. F. A. Belin, for example, author of "Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chîr Névâii" (1861), one of the first Western scholarly articles devoted to 'Alī Shīr, described the basis of this relationship thus: "Seated side by side in the same school, these two children became united in a close friendship and they promised each other never to forget the other if later fortune came to smile on one of them. And they kept their word."[5] Subsequent studies by V. V. Bartol'd (1928), E. É. Bertel's (1948), and A. A. Semenov (1960) presented a more credible picture based on the sources, although not without their own erroneous conceptions.[6] A vivid example of the extreme to which the idealization of 'Alī Shīr has been carried is provided in the works of some Soviet Uzbek scholars who, desirous of enhancing his role as the founder of Uzbek literature, have labeled him a "revolutionary" and a "hero of Uzbekistan."[7]

The exact nature of the position that 'Alī Shīr occupied at the Timurid court has, in fact, always been a problematic question. The present study focuses on 'Alī Shīr's family background, his relationship to Ḥusain Baiqara, and the posts he held at court as features that help elucidate the basis of his power and authority. In so doing, it also serves as an introduction to some of the most important problems relating to the structure of the Timurid system of government.

[3] ['Alī Shīr Navā'ī], *The Majalis-un-Nafa'is, "Galaxy of Poets," of Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i: Two 16th. Century Persian Translations*, ed. by Ali Asghar Hekmat (Teheran, 1323/1945), p. 135.

[4] A good example is Khvāndamīr's *Makārim al-akhlāq*.

[5] F. A. Belin, "Notice biographique et littéraire sur Mir Ali-Chîr Névâii," *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 5, 17 (February-March 1861): 180.

[6] V. V. Bartol'd, "Mir Ali-Shir i politicheskaia zhizn'," in *Mir-Ali-Shir: Sbornik k piatisotletiiu so dnia rozhdeniia*, ed. by V. V. Bartol'd (Leningrad, 1928), pp. 100–164; E. É. Bertel's, *Navoi: Opyt tvorcheskoi biografii* (Moscow, 1948); A. A. Semenov, "Vzaimootnosheniia Alishera Navoi i Sultana Khusein-Mirzy," in *Issledovaniia po istorii kul'tury narodov vostoka: Sbornik v chest' akademika I. A. Orbeli* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 237–49.

[7] For some examples, see Semenov, "Vzaimootnosheniia," pp. 237–38.

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND ORIGINS OF 'ALĪ SHĪR

According to Muḥammad Ḥaidar, who as a member of the Eastern branch of the line of Chaghatay ("Mughal") stood closer to the traditions of the old Turkic civilization than his more Persianized counterparts writing in the west, 'Alī Shīr was descended from a family of Uighur *bakhshīs* and his father's name was Kīchkīna Bakhshī.[8]

The word *bakhshī* (from the Sanskrit *bkhikshu*) had originally been used to designate Buddhist monks in the Turkic Uighur Empire, which was centered in Mongolia in the eighth century and in the area of the northern Tarim oases after 840.[9] In the Mongol realms of the Naiman in the twelfth century and of the Chingizids in the thirteenth, the word also came to mean "scribe" or "functionary."[10] The connection between the two meanings is clear. The term designated the class of Buddhist Uighurs of Turkic descent who carried on the tradition of writing documents in the Uighur script they devised. Because of the paramount role they played in the "civilizing process" of the Chingizid Mongols — that is, providing them with a written language and establishing a bureaucratic or chancellery apparatus — they were regarded as repositories of a higher (sedentary, but Turkic) culture and thus enjoyed great respect.[11] The bakhshīs continued to play this role — although diminished somewhat, because of the universal adoption of the Persian language and Arabic script — in the realm of Timur and his descendants[12] and even in the Ottoman realm up until the end of the fifteenth century.[13]

8 "Aṣl-i vay az bakhshīyān-i Ūighūr" — [Muḥammad Ḥaidar], "Iqtibās az Tārīkh-i rashīdī" (hereafter Muḥammad Ḥaidar), ed. by Muḥammad Shafī', *Oriental College Magazine* 10, no. 3 (1934): 156.

9 E. Esin, "The Turkish Baḳši and the Painter Muḥammad Siyāh Ḳalam," *Acta Orientalia* 32 (1970): 83–94.

10 V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 10 vols. (Moscow, 1963–77), 1: 454; B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des mongols* (Paris, 1948), p. 237. For other meanings among various Turkic peoples, see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 5: 501.

11 Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 1: 454. See also the article "Chingiz-khan i mongoly," *Sochineniia,* 1: 446ff.; and René Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), p. 126. See also Esin, "The Turkish Baḳši," pp. 94ff. Was the role of the bakhshīs perhaps comparable to that played by the Chinese mandarin class?

12 Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 5: 167; Esin, "The Turkish Baḳši," pp. 104–106. Bakhshīs were also used by Bābur in the administration of newly-conquered lands; see Bābur, fol. 211b; Bābur trans., p. 338.

13 See E. Birnbaum, "The Ottomans and Chagatay Literature: An Early 16th Century Manuscript of Navā'ī's *Dīvān* in Ottoman Orthography," *Central Asiatic Journal* 20, no. 3 (1976): 160–61; the otherwise valuable article by Hanna Sohrweide, "Dichter

'Alī Shīr thus belonged to the traditional old Turkic cultural elite whose roots went back to the ancient Turkic civilization of the Orkhon and the Turfan and which was constituted by the class of hereditary chancellery scribes.[14] 'Alī Shīr's origins explain admirably the prominent role he was to play in the development of the (Eastern) Turkic (so-called Chaghatay) literary language, and also his militant support of that language over the Persian.[15] In light of 'Alī Shīr's Uighur background, Davlatshāh's praise of his father for taking pains to educate his son despite his being a Turk appears rather naive.[16]

'ALĪ SHĪR'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE FAMILY OF ḤUSAIN BAIQARA

The close friendship of 'Alī Shīr and Ḥusain Baiqara was rooted in a peculiar familial connection which, curiously enough, is mentioned only by Khvāndamīr among contemporary authors. According to Khvāndamīr, 'Alī Shīr's ancestors had been intimately connected with the family of 'Umar Shaikh, one of the sons of Timur and great-grandfather of Ḥusain Baiqara, by ties of fosterbrotherhood (*kūkältāshī*).[17] Furthermore, 'Alī Shīr's family had always been in the service of the Timurid house. His maternal grandfather, Bū Sa'īd Chang, had been a great *amīr* of Mīrzā Baiqara's, the son of 'Umar Shaikh and grandfather of Ḥusain Baiqara.[18] His father, Kīchkīna Bakhshī, called Kīchkīna Bahādur by Sām Mīrzā[19] and Amīr Ghiyāṣ ad-Dīn Kīchkīna by Khvāndamīr,[20] was a notable of the court of Sultan Abū Sa'īd, and, although he did not occupy any official post there, apparently enjoyed great respect.[21] Davlatshāh calls him a chief ("az ṣanādīd") of the Chaghatay people (*ulus*) and a prominent adviser of Abū 'l-Qāsim Bābur.[22]

Little is known about the title of *kūkältāsh* or the conditions under

und Gelehrte aus dem Osten im osmanischen Reich (1453-1600): Ein Beitrag zur türkisch-persischen Kulturgeschichte," *Der Islam* 46, no. 3 (1970): 263–302, neglects to mention the presence of bakhshīs in the Ottoman realm.

14 This is the view of Semenov, "Vzaimootnosheniia," p. 238.

15 He expressed his views on this subject eloquently, if not convincingly, in his *Muḥākamat al-lughatain.*

16 Davlatshāh, p. 495.

17 Khvāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb as-siyar* (hereafter *Ḥabīb*), 4 vols. (Teheran, 1333/1955), 4: 137.

18 Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-yi sāmī* (Teheran, 1314/1936), p. 179; 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, *Majālis,* p. 133.

19 Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa,* p. 179.

20 *Ḥabīb,* 4: 71.

21 Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa,* p. 179; 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, *Majālis,* p. 133.

22 Davlatshāh, p. 495.

which it was held.[23] Khvāndamīr's statement suggests that the title could be inherited, since 'Alī Shīr's family had been so honored since olden times ("az qadīm al-ayyām"),[24] and 'Alī Shīr's younger brother's name does in fact appear in the sources as Darvīsh 'Alī Kūkältāsh.[25] On the other hand, I have not been able to find any substantiation for Bertel's' statement that 'Alī Shīr's father was the foster brother of Ghiyās̱ ad-Dīn Manṣūr, the father of Ḥusain Baiqara, although, in view of the above, this was a distinct possibility.[26] However, the publication in 1952 of a collection of Timurid chancellery documents entitled *Sharaf-nāma* brought to light the fact that 'Alī Shīr was himself the foster brother of Ḥusain Baiqara. A passage from one of these documents, written on behalf of Ḥusain Baiqara and addressed to 'Alī Shīr, reads: "From the beginning of his life, nay, from the very cradle, he [i.e., 'Alī Shīr] has been related to Our Royal Person by reason of fosterbrotherhood."[27]

The title *kūkältāsh* is frequently attested in the *Bābur-nāma* in connection with the names of various important persons.[28] It may be conjectured that the purpose of the institution of *kūkältāshī* was to link non-affiliated Turko-Mongol families of standing with the ruling house, and thus to confer on them a "legitimate" status which would allow them to function with authority alongside the members of the hereditary clans who constituted the backbone of Timurid military power.[29] The families of the culturally significant Uighur bakhshīs, whom the Timurids continued to need in their administration and cultural life, would have fit into this category nicely. The importance of these legitimizing practices and of the role they played in such Mongol successor states as that of the Timurids should not be underestimated.[30]

23 There are no separate studies on this institution. For the etymology of the word, see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, 2, pt. 2: 212, fn. 2; also Tāǧ as-Salmānī, *Šams al-ḥusn*, facsimile ed. and trans. by Hans Robert Roemer (Wiesbaden, 1956), p. 69, fn. 3.
24 *Ḥabīb*, 4: 137.
25 *Ḥabīb*, 4: 188.
26 E. É. Bertel's, *Izbrannye trudy*, vol. 4: *Navoi i Dzhami* (Moscow, 1965), p. 25.
27 "Nisbat-i riżā'" — Hans Robert Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit: Das Šaraf-nāmä das 'Abdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, vol. 3 (Wiesbaden, 1952), fol. 27b; see also fol. 43b.
28 For examples, see Bābur, fols. 83, 152, 237.
29 For what appears to be a vague indication of this, see Tāǧ as-Salmānī, *Šams al-ḥusn*, pp. 69–70 (fols. 92b–93a).
30 John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Minneapolis, 1976), p. 5. A significant example of this is the adoption of the title *gürgen* ("son-in-law") by the early Timurids, starting with Timur, by which they sought to link themselves to the Chingizid house; see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, 2, pt. 2: 47–48, 55, 99.

The close connection of fosterbrotherhood between the families of 'Alī Shīr and Ḥusain Baiqara explains how the two could have been acquainted as children and why they would have studied together.[31]

OFFICIAL POSITIONS HELD BY 'ALĪ SHĪR AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE HEREDITARY CLAN STRUCTURE

In view of 'Alī Shīr's Uighur origins, Bartol'd's statement that he was a member of the "high service aristocracy" ("znatnoi sluzhiloi aristokratii") and that he was by birth an *amīr* (Turk. *beg* or Mongol. *noyon*), a title he held irrespective of any official post, is entirely erroneous.[32] Since he used only Ross's English translation of the *Tārīkh-i rashīdī,* which contains many omissions, including that of the passage in question, Bartol'd could not have known of the Uighur origins of 'Alī Shīr and thus he made his own assumptions.[33]

'Alī Shīr could not have been an amīr or beg by birth since only the members of the paramount Turko-Mongol (Chaghatay) clans — that is, primarily the Barlas (< Barulas), the clan of Timur, but also the Arlat and others[34] who constituted the military aristocracy of the Timurids — were entitled to inherit this title. This explains Bābur's categorical statement that 'Alī Shīr was not Ḥusain Baiqara's beg, but rather his friend (*muṣāḥib*).[35]

Nevertheless, in the sources, 'Alī Shīr's name is always accompanied by the title amīr (or simply *mīr*). He is called 'Alī Shīr Beg by Bābur and given the title *noyon* by Davlatshāh.[36] These three titles were apparently interchangeable, depending on the milieu in which they were used. The Persian chronicles used the Arabic *amīr,* whereas the Turkic population used the Turkic *beg* or, more seldom in the Timurid period, the Mongolian *noyon.*[37] The reason for 'Alī Shīr's title is that in A.H. 876/A.D. 1472, he was appointed to the rank of amīr or beg (*manṣab-i imārat*) of the *dīvān-i a'lā* by Ḥusain Baiqara.[38]

31 Muḥammad Ḥaidar, p. 156; Bābur, fol. 170b; Bābur trans., p. 271.
32 Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 2, pt. 2: 212.
33 Bartol'd's statement has been perpetuated in scholarly works on the subject, particularly because of the availability and popularity of the Minorskys' English translation of his "Mir Ali-Shir i politicheskaia zhizn'," as volume 3 of *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (Leiden, 1962).
34 See Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 5: 172.
35 Bābur, fol. 170b; Bābur trans., p. 271.
36 Bābur, fol. 170b; Bābur trans., p. 271; Davlatshāh, p. 14.
37 See Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 2, pt. 2: 35; Roemer, *Staatsschreiben,* p. 170, fn. 3.
38 *Ḥabīb,* 4: 159–60. This edition gives the incorrect date of A.H. 862/A.D. 1458; the correct date was established on the basis of the chronogram. For the general term *beg,* see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 5: 502.

The appointment of a person to the rank of amīr apparently did not place him on an equal footing with the hereditary begs of the paramount Chaghatay clans, for, on being offered the amirship, 'Alī Shīr argued against accepting it on these very grounds: "In the event that I should take the amirship upon myself, it is well known that, in accordance with the *töre,*[39] some of the Barlas and Arlat *amīr*s will have precedence over me. Thus, accepting the amirship will put me in an inferior position."[40] In view of his objections, Ḥusain Baiqara granted 'Alī Shīr the special privilege of precedence in affixing his seal over that of all the (hereditary) amīrs, with the sole exception of Muẓaffar Barlas.[41] A document in the *Sharaf-nāma* names this seal as the *muhr-i dīvān-i imārat-i buzurg.*[42] Khvāndamīr reports that some people (most probably the hereditary begs) feared that he would exercise his new right, but 'Alī Shīr avoided this sensitive issue by affixing his seal so low on documents that no one could place his seal below his.[43]

'Alī Shīr's appointment as amīr of the *dīvān-i a'lā* raises the important question of the structure of the Timurid system of government, which has not yet been fully investigated. In general, it can be said to have represented a transitional stage from a nomadic and military (Turco-Mongol) to a sedentary (Perso-Islamic) organization and, as a result, to have distinguished between the Turkic and Tajik or Sart estates.[44] This distinction was expressed in an administrative dichotomy: the *dīvān-i buzurg-i imārat* or *Türk dīvāni* (also called *tuvaji dīvāni* and *dīvān-i 'ālī*)[45] dealt with Turkic or military matters, and the *dīvān-i māl* or *Sart dīvāni* dealt with non-Turkic — that is, Iranian — matters and financial matters. The officials of the *Türk dīvāni* were called *dīvān begi* (or *amīr*) and they were assisted by secretaries called *bakhshī*s (see above). The *Sart dīvāni* was run by secretaries called *vazīr* or *navīsandagān-i Tajik.*[46]

It is not entirely clear where 'Alī Shīr's appointed position fitted into this scheme. It has been suggested that the *dīvān-i a'lā* oversaw the activities of both of the *dīvān*s,[47] and it may be that 'Alī Shīr was named amīr of

39 <*törü*—the Turco-Mongol steppe law. For the predominance of the *töre* over the *sharī'a* in Timurid times, see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 5: 171.
40 *Ḥabīb,* 4: 159.
41 *Ḥabīb,* 4: 159. About him, see Bābur, fols. 170–170b; Bābur trans., pp. 270–71.
42 Roemer, *Staatsschreiben,* fol. 28a (p. 97).
43 *Ḥabīb,* 4: 159–60.
44 Woods, *The Aqquyunlu,* pp. 9–11. For the term *Sart,* see H. H. Schaeder, "Türkische Namen der Iranier," in *Festschrift Friedrich Giese* (Leipzig, 1941), pp. 31–32.
45 For this term, see Bartol'd, *Sochineniia,* 2, pt. 2: 50.
46 Roemer, *Staatsschreiben,* pp. 169–70.
47 Cf. W. Hinz in Roemer, *Staatsschreiben,* p. 169, fn. 3.

this body. There is, however, no specific mention in the sources of such a *dīvān* and, most probably, the terms *dīvān-i a'lā* and *dīvān-i 'ālī* both refer to the *Türk dīvāni,* which must, in fact, have stood higher than the *Sart dīvāni,* since it included representatives of the ruling clans.

It is interesting to note that high officials of non-Turkic background could also be granted the rank of amīr or beg. The most noteworthy are the cases of two of Ḥusain Baiqara's principal *vazīrs*, Khvāja Qivām ad-Dīn Niẓām al-Mulk Khvāfī and Khvāja Afżal ad-Dīn Muḥammad, whose appointments made them members of the *Türk dīvāni.*[48] Undoubtedly, the practice of appointing non-Turks to the rank of beg must have met with opposition from the begs of the ruling Barlas clan. In the case of Niẓām al-Mulk Khvāfī, for example, the opposition ended tragically in his death.[49] Other non-Turks of standing at court attempted to avoid the potential for conflict by not accepting official positions.[50]

But the opposition of the hereditary begs must also have extended to persons of Turkic background, whose appointment to the amīrship represented a challenge to their primacy. Thus, well aware of the precariousness of his position with respect to the hereditary begs on whom Ḥusain Baiqara's power depended, 'Alī Shīr avoided official posts and preferred to relinquish any such appointments.[51] He soon resigned from his post as keeper of the seal (*muhr-i buzurg-i humāyūn*), to which he had been appointed at the very beginning of Ḥusain Baiqara's rule in Herat.[52] Likewise, after a year's service he asked to be relieved of his post as governor (*ḥākim*) of the rich and strategically important province of Astarabad, to which he had been appointed in A.H. 892/A.D. 1487.[53] It should be recalled that at first he also refused the amīrship, and that it was only at Ḥusain Baiqara's insistence and the granting of special concessions that he finally agreed to it.[54] Bābur says that after leaving the

48 Bābur, fol. 177; Bābur trans., p. 282; see also Roemer, *Staatsschreiben,* pp. 83ff., 171.
49 Roemer, *Staatsschreiben,* p. 172.
50 For the example of Khvāja 'Atā, see Bābur, fol. 177; Bābur trans., p. 282.
51 The sources usually give the reason as being his extreme modesty and humility: e.g., *Ḥabīb,* 4: 159. Indications are, however, that he was actually an arrogant and difficult person: see Bābur, fol. 170b; Bābur trans., p. 271; Muḥammad Ḥaidar, p. 157.
52 *Ḥabīb,* 4: 159; Bābur, fol. 171; Bābur trans., p. 272.
53 *Ḥabīb,* 4: 179; Bābur, fol. 171; Bābur trans., p. 272. For a refutation of Bartol'd's view that 'Alī Shīr's appointment to this post represented a form of exile from Herat, see Semenov, "Vzaimootnosheniia," pp. 241–44, and A. A. Semenov, "Nekotorye dannye po ékonomike imperii Sultana Khusein-Mirzy (1469–1506)," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR* 4 (1953): 79–81.
54 See above. It may be noted here that 'Alī Shīr was never a *vazīr.* That title was reserved for officials (secretaries) of the *Sart dīvāni,* who as a rule were non-Turks.

governorship of Astarabad, 'Alī Shīr forsook *sipāhīliq* ("soldiering") altogether, meaning positions in the *Türk dīvāni* dealing with Turkic or military matters.[55] Khvāndamīr corroborates Bābur's statement by saying that 'Alī Shīr resigned simultaneously from the governorship (*ḥukūmat*) of Astarabad and from the amīrship (*amr-i imārat*).[56] By *imārat* and *sipāhīliq* Khvāndamīr and Bābur can only mean the rank of amīr or beg to which 'Alī Shīr had been named by Ḥusain Baiqara fifteen years earlier. Moreover, the fact that his resignation from the amīrship greatly pleased Baiqara is proof that his appointment of persons who did not belong to the hereditary clans to the rank of amīr must have created many problems for him that he was only too glad to rid himself of.[57] Interestingly enough, however, even when he no longer possessed the rank of amīr 'Alī Shīr continued to retain the title.

The strength of 'Alī Shīr's position, then, stemmed from the very fact that he stood outside the confining hierarchical structure of the hereditary clans. He himself summed up the unique position he occupied at the court of Herat before becoming amīr thus: "I now belong to the [inner] circle of courtiers (*īchkīyān*) . . . and although I do not hold any office, I sit closer to the celestial throne than any of the great amīrs."[58] The term *īchkī* (or *ichkī*) occurs in the *Bābur-nāma* in conjunction with other terms denoting Bābur's closest personal advisers and retainers (*beg, yigit*).[59] It is also attested in the Uzbek sources of the period where it designates those closest to the khans and sultans and those responsible for the direction of court life.[60]

The position of īchkī was not a formal appointment that entailed the fulfillment of well-defined functions or duties. Rather, it represented a special relationship with the ruler that was based on personal service (*khidmat*) and allegiance typical of feudal society in general. 'Alī Shīr had

55 Bābur, fol. 171; Bābur trans., p. 272.
56 *Ḥabīb*, 4: 184.
57 *Ḥabīb*, 4: 184.
58 *Ḥabīb*, 4: 159. This edition has "itikchīyān," which cannot be correct (for instances where the same word is misspelled in other ways, see pp. 181, 182). I have been unable to consult the Bombay edition (1857) for its variant, but the correct form of the word is *īchkīyān* (from *īch* 'interior'). *Īchkī*, along with *īchkī beg*, is given by L. Budagov (*Sravnitel'nyi slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh narechii*, 2 vols. [St. Petersburg, 1869–1871], 1: 181) to mean "begs or princes present at court, near the person of the khan, . . . courtiers." See also V. V. Radlov, *Opyt slovaria tiurkskikh narechii*, 8 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1893–1911), 1, pt. 2: 1518–19. Pavet de Courteille (*Dictionnaire turc-oriental* [Paris, 1870], p. 99) gives the meaning "intime . . . intérieure" and provides an example in which it is used in conjunction with *muqarrab*.
59 It appears several times in Bābur, fol. 91a.
60 B. A. Akhmedov, *Gosudarstvo kochevykh Uzbekov* (Moscow, 1965), p. 101.

been in Ḥusain Baiqara's service even during his childhood and early youth. When the latter entered the service of Abū 'l-Qāsim Bābur, 'Alī Shīr followed him there, as he would do on many other occasions during the course of his life. Upon Baiqara's accession to power in Herat in 1469, he again came to serve him,[61] and since he had proven his loyalty, Baiqara soon entrusted him with all weighty matters of state.[62] 'Alī Shīr became one of the *khavāṣṣ* of the court, whose honorific title in the documentation of the period was *muqarrab-i ḥażrat-i sulṭānī* — "the one brought near" or "confidant" of the sultan.[63] With his resignation from the amīrship, his position at court became even more favored. Khvāndamīr draws attention to the unusually elaborate and lofty titulature that Ḥusain Baiqara began to employ from that time when addressing him in letters.[64]

'ALĪ SHĪR'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

But the position of īchkī alone, dependent as it was on the fluctuation of royal favor, did not in itself constitute a solid power base. It had to be buttressed by financial independence. Although we do not possess any actual documents apart from incidental references,[65] 'Alī Shīr must certainly have shared in the system of land grants called *soyūrghāl* that was the central feature of the feudal structure of post-Mongol Central Asia and Iran.[66] In the Mongol tradition, the *soyūrghāl* had usually been granted as a military fief; in Timurid times, however, it also came to be granted as a sign of royal favor to members of the civil administration and the religious class and even to outstanding cultural figures without the requirement that they fulfill any particular function.[67] The recipient of a *soyūrghāl* was entitled to all the revenues from the granted land and was immune from taxation as well as from any interference from the central administration.[68]

As a result of this system, persons high in royal favor had at their

[61] *Ḥabīb*, 4: 137.
[62] *Ḥabīb*, 4: 138.
[63] *Ḥabīb*, 4: 137.
[64] *Ḥabīb*, 4: 184.
[65] For example, see the Persian translation of 'Alī Shīr's *Vaqfīya* in 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, *Majālis*, p. kā.
[66] For a general overview, see Heribert Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand türkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden* (Cairo, 1959), pp. 97ff.
[67] Busse, *Untersuchungen*, p. 100.
[68] I. P. Petrushevskii, "K istorii instituta soiurgala," *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie* 6 (1949): 235.

disposal extensive financial resources. Muḥammad Ḥaidar states that during the time that he was amīr, 'Alī Shīr's daily income from his estates was 18,000 *shāhrukhī*s. In addition, he also possessed other resources, in the form of servants, the mint, and the stables, along with all the royal workshops (*buyūtāt*).[69] Other sources estimate his daily income to have been as high as 75,000 dīnārs and his daily expenditures, 15,000.[70] Whatever the exact figure, the fact remains that, with landholdings throughout Khorasan, but particularly in the rich region north of Herat, 'Alī Shīr must have been one of the wealthiest men of his time.[71] Bābur says that not only did 'Alī Shīr not receive any income from Ḥusain Baiqara, but he actually gave him considerable sums of money every year as gifts.[72] It was these extensive personal revenues that allowed 'Alī Shīr to finance a wide range of activities, which included patronage of the cultural life of the court and donation of nearly 400 buildings and complexes in and around Herat.[73]

* * *

Thus, it was 'Alī Shīr's personal relationship to Ḥusain Baiqara, based on the familial connection of hereditary fosterbrotherhood and life-long service within the framework of the old Turkic bakhshī tradition, that formed the basis of his authority at the Timurid court at Herat. The fact that he stood outside the structure of the hereditary Chaghatay clans only worked to his advantage: it afforded him a freedom which even Ḥusain Baiqara, himself subject to that structure, could not achieve.

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69 Muḥammad Ḥaidar, p. 156. For the term *buyūtāt*, see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk: A Manual of Ṣafavid Administration*, facs. ed., trans., with commentary, by V. Minorsky (London, 1943), p. 29. For estimates of the value of a *shāhrukhī* or *kepekī dīnār*, see Semenov, "Vzaimootnosheniia," p. 239; also Bartol'd, *Sochineniia*, 2, pt. 2: 216.

70 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, *Majālis*, p. 134.

71 Bertel's, *Izbrannye trudy*, 4: 106–107.

72 Bābur, fols. 171–171b; Bābur trans., p. 272.

73 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, *Majālis*, p. 134.

The Ukrainian-Crimean Treaty of 1711

OREST SUBTELNY

The attempts of Hetman Ivan Mazepa and his followers to divest themselves of Russian sovereignty suffered a disastrous defeat at Poltava. But that debacle did not signal the end of their efforts. Together with King Charles XII of Sweden, Mazepa took refuge in Bender (today Bendery, in the Moldavian SSR), just inside the Ottoman borders, where the two immediately began to plan how they would recoup their losses. All their hopes rested on drawing the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Porte into a war against Russia.[1] Mazepa did not live to witness the event — he died on 21 September 1709; nevertheless, his successor-in-exile, Pylyp Orlyk, continued to work toward Mazepa's goals.

After the Russian forces established themselves in the Ukraine, it became clear to the Ukrainians that the Crimea would be the next target for Russian expansion. This was also clear to the Crimean khan, Devlet Girei.[2] Realizing that the Russians had to be stopped at all costs, he became an ardent ally of Charles XII and an energetic proponent of an Ottoman declaration of war on Russia. He also realized that any anti-Russian drive would benefit greatly from Ukrainian support. Indeed, both Devlet Girei and Orlyk came to the conclusion that if their respective lands were to stave off the Russians indefinitely, they must cooperate. It was in this context that Orlyk and the Ukrainian émigrés in Bender approached the khan, in the winter of 1710, about the possibility of concluding an anti-Russian alliance.

[1] Cf. S. F. Oreshkova, *Russko-turetskie otnosheniia v nachale XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1971), p. 47ff. Also see S. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and of Modern Turkey* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 203ff.

[2] Devlet Girei was born ca. 1648. He ascended the throne in 1699, but was forced to abdicate in 1702; he returned to the throne in 1708, and again abdicated in 1713. In 1716 he was again on the throne for several months. For more information about him, see V. D. Smirnov, *Krymskoe khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoi porty do nachala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 696ff.

UKRAINIAN-TATAR COOPERATION: THE PRECEDENTS

In turning to the Crimean Tatars for aid against the Russians, the Ukrainian émigrés followed a well-established pattern.[3] It was a pattern not without its paradoxes. Ukrainian Cossackdom had developed some of its most distinctive features of self-government as a result of its constant struggle with the Tatars in the steppe. And yet, when the Ukrainians sought to defend their political individuality, it was to the Tatars that they turned most often for support. Thus, two societies which were inherently antagonistic in socioeconomic and cultural matters often found themselves facing common political enemies, whether these were the Muscovite tsars or, earlier, in the seventeenth century, the aggressive Polish *szlachta*. Indeed, it can be argued that the occasions on which the Ukrainians were able to overcome their deeply rooted anti-Muslim prejudices and cooperate with the Tatars and Ottomans represented the high point of their desire for political self-expression.[4]

This relationship between Ukrainian political individualism, on the one hand, and cooperation with the Muslims, on the other hand, was evident from the outset of Tatar-Ukrainian political relations. In 1620, at a time when the Zaporozhian Host assumed patronage over the Orthodox church in the Ukraine and thereby became the defender of the rights of all Ukrainians against the Polish-Catholic szlachta, Hetman Mykhailo Doroshenko, at the request of one of the Tatar claimants, led the first Cossack military intervention in the internecine struggle for the Crimean throne. What this event signified was a broadening of the Cossacks' political horizons into foreign as well as domestic affairs.

When this process of political maturation culminated in Khmel'-

3 The relations between Charles XII and Devlet Girei were reported in detail by Sven Lagerberg, *Sven Lagerbergs Dagbok under vistelsen hos Tatar-Chan Dowlet Gherey, 1710–1711* (Goteborg, 1896). Lagerberg was a young Swedish officer who served as Charles XII's special envoy to the Tatar khan.

4 There is no general study available of the relations, political or otherwise, between the Ukrainian Cossacks and the Tatars and Ottomans. Some of the major articles dealing with this subject are: B. Baranowski, "Geneza sojuszu kozacko-tatarskiego z 1648 r.," *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948): 276–87. O. Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)," *Oriens*, 1953, pp. 266–98. D. Doroshenko, "Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII stol.," *Časopis Národního musea* 1 (1936): 1–32. D. Doroshenko and J. Rypka, "Hejtman Petr Dorošenko a jeho turecká politika," *Časopis Národního musea* 1–2 (1933): 1–55. O. Ohloblyn, "Petryk, khans'kyi het'man Ukrainy (1692)," *Zbirnyk Istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu Vseukrainskoi akademii nauk* 89 (1930): 40–63. J. Kolmodin, "Mazepa i Turkiet. Debatten om hans och Karl XII: S utlamnade," *Svensk Dagblatt* 16, no. 1 (1925).

nyts'kyi's creation of the Hetmanate, it had the direct support of Khan Islam Girei III and the Crimean Khanate. The major reason Hetman Vyhovs'kyi was able to defy Moscow in 1658 was the military aid provided by the Tatars. The era which epitomized the cooperation of the Ukrainian Cossacks with the Tatars and, especially, with the Ottoman Porte was the hetmancy of Petro Doroshenko (1665–1676). Petro Doroshenko aligned himself completely with the Porte, on the condition that the Ukraine be granted even more autonomy than the considerable freedom that the Moldavian and Wallachian principalities enjoyed. This attempt to incorporate a Christian land voluntarily into the Ottoman Empire was undertaken by Doroshenko only because it offered the best chance for preserving the Ukraine's position as a distinct and truly autonomous political entity.

In the early years of Mazepa's hetmancy, the tendency to search for an understanding with the Crimean Khanate against Moscow was very much alive among certain groups of Ukrainian Cossacks. While Mazepa himself loyally adhered to Moscow's anti-Crimean policy, leading members of the *starshyna,* like Vasyl' Kochubei and Ivan Iskra, who held territories in the exposed southern regiments (*polky*) like Poltava, surreptitiously argued for closer ties with the Crimean Khanate. There was also a vociferous group of Zaporozhians that advocated friendly relations with the Tatars.[5] A major reason for these pro-Tatar attitudes was the trade that had begun to develop between the Ukrainians and the Crimeans in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Ukrainians exported furs and textiles to the Crimea and to the Ottoman Empire in return for salt, rugs, and luxury goods. To the Ukrainian merchants and starshyna involved in the transit trade with the Ottoman Empire, the good-will of the Crimean Tatars was an absolute necessity. Even rank-and-file Zaporozhians counted heavily on trade with the Tatars to obtain such necessities as salt, weapons, etc. Thus, when by launching its Crimean campaigns of 1687 and 1689 Moscow undermined the budding commerce with the Crimea, many Cossacks, especially in the southernmost regiments, were angered. This led to the potentially dangerous episode associated with the mysterious figure of Petro Ivanenko-Petryk.[6]

[5] For a discussion of this "Crimean orientation" among the Ukrainian Cossacks, see O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa i ioho doba* (New York, 1960), pp. 265–67.

[6] The Petryk episode has been thoroughly studied by O. Ohloblyn. See especially his "Dohovir Petra Ivanenka (Petryka) z Krymom 1692 roku," in *Iuvileinyi zbirnyk na poshanu akademika D. I. Bahaliia* (Kiev, 1927), pp. 720–44, and his *Het'man Ivan Mazepa,* pp. 163–95.

In 1692, Petryk, a member of Mazepa's chancellery and a distant relative of Kochubei, secretly left his post and fled to the Zaporozhian Sich. Well-educated and politically experienced, he was soon elected chancellor of the Zaporozhians. Promptly thereafter, Petryk began to agitate for an alliance of the Zaporozhians and all the Ukrainian Cossacks with the khanate against Moscow. With the secret support of Ivan Husak, the Zaporozhian *koshovyi,* he made his way to the Crimea. There, on 26 May 1692, as the self-proclaimed representative of the "Principality of Kiev and Chernihiv, and of the entire Zaporozhian Host and the Little Russian people,"[7] he signed a treaty of mutual aid with the Crimean Khanate.

While it was not very clear who Petryk's supporters were, it was quite clear why he thought that an alliance with the Tatars was necessary. In a letter to the Zaporozhians, Petryk argued that the Ukrainians could expect only harm and oppression from their overlords, whether former — Polish — or, especially, current — Russian. The only way Ukrainian interests could be preserved was for the Ukrainians to rule themselves. This was possible only with the aid of the Tatars. In concluding his long missive to the Zaporozhians, Petryk again warned them to beware of the Muscovites:

> The Muscovite tsars did not take us by force. Our forefathers voluntarily accepted them for the sake of the Orthodox faith. [The tsars] . . . surrounded themselves with our people as if by a wall. . . . And whenever the enemy attacked, it was our towns and villages which were burned and our people who were taken captive. Meanwhile, Muscovy, protected on all sides by our people, escaped damage. And not being content with this, [Moscow] attempts to make all of us its serfs and slaves.[8]

Initially, it seemed that the Zaporozhians were completely behind Petryk. In the summer of 1692, they agreed to join the alliance against the Muscovites. However, when Petryk and about 20,000 of his Tatar allies moved into the Ukraine, the Zaporozhian leaders reneged on their offers of aid. Only several hundred young and poor Zaporozhians (*holota*) went over to Petryk, primarily because of the opportunity to avenge themselves against the land-grabbing starshyna in the Hetmanate, and only secondarily out of anti-Russian feelings. The presence of these anti-starshyna elements and the inevitable pillaging and captive-taking by the Tatars precluded the possibility of any meaningful support for Petryk in the Hetmanate. Clearly, the southern starshyna, a number of whom were

7 Ohloblyn, "Dohovir," p. 740.
8 Petryk to the Zaporozhians, 12 July 1692, in *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv feodalno-krepostnicheskoi èpokhi* (Moscow), *Malorossiiskie akty,* no. 531, as cited in Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa,* p. 179.

almost certainly involved in Petryk's adventure, did not consider this to be an appropriate time to come out against the tsar and Mazepa. Thus, Petryk's raid into the Hetmanate failed. Several other raids which he initiated in subsequent years with Tatar support also failed. However, the entire episode indicated that when the Northern War began, the possibility of a well-formulated alliance was still attractive to certain Cossack groups and that Orlyk had numerous precedents to guide him as he entered into negotiations with the Tatar khan.

THE UKRAINIAN-TATAR TREATY

Late in October 1710, on his way to Constantinople, Khan Devlet Girei stopped briefly in Bender to argue for war against Russia. During the stopover, he conferred with Orlyk. Their meeting must have been successful, for a few days later the hetman wrote to the khan that their encounter had brought him "great joy, as did the idea of liberty that emerged from the conference."[9] The first step towards an understanding between the Ukrainian émigrés and the Tatars had been taken.

About one month later, when the khan returned from his successful stay in the capital, a delegation of Ukrainian dignitaries set out for the Crimea. It consisted of Dmytro Horlenko, the colonel of Pryluky, Klym Dovhopolyi, the judge-general of the Host, and Ivan Maksymovych, the chancellor-general. Its goal was to negotiate a treaty with the Crimean Khanate on the basis of which the hetman and the khan could launch a campaign against the Russians.

On 23 January 1711, after several weeks of negotiations, a treaty was concluded. Both the list of Ukrainian desiderata and the final, Tatar-approved text of the treaty have survived, and it is fruitful to examine them. For purposes of analysis, the list of Ukrainian desiderata, which consisted of 23 articles, may be divided into two separate groups.[10] One group consists of "traditional" stipulations, that is, those recurring, in one form or another, in all the agreements made between the Ukrainian Cos-

[9] Orlyk to Devlet Girei, 20 October 1710, in A. Bodianskii, ed., "Perepiska i drugiia bumagi shvedskogo korolia Karla XII . . . ," in *Chtenia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete,* 1847, p. 28.

[10] The text of the treaty appears in Bodianskii, "Perepiska," pp. 44–47. In order to establish the points which recurred in Cossack-Tatar and Cossack-Ottoman treaties, I have examined the following texts: Pritsak, "Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)," pp. 266–98, which provides us with the text and the textual analysis of the maritime treaty with the Porte; Doroshenko's treaty with the Porte as published in *Akty Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* 7 (1875): 218–20; Petryk's treaty with the Tatars appears in Ohloblyn, "Petryk," pp. 60–63.

sacks and the Crimean Tatars (and, where applicable, with the Sublime Porte) from the time of Khmel'nyts'kyi; the other group contains articles which are peculiar to this treaty, that is, ones which reflect the issues of the specific situation which existed in 1710–1711.

By far the majority of articles (nos. 2–6, 8, 9, 12–18, 21–23), presented by the Cossack envoys for negotiation come under the category of traditional stipulations. They are keynoted by article 2, which proposes that the treaty signed in 1648 between Khmel'nyts'kyi and Islam Girei III serve as the model for the treaty under negotiation.[11] The articles in this group can be subdivided as follows.

I. *Guarantees against plunder and the taking of captives* (iasyr) *in Cossack territories*

In view of past experiences, it was obvious that the Cossacks needed guarantees that their families, homes, churches, and lands would be safeguarded once they allowed their dangerous allies into their midst; hence, the demand for such a guarantee, which appears in articles 8 and 9. Orlyk realized, however, that the Tatar appetite for booty and *iasyr* had to be satisfied in some way, and therefore a qualification was added to this point. Article 10 states that if the inhabitants of the "Muscovite *sloboda*s" (sparsely settled territories in what is now the Eastern Ukraine, which, although colonized by a predominantly Ukrainian population, were under Russian jurisdiction) did not accept the "protection of the allies' army," or if the inhabitants refused to return to the Hetmanate once it came under Orlyk's control, then they "should be treated as enemies," i.e., become subject to the prey of the Tatars. In this manner, Orlyk strove to divert Tatar appetites from the lands he hoped to govern.

II. *Guarantees of an economic nature*

Whereas article 13 aimed at preventing the encroachment of any foreign power on Zaporozhian territories, article 14 demanded exclusive rights for the Zaporozhians to the lands of the lower Dnieper — lands which they considered to be their inviolable hunting and fishing areas. Finally, article 18 requested for Ukrainian merchants equal rights with Muslim merchants trading in the khanate and the Ottoman Empire.

III. *Political guarantees*

These included non-interference in the internal affairs of the Cossacks (articles 4, 5, 21); the khan's guarantee of the Ukraine's borders (article

[11] See Baranowski, "Geneza sojuszu kozacko-tatarskiego."

12); and his acceptance of the principle of the free election of the hetman (article 23). Also, the Tatars had to agree to give up jurisdiction over Cossacks who committed crimes against them and to hand them over to Cossack courts (article 15). Finally, no peace could be made by the khan with the enemy (the Muscovite tsar) until the consent of the hetman and the Zaporozhian Host had been secured (article 6).

Since the articles summarized above recurred in all the Cossack-Tatar treaties, we can conclude that these stipulations went beyond immediate political considerations. They must have encompassed the general issues which had to be regulated in order for the Ukrainian Cossack and Crimean Tatar political, social, and economic systems to cooperate for the attainment of a common goal. Let us consider how the treaty reflects the specific situation in which Orlyk and his followers found themselves at the time it was formulated.

I. *Confirmation of Charles XII's protection over the Zaporozhian Host*
It is somewhat surprising that negotiations between the Cossacks and Tatars began with the demand that the proposed alliance in no way interfere with the relationship of the Cossacks and the entire Ukrainian ("Ruthenian") people with Charles XII, their protector and patron (article 1).[12] But there were good reasons for Orlyk to wish for a confirmation of Charles XII's patronage. One reason Mazepa had sought Swedish protection was that he considered the patronage of a strong but distant overlord to be preferable over any other. Apparently, the Cossack émigrés in Bender wished to follow this principle, as well. Furthermore, even after Poltava, it appeared that Charles XII might still defeat the Russians militarily, and this possibility seemed to be the best hope for the attainment of the émigrés' goals. Finally, the inclusion of this point might have been motivated by the émigrés' desire not to become overly dependent on their Tatar allies.

II. *Tatar aid in case of internal problems*
Orlyk and his advisors had no illusions about the difficulties they would encounter in attempting to maintain their regime once they succeeded in re-establishing themselves in the Ukraine. The adherents of the tsar in the

[12] In his "Litterae Universales Regis Sueciae ad Ucrainenses," published in "Perepiska," p. 34, Charles XII declared that "we are angered by the very unfortunate lot of the famous people [of the Ukraine] and are inclined and prepared to provide definite means to the end that the Ukraine, repressed and hardly alive under the godless yoke of slavery, return to the state of former freedoms and immunities."

Ukraine who would be forced out of their positions could not be expected to give up without a bitter and protracted struggle. Therefore, the Cossack delegates were instructed to request the aid of Tatars in such internal conflicts (article 7), hoping, at the same time, that the protection of the Swedish king would prevent their allies from converting aid into political domination. Other indications that internal opposition was expected are evident in the requests that the khan provide the hetman with a bodyguard (article 17) and that he promise to return to the hetman all traitors and would-be assassins who might try to escape to his Crimean domain (article 22).

III. *Pretensions of the hetman to authority over the Don Cossacks*
After the Bulavin revolt and the arrival of some Don Cossack envoys at Bender, the hetman and his staff felt that they had the opportunity to establish their authority over the Don Cossacks on the pretext that this would help in the anti-Russian effort. Therefore, they requested that the khan aid the hetman of the Zaporozhian Host in bringing the Don Cossacks under his authority (article 20) so that "one flock may be under one shepherd." This request is interesting in several aspects. Not only does it reveal that in the early eighteenth century, Cossacks, be they in the Ukraine or along the Don, believed the Russian system of government to be a common threat to their way of life (i.e., to the proverbial Cossack rights and privileges), but it also reflects an awareness of the need to unite in the face of this threat. For example, in 1704 Mazepa informed G. I. Golovkin that "just as one crow will not jab out the eyes of another crow, neither will a Cossack effectively fight against another Cossack."[13] It is also noteworthy that Mazepa's successor considered common social forms to be sufficient reason to extend the Ukrainian hetman's authority over the Don Cossacks.

The final text of the Ukrainian-Tatar treaty of 1711, which has survived only in the Tatar version, indicates that not all the Ukrainian desiderata were met. Nonetheless, the formulation seemed to be acceptable to Orlyk and his colleagues, for they often referred to it as the binding version of the treaty. In essence, the basic terms of the treaty between the Ukrainian émigrés and the Crimean khan were as follows:
(1) Under no pretext should harm be done to Ukrainian and Zaporozhian Cossacks and their families, who must be allowed to live according

13 Mazepa to Golovkin, no date, in F. Umanets, *Getman Mazepa* (St. Petersburg, 1897), p. 232.

to their ancient customs, rights, and privileges;
(2) In diplomatic correspondence, the same titulature must be used in reference to the present hetman as had been applied to Khmel'nyts'kyi;
(3) The Cossacks have the right to dwell, fish, and hunt in the same areas where they had traditionally done so;
(4) The Cossacks retain freedom of religion and their churches must not be harmed.[14]

The Tatars concluded the part of the treaty that regulated their general relations with the Cossacks with the statement: "In brief, let them [the Cossacks] be a free people and a free province."[15]

However, the Tatars refused to make any specific commitments pertaining to the current political situation. Indeed, in comparing the list of the Cossacks' desiderata with the text of the final treaty, it is evident that the non-traditional group of stipulations was completely omitted. As far as the planned anti-Russian campaign was concerned, only a general statement appeared, to the effect that the allies should aid each other against the mutual enemy and be united in concluding the peace as well as in carrying on the war. The statement ended with the sanctimonious phrase that "Everyone who is wise acknowledges this treaty as just [and] created with the aid of God."[16]

What was omitted from the final text of the treaty was as interesting as what was included. The fact that the Tatars excluded the non-traditional stipulations may be explained, to some degree, by their innate traditionalism. There were also concrete and immediate reasons for the Tatars to omit such points as the recognition of Charles XII's protection over the Cossacks, the extension of the hetman's authority over the Don Cossacks, and the promise of Tatar aid against the hetman's internal enemies.

As Orlyk might have suspected from the beginning (and as later became quite evident), Khan Devlet Girei had his own plans to secure protection over the Cossacks. Not only did the khan refuse to recognize Charles XII as the Ukraine's protector, but he would later consider the treaty of 1711 the legal basis for his own claims of protection and suzerainty over the Cossacks. From the Tatar point of view, this was justified by the khanate's unilateral grant of guarantees and rights to the Cossacks. It is not surprising, therefore, that the khan was loath to support the hetman in his ambitious plans vis-à-vis the Don Cossacks, since the unification of the Ukrainian Cossacks with the Don Cossacks would have created an ally

14 Bodianskii, "Perepiska," p. 28.
15 Bodianskii, "Perepiska," p. 28.
16 Bodianskii, "Perepiska," p. 29.

almost as dangerous as Russia. Moreover, there are indications that the Tatars suspected Orlyk and his followers of wanting to exploit the Tatars for their own ends while doing very little of the fighting themselves. As to the commitment to support the hetman in his internal difficulties, it was obvious that the cost to the Tatars would be high, while the advantages would be few. In any case, it is safe to assume that in the negotiation of the treaty, mutual suspicions were only thinly veiled.

In summary, the analysis of the Cossack-Tatar treaty of 1711 indicates that it was based on general and traditional terms whose purpose was to regulate the cooperation and coexistence of the Crimean Khanate with the Ukrainian Cossacks. However, the treaty left unsettled the specific and pressing problems connected with the current political situation. It was precisely these problems which would cause the greatest difficulties when a combined Ukrainian-Tatar attack was launched into the Ukraine in January of 1711.

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Ukrainian in the Slavic Element of Yiddish Vocabulary

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In many languages, their various components can be traced. For instance, Germanic and Romance provide the major components of English, and, rather similarly, Germanic (originally, Middle High German), Hebrew-Aramaic and Slavic provide the major components of Yiddish. In both cases, the result is not a mixture, but an organic whole. The extent to which the first two elements merged into the unitary Yiddish language, perceived by its speakers — in the not too distant past — as a "German language," is neatly illustrated by a pre-Revolutionary Yiddish anecdote which goes as follows.

A Volga German stood before a Russian court, accused of the theft of a couple of horses. Since there was no interpreter in the small town, a Jew came forth claiming that he knew German "like water."

The Judge: "Sprosite obvinjaemogo, počemu on ukral lošadej."

The Jew: "Reb Dajtš, der oden fregt ajx, far vos ir hot gelakxnt di susim."

The German: "Ich verstehe nicht."

The Jew, excited: "Vos hejst, ir farštejt ništ?! Men fregt ajx, far vos ir hot gelakxnt di susim!"

The German: "Ich verstehe nicht."

The Jew: "Gospodin sud'ja, on tože i po-nemecki ne ponimaet."[1]

Slavic, the most recent element in Yiddish, has similarly become integrated into that language.[2] The study of this element, though lagging behind that of the first two elements, has made considerable advances;[3]

[1] Partly translated from the original Yiddish of Salcia Landmann, *Jiddisch: Das Abenteuer einer Sprache* (Olten and Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962), pp. 344–46, 381. (The meanings of the Hebrew words are: *reb* — Mr., *oden* — gentleman, *gelakxnt* — taken, *susim* — horses.)

[2] Cf., however, the rather marginal status of Slavic in East European German: see Uriel Weinreich, "Yiddish and Colonial German in Eastern Europe: The Differential Impact of Slavic," in *American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists* (The Hague, 1958), pp. 369–421.

[3] An extensive bibliography on the Slavic element in Yiddish was provided by Max Weinreich, "Yiddish-Knaanic-Slavic: The Basic Relationships," in *For Roman Jakobson* (The Hague, 1956), pp. 622–32. The major works on Yiddish are listed in Uriel and Beatrice Weinreich, *Yiddish Language and Folklore: A Selective Bibliography for Research* (The Hague, 1959).

but little systematic study of the Ukrainian component in the Slavic element of Yiddish seems to have been done as yet. The major work on this subject, K. F. Ljubarski's "Ukrainian Words in Yiddish (Chiefly in the Local Dialect),"[4] appeared over fifty years ago. The article consists of a four-page introduction followed by a list of some 500 Yiddish words of Ukrainian origin, the great majority of which were gathered from J.-M. Lifšic's Yiddish-Russian dictionary.[5] Ljubarski intended to follow up this word list with a whole series of articles on Ukrainianisms in Yiddish: lexical (according to him, without an article on this subject his word list could not be used properly), phonetic, morphological, and syntactic ones, as well as Ukrainian proverbs and idioms. He also intended to treat Yiddishisms in Ukrainian. Unfortunately, none of the promised articles appeared. The largest collection of Slavisms in Yiddish, 1,948 words in all, was published in 1939 by M. Šulman, under the title "Slavisms in the Vocabulary of Yiddish."[6] It aimed to encompass only the language of Jews who had lived in the Russian Empire, had earlier lived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and were then living in the USSR at the time of its writing. Although Šulman was concerned with the influence of Russian, Polish, Belorussian, and Ukrainian on Yiddish, he did not attempt to divide his Slavisms into Russianisms, Ukrainianisms, etc. Nor did he state his literary or lexicographic sources for individual words. Only infrequently did he quote the Slavic sources of a word with its meaning. His collection, which did not claim to be exhaustive, seems to have a Belorussian Yiddish bias. Also, although he referred to Judah A. Joffe's article on the Slavic element in Yiddish published in New York a decade previously,[7] Šulman seems to have been unaware of Ljubarski's work published contemporaneously with Joffe's in Odessa.[8]

4 K. F. Ljubarski, "Ukrainiše verter in der jidišer šprax (hoiptzaxlex in doremdikn dialekt)," *Zapysky Odes'koho instytutu narodnoji osvity* 1 (1927): 161–130.

5 J.-M. Lifšic, *Jideš-rusišer verter bix* (Žytomyr, 1876). In Ljubarski's article these Yiddish words are given with their Ukrainian counterparts, taken from B. Hrinčenko, *Slovar ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1907–1909).

6 M. Šulman, "Slavizmen in der leksik fun jidiš," *Afn špraxfront* (Kiev), 3 (1939): 71–109.

7 Juda A. Jofe, "Der slavišer element in jidiš," *Pinkes: A fertljoriker žurnal*... (New York), 1 (1928): 235–56, 296–312. Joffe (p. 241) alludes to "thousands upon thousands" of Slavic loans in Yiddish, but lists only some 350, according to Šulman, who seems to have incorporated them into his collection.

8 Thus, in discussing the Yiddish *piščevkes,* Šulman ("Slavizmen," p. 78) regretted not having found the word in Slavic dictionaries. He conjectured that the word may be of Polish origin, and is now lost in Polish but preserved in Yiddish; a look at Ljubarski would have guided him to the Ukrainian *pyščavka* (taken from Hrinčenko's dictionary).

This short article is an attempt at a pilot study. Here we will take a sample of Standard Yiddish vocabulary borrowed from Slavic sources and try to determine the provenance of individual words from particular Slavic languages. The selected sample consists of all words with the initial phonemes *g* and *h.* These phonemes are found both in Slavic and in Yiddish and therefore should let us distinguish broadly between Polonisms and Russianisms with their *g*-, on the one hand, and Ukrainianisms and Belorussianisms with their *h*-, on the other.[9] Ultimately, we should gain some idea of the weight of Ukrainianisms in Standard Yiddish, as defined by Uriel Weinreich's 1968 dictionary[10] and the earlier ones compiled by A. Harkavy[11] and Lifšic (mentioned above). The most comprehensive potential source, the *Great Dictionary of the Yiddish Language,*[12] planned to comprise 180,000 words in ten volumes, has not yet reached the letters *g* and *h.*

First, let us consider the several cases of multiple borrowing, where all four Slavic languages in question may have been donors at different times:

Gorčice 'mustard' Ha, UW,[13] *horčice* Ha, *herčice* Li: P *gorczyca,* R *gorčica,* BR *harčyca,* U *hirčycja. Gostinec, goščinec* 'highway'; 'gift' Ha, *hostinicje* 'gift' Lju: P. *gościniec,* BR *hascinjec,* U *hostynec'* 'highway'; 'gift', but ModR *gostinec* has lost the meaning 'highway'; cf. also *hostjen zex* 'to stay too long as a guest' Li. *Gnide* 'nit' Ha, *hnide* Š: P, R *gnida,* BR *hnida,* U *hnyda. Grude* 'lump of earth' Ha, UW, *hrude* UW, *gride, ride* Li (the pre-consonantal *h* is weakened to zero;

9 On the assimilation of the Yiddish *h* to the Ukrainian one, see Weinreich, "Yiddish and Colonial German," p. 376, and Roman Jakobson, "Zvukovye osobennosti, svjazyvajuščie idiš s ego slavjanskim okruženiem," in his *Selected Writings,* vol. 1 (The Hague, 1962), p. 410.

10 Uriel Weinreich, *Modern English-Yiddish, Yiddish-English Dictionary* (New York, 1968).

11 A. Harkavy, *Yiddish-English Dictionary* (New York, 1928); the first edition appeared in 1891.

12 Judah A. Joffe and Yudel Mark, eds., *Grojser verterbux fun der jidišer šprax,* 3 vols. to date (New York, 1961–). (Volume 4 is due to appear by the end of 1980.)

13 Abbreviations used in the following are: BR = Belorussian; GV = *Grojser verterbux* (fn. 12); Ha = Harkavy's dictionary (fn. 11); Hrod = T. F. Scjaškovič, *Materyjaly da sloŭnika Hrodzjenskaj voblasci* (Minsk, 1972); Hr = Hrinčenko's dictionary (fn. 5); Li = Lifšic's dictionary (fn. 5); Lju = Ljubarski's article (fn. 4); Mah = I. K. Bjal'kjevič, *Krajëvy sloŭnik usxodnjaj Mahiljëŭščyny* (Minsk, 1970); Mod = Modern; Nos = N. Nosovič, *Slovar' belorusskogo narečija* (St. Petersburg, 1870); P = Polish; R = Russian; S = South; Š = Šulman (fn. 6); U = Ukrainian; UW = Uriel Weinreich's dictionary (fn. 10); W = West; Y = Yiddish. The International Standard System of transliteration is used; no attempt is made to distinguish the Yiddish sounds *i* and *y* (similar to Ukrainian *i* and *y* in Ukrainian loanwords in Yiddish): both are transcribed as *i.*

u > *i* is a feature of SY);[14] also *hrudedik* 'lumpy', *hrudke* 'blob' UW: P *gruda,* BR, U *hruda* 'lump of earth', but R *gruda* 'heap'. *Gromide* (with an anomalous *i*) 'village community' Li, *hromade* Š: P *gromada,* BR *hramada,* U *hromada*; as in the preceding example, R deviates semantically: *gromada* 'huge thing'. *Gnoj* 'manure' Li, *hnoj* Š: P *gnój,* BR *hnoj,* U *hnij* (gen. *hnoju*), R *gnoj* 'pus'; here again, R differs semantically. *Gom*(*b*)*ke* 'sponge' Ha, *gamke* (? probably a misprint for *gomke*) Li, *hipke* 'sponge', 'tinder' Li: P *gąbka,* BR, U *hubka*; cf. also *gembe* 'mouth' Ha, *gombe* 'chin' UW: P *gęba* 'mouth'. *Grablje* 'rake' Ha, UW, Li, *hrablje* Ha, *grabljeven* 'to rake' Ha, UW, *hrablje*(*ve*)*n* Ha: BR, U *hrabli,* R *grabli*; P *grabie* is phonetically further removed, unless Y *grablje* is assumed to result from a contamination of Polish and Ukrainian/ Belorussian forms. *Grizen* 'to gnaw'; 'to worry' Ha, 'to gnaw' Li, *rizen* Lju, *grižen* 'to gnaw'; 'to nag', *grižen zix* 'to fret' UW: P *gryźć* 'to gnaw'; 'to worry', BR *hryzci,* U *hryzty,* R *gryzt',* P *gryźć się* 'to fret'; *grizote* 'grief' Ha, 'vexation' UW, Li, *rizote* Lju: U *hryzota* 'vexation', 'quarrel', BR (Nos) *hryzota* 'nagging', P *gryzota.*

In the next three examples, P has *h*-forms, which are themselves old loans from Belorussian/ Ukrainian; but this creates uncertainty in tracing the immediate source of these forms in Yiddish:

Holoblje 'thill' GV,[15] Ha, Li, *haloblje* UW, *oglobl*(*j*)*e* GV: P *hołobla,* BR *ahloblja,* U *holoblja,* R *ogloblya. Grike* 'buckwheat' Ha, UW, *grečke, hrečke* Ha, *rečke* Ha, UW, Li: P *gryka, hreczka,* BR (Hrod) *hryka* (*gryka*?), BR, U *hrečka,* R (colloq.) *grečka*; also *rečene* 'buckwheat (adj.)' Ha, UW, *rečkene, hrečene* Ha, *grikene* Š: P *hreczany,* BR *hračany,* U *hrečanyj,* R *grečišnyj*; *rečišnik* 'buckwheat pudding' Ha, *rečanik* 'buckwheat bread' Li: U *hrečanyk. Gole* 'bare'; 'pure' Ha, 'pure', 'sheer' UW, 'all', 'only' Li; *hoil* 'bare'; 'pure' Ha; *golen* 'to shave' Ha, *goln* UW, *guln* Li, *goler* 'barber' Ha, UW, *golmeser* 'razor' Ha, UW, *gulmeser* Li; *holiš* 'poor creature' Ha: P *goły* 'bare', BR *holy,* U *holyj,* R *golyj,* P *golić* 'to shave', *golarz* 'barber', *gołysz, hołysz* 'poor creature', U *holyš,* BR *halyš.*

The next case is similar, but the *h*- form was original in Polish (as a rule, further derivations — as in this case, in Polish from German — will not be pursued), from where the word spread to Belorussian/ Ukrainian and then to Russian:

Hurt 'wholesale' UW, Li: P *hurt,* U *hurt* (in "*prodavaty na hurt*"); *hurtom* 'in wholesale' Ha, Li, *gurtom* Ha: P *hurtem,* U *hurtom,* BR *hurtam* 'together', R *gurtom*; *hurtovne* 'wholesale (adj.)' Li: P *hurtowny*; *hurtovnik* 'wholesaler' Ha, UW, Li: P *hurtownik,* U (Hr: WU) *hurtivnyk.*

In the following, the *g*-forms have no close counterparts in Polish:

Gorle, horle 'throat' Ha: BR *horla,* U *horlo,* R *gorlo. Glotke* 'gullet' Ha, *hlotke* Š:

[14] J. A. Joffe, "Dating the Origin of Yiddish Dialects," in *The Field of Yiddish* [vol. 1] (New York, 1954), p. 121; Marvin I. Herzog, "Yiddish in the Ukraine: Isoglosses and Historical Inferences," in *The Field of Yiddish,* vol. 3 (The Hague, 1969), p. 59.

[15] Found in GV sub voce *ogloblje.*

BR *hlotka*, R *glotka*. *Greblje* 'weir' Li, Š (p. 107), *hreblje* Š (p. 95): BR, U *hreblja*. P *grobla*, together with the Belorussian/Ukrainian form, may have produced Yiddish *greblje* as a hybrid form; it may also perhaps be due to the interpretation of γ by Yiddish speakers as a sound nearer to *g* than to *h* (γ may have existed in Ukrainian until the sixteenth century — or later? — before changing to *h*, and still exists in much of the Belorussian area).[16]

A considerable number of words are found in Yiddish only with *g*-, not with *h*-. The following are palpably associated with Russian (though the possibility of Belorussian/Ukrainian γ perceived as *g* must not be discounted here, nor in analogous situations further below):

Glavne 'main (ironic)' UW: R *glavnyj*; *glavne komandišče* 'commander-in-chief' Ha, *glavnekomandiš* Li: R *glavnokomandujuščij*. *Glasne* 'alderman' Ha: R *glasnyj*. *Gubernie* 'province (in tsarist Russia)' Ha, UW, Li: R *gubernija*, P *gubernia*; *gubernske* 'provincial' Ha, *guberskje* Li: R *gubernskij*; *gubernator* 'governor' Ha, UW, *gubernater* Li: R, P *gubernator*; *gubernatorske*, *gubernatoršer* 'gubernatorial' Ha, *gubernatoriš* UW: R *gubernatorskij*, P *gubernatorski*; *guvernantke* 'governess' UW, *gubernantke* Li: R *guvernantka*, P *guwernantka* (in the case of this Yiddish word, either the Polish or the Russian word could have been its source). *Gvardie* 'guards' Ha, Li: R *gvardija*, P *gwardia*; *gvardejec* 'guardsman' Š: R *gvardeec*. *Grivnje* 'R coin of ten kopecks' Ha, Li: R *grivennik*, *grivna*, BR *hryŭnja*, U *hryvnja*. *Golova* 'chief'; 'president of the board of aldermen' Ha: R *golova* 'chief'; 'mayor', U *holova*, BR *halava*. *Goračke* 'fever'; 'fit of anger'; 'hurry' Ha: R *gorjačka*, BR *haračka*, U *harjačka*. *Gogočen* 'to cackle' UW, Š: R *gogotat'*. *Gaven* 'harbor' Li, Š: R *gavan'*.

In the following, *g*- points to either Polish or Russian:

Gruz 'load'; 'gravel'; 'rubbish' Ha: R 'load', P 'gravel', 'ruins'; *gruze(ve)n* 'to load' UW, Š: R *gruzit'*; *gruzne* 'bog' UW: R *gruznut'* 'to sink (in the mud)'. *Glušen* 'to stun', 'to deafen' Ha: R *glušit'*, P *głuszyć*. *Grubian* 'rude fellow' Ha, Š: R *grubijan*, P *grubianin*; *grubianke* 'rude woman' Ha: R *grubijanka*, P. *grubianka*; *grubianstvo* 'rudeness' Ha: R *grubijanstvo*, P *grubiaństwo*; *grubianjen*, *grubianeven* 'to treat roughly' Ha: R *grubijanit'*. *Gilze* 'case (of a rocket)'; 'wrapper (of a cigarette)' Ha: R *gil'za*, P *gilza*. *Grive* 'mane' UW, Li: R *griva*, P *grzywa* (similarly diminutive *grivke* 'bangs [hair]' UW). *Gribe* 'mushroom' Li: R *grib*, P *grzyb* (P *rz* may appear as *r* in Yiddish).

These *g*-words may be connected with Polish:

Gnjade 'bay (horse)' Li, Š: P *gniady*, BR *hnjady*. *Gremplje* 'combing-machine' Li: P *grempla*; *grempleven* 'to card' Li: P *gremplować*. *Gatkes*, *gatjes* 'underpants' UW, Li, *gačes* Š: P *gatki*, *gacie*. *Grašice* 'sweetbread' UW: P *grasica*. *Galgan* 'ragamuffin' Ha: P *gałgan*. *Galke* 'ballot'; 'die'; 'knob' Ha: P *gałka*. *Grač* 'hotheaded person' UW: P *gracz* 'gambler'. *Gvintovke* 'rifle' Li: P *gwintówka*.

16 George Y. Shevelov, "On the Chronology of *h* and the New *g* in Ukrainian," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 2 (1977): 148.

Gnoteven 'to oppress' UW: P *gniotę* 'I oppress'. *Gatunik* 'kind', 'variety' UW, *gatunek* Ha, *gatinik* Li: P *gatunek*, BR *hatunak* (or *gatunak*?). *Gavende* 'tittle-tattle' Ha, Š: P *gawęda* 'talk', BR *havenda* (or *gavenda*?) 'talk' (Hrod), 'empty talk' (Mah). *Gamelke* 'cheesecake' Li: P *gomółka* 'piece of cheese', BR (Hrod) *hamjëlka* (or *gamjëlka*?).

With regard to the vowels, in this example the Belorussian connection is perhaps more likely.

Parallels in Polish, Belorussian, and Ukrainian are found for these *g*-words:

Ganok 'balcony' Ha, *ganik* Li, *ganik* UW 'porch', *ganek* Š: P *ganek* 'porch, balcony', U *ganok*, BR *ganak*[17] 'porch'. *Guz* 'button', 'knob' Ha, 'bump', 'lump' UW: P *guz* 'bump', 'lump', 'large button', U *gudz* 'button', 'bump', 'knot', *guz* 'knot', BR *guz*[18] 'bump', *guzik* 'button'. *Gulje* 'bump', 'lump' Li, *gilje* Lju: P *gula*, U *gulja*, BR *gulja* (presumably not *h*-); also *guljevate* 'lumpy' Li. *Grate, krate* 'bar over a window' Ha, UW, *grate* Li: 16th-c. P. *grata, krata*, ModP *krata*, whence U *grata, krata*, BR *kraty*.

Some *g*-words appear in Ukrainian only:

Ganč 'defect' Lju: U *ganč*. *Grindžele* 'runner (of a sleigh)' UW, *grinžele* 'sleigh' Li: U *gryndžoly* 'sleigh'. *Garalnje* 'distillery' Ha, Li, *guralnje* Š: U *gural'nja*; although P *gorzelnia* is the source of the Ukrainian word, it is phonetically further removed from the Yiddish one. *Gegljagnet* 'badly baked' Lju: U *gljagaty* 'to curdle milk'.[19]

The number of Slavisms in Yiddish with *h*- is somewhat larger than with *g*-. Some originally have *h*- in Polish and may well have been borrowed by Yiddish from Polish:

Herb 'coat of arms' Ha: P, BR, U *herb*; similarly adj. *herbove* Ha: P *herbowy* etc. *Hetman* 'chieftain' Ha: P, BR *hetman*, U *het'man*. *Hute* 'glass works' UW, Š, *hit* UW, Li: P, BR, U *huta*. *Hajduk* 'heyduck' Ha, Š: P, BR, U *hajduk*. *Hospodar* 'hospodar', 'husbandsman', 'master' Ha: P, U *hospodar*, BR *haspadar*. *Hasle* 'slogan', 'password'; 'strike', 'conspiracy' Li: P. *hasło* 'slogan', 'password', U *haslo*. *Hurmem, hurmel* 'in crowds', 'in a body' Ha: P *hurmem*, U, BR (Nos) *hurmom*. *Hačik* 'hook' Ha, *haček* Li: P *haczyk*, U, BR (Nos) *hačok*. *Harmider* 'din' UW: P *harmider*, U *harmyder*, BR *harmidar*. *Hameven* 'to restrain' Ha, UW, Li: P *hamować*, U *hamuvaty*, BR (Nos) *hamovac'*.

An initial *h*- is inconclusive for the present purposes in some primitive deictic forms, onomatopoeics and formations based on interjections:

Het 'away' Ha, UW, Š: P *het*, U *het'*. *Huk-stuk* 'helter-skelter' Ha, *huk* 'din', 'whoop', *huken* 'to whoop' UW: P *huk* 'din'; 'great number', U, BR *huk* 'din'. *Ham* 'noise' Lju: U, BR (Mah) *ham*. *Hopke* 'hop', 'dance' Ha, *hopken* 'to hop'

17 For *g*-, see Yury Šerech [George Y. Shevelov], *Problems in the Formation of Belorussian* (New York, 1953), p. 19.
18 Šerech [Shevelov], *Problems*, p. 19.
19 On the history of this word, see Shevelov, "On the Chronology," p. 149, fn. 34.

UW: P *hopać* 'to hop', BR *hopac'* 'to jump', U *hopky* 'hopping (in dancing)' (adverb). *Hočken* 'to shake' Ha, *hocken zix* 'to shake', 'to bump', *hockedik* 'bumpy' UW, *hecken* 'to jeer at', 'to bounce' (trans.) UW, 'to shake' Li, *hecken zix* 'to bounce' (intrans.) UW, *hecken zex* 'to jump', *hecke* 'jump', *hucelke* 'jumper' (fem.) Li: P *hycać* 'to jump', *hoc! hyc!* 'jump!' U *hyckaty* 'to jump', *hec! hoc! huc-huci!* 'jump!'

The following have *h*-forms in P and may be presumed to be mostly old borrowings from Belorussian/Ukrainian; the immediate source of these Yiddish words is thus uncertain:

Hultaj 'debaucher', 'rascal' Ha, 'libertine' UW, *hiltaj* 'villain' Li: P *hultaj* 'reveller', 'idler', U *hul'tjaj, hul'taj, hil'taj,* BR *hul'taj* 'idler'; there is a full range of compounds with appropriate meanings: *hultajke, hultajstvo, hultajske, hult(aj)even* Ha, *hultajiš, hultajstve, hultajeven* UW, *hiltajske, hiltajskekajt* Li: P *hultajka, hultajstwo, hultajski, hultaić się,* U *hul'tjajka, hul'tjajstvo, hul'tjajs'skyj, hul'tja-juvaty,* etc., BR *hul'tajka, hul'tajstva, hul'tajski, hul'tajavac'. Huljanke* Ha, UW 'spree', *huljanje* Ha, *hulke* Li, *huljen* 'to revel' Ha, UW, *hiljen* Li, *huljak* 'reveller' Li: P *hulanka* 'spree', U *huljanka, hul'ka, huljannja,* BR *huljanka, huljannje,* P *hulać* 'to revel', U *huljaty,* BR *huljac',* P *hulaka* 'reveller', U, BR *huljaka. Hodeven* 'to rear', 'to bring up' Ha, UW, Li: P *hodować,* U *hoduvaty,* BR *hadavac'*; also *hodever* 'breeder' UW. *Hajda!* 'come, come!' Ha, 'we're off!' UW: P, BR, U *hajda* 'come on!' (originally Turkic; probably first borrowed by Ukrainian). *Hajdamak* 'highwayman' UW: P *hajdamak(a)*, BR *hajdamak,* U *hajda-maka. Holubn zex* 'to caress' Lju: P *hołubić,* U *holubytysja,* BR *halubic'. Holep-ces* 'stuffed cabbage' UW, *holupces* Š: P *hołubce,* U *holubci,* BR *halubcy. Holote* 'rabble' Li: P *hołota,* U *holota,* BR *halota.*

These *h*-words appear to be specifically of Ukrainian origin:

Hodivlje 'fodder' Li: U *hodivlja* 'fodder', 'feeding', P *hodowla* 'rearing', BR *ha-doŭlja. Hojde* 'see-saw; swing' Ha, UW, *hojdevke* Ha, *hojdelke* Li, *hojden* 'to swing' Ha, UW, Li, *hojdevdik* 'shaky' UW: U *hojdaty* 'to swing', *hojdalka* 'swing', *hojda!* interj. from *hojdaty. Hančerke* 'dish-cloth' Li, *hančirke* Š: U *hančirka. Halme* 'brake', *halmeven* 'to brake' Li: U *hal'mo, hal'muvaty. Hajen* 'to delay', *hajen zex* 'to tarry', *hajke* 'delay' Li: U *hajaty, hajatysja, hajka. Hivnjak* 'dung' Li: WU (Hr) *hivnjak* 'dung-beetle' (this word may also mean 'dung' in Ukrainian, but this meaning is not recorded in dictionaries). *Hiken* 'to stutter' Li, *hikevate* 'stuttering' Ha, Li, *hikevater* 'stutterer' Ha: U *hykaty* 'to hiccup', *hykavyj* 'stuttering'. *Hepen* 'to dance', 'to jump' Li: U *hepaty* 'to step heavily'.

A number of *h*-words have both Ukrainian and Belorussian cognates:

Hodevanje 'upbringing', 'rearing' Ha, UW: U *hoduvannja,* BR *hadavannje. Horeven* 'to toil' Ha, UW, Li, *onhoreven* 'to acquire by toil', *onhoreven zix* 'to toil hard' Ha: U *horjuvaty* 'to grieve'; BR *haravac',* whence P *harować* and WU *haruvaty,* both 'to toil'; though the first vowel in Yiddish points to the Ukrainian source, semantically a Polish/Western Ukrainian influence is apparent. *Horevan-je* 'toil' Ha, UW, Li: U *horjuvannja* 'grieving', BR *haravannje. Horopašnik* 'toiler' Ha, *horepašnik,* fem. *horepašnice, horepašne* 'toiling' UW, *horpašne* 'assiduous'

Li: BR *harapašnik* 'poor wretch', U *horopašnyj.*[20] *Holoveške* 'firebrand' Ha, *holeveške* 'ember', 'cinder' UW, *haleveške* (probably a misprint for *ho-*) 'brand' Li: U *holoveška,* BR *halaveška. Horb* 'hump' Ha, UW, Li, *horbate* 'hunched' Ha, UW, Li, *horben zix* 'to bend oneself' Ha, *horbač* 'a hump-back' Ha: U *horb, horbatyj, horbytysja,* BR *horb, harbaty, horbicca. Holiške* 'dumpling' Li, *haleške* Lju, Š: U, BR *haluška. Havken* 'to bark' Ha, UW, Li *hojken* Ha, UW, *havke* 'bark' Li: U *havkaty, havk,* BR *haŭkac'. Hilke* '(wooden) bat' UW: U, BR (Mah) *hilka* 'stick for hitting the ball'. *Hužen* 'to hum' Ha, *hudžen* UW, *hiden* Li: U *hudity,* BR *hudzjec'. Hrube* 'furnace'; 'heating stove' UW, *ribe* 'heating stove' Li: U, BR (Nos) *hruba. Hatke* 'small dam', *haten* 'to build a dam' Li: U *hatka, hatyty,* BR *hatka* (Nos), *hacic'. Holosne* 'aloud', *holosen* 'to wail' Li: U *holosno, holosyty,* BR *holasna, halasic'. Hinjen* 'to rot', 'to linger' Ha, *hin(j)en* 'to tarry' UW: U *hynuty* 'to perish', BR *hinuc'.*[21] *Husto* (adv.) 'thickly'; 'much' Ha: U *husto,* BR *husta. Hišče* 'sediment', 'dregs' Li: U, BR *huščа.*

Finally, some *h*-words point to Belorussian, though Ukrainian connections cannot be entirely ruled out in one or two cases:

Horelke 'brandy' Ha: BR *harelka,* U *horilka. Hodje!* 'enough!' UW, Li, *hodzje* Š: BR *hodzje,* U *hodi. Hurbe* 'heap' Ha, UW: BR *hurba* 'snowdrift'. *Hadžen* 'to disgust' Ha, *hadjen* UW, *haden* 'to vomit' Li, *hadke* 'disgusting' Ha, UW: BR *hadzic'* 'to foul', *hadki* 'foul'.

Some words, not found in other sources, are described in Š as Belorussian Yiddish dialectisms:

harlačikes Š: BR *harlačyk* 'water lily'; *hutareljes* Š: BR (Mah) *hutareli* 'swing'.

Our discussion shows that the study of the Ukrainian element in Yiddish presents problems which are not insuperable; a part of the Slavic element can definitely be identified as Ukrainian, and another part as being Ukrainian to a good degree of probability. There is room both for widening considerably the scope of this inquiry and for perfecting its methodology.

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20 For further details of *harapašnik,* etc., see V. Swoboda, "Some Problems of Belorussian Vocabulary," in *Studies in Slavic Linguistics and Poetics in Honor of Boris O. Unbegaun* (New York, 1968), pp. 246–47.

21 Dr. Bohdan Strumins'kyj has suggested to me that, for semantic reasons, the Ukrainian *hnyty* and Belorussian *hnic'* are more likely the source of Yiddish *hinjen* (metathesis from **hnijen* is, he believes, quite possible). In Polish their cognate also means "to linger, tarry" (e.g., *gnić w łóżku*). If such a meaning cannot be discovered in Ukrainian/Belorussian, he suggests that then this Slavism in Yiddish must be traced back to all the three Slavic languages (i.e., to Ukrainian/Belorussian for phonetics, to Polish for semantics).

Adam Kysil and the Synods of 1629: An Attempt at Orthodox-Uniate Accommodation in the Reign of Sigismund III

FRANK E. SYSYN

For over twenty years Adam Kysil served as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's expert in Ukrainian affairs.[1] His career flourished after the election of King Władysław IV in 1632, who used Kysil's skills as a diplomat and mediator to deal with the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Orthodox church, and the Muscovite state. These skills stood Kysil in good stead, especially after 1648, when he became the Commonwealth's major negotiator with Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and a proponent of accommodation with the Cossacks.

Kysil's authority in the Ukraine derived primarily from his position as the political and intellectual leader of the Orthodox Ruthenian nobility. In achieving this position, Kysil did not have the advantage of birth into a princely or powerful magnate family, such as the Ostrovz'kyi or Zaslavs'kyi. Rather, he became one of the outstanding statesmen of seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania and leader of the Orthodox Ukrainian community through a long career of military and royal service, parliamentary leadership, accumulation of estates and offices, and cultivation and patronage of Orthodox church leaders and institutions.

As for most members of the Volhynian middle nobility, information on Kysil's early years is sparse.[2] His father, Hryhorii, was a judge in Volo-

[1] The most comprehensive work on Adam Kysil's career to date is my doctoral dissertation, which is now being revised for publication: "Adam Kysil, Statesman of Poland-Lithuania: A Case Study in the Commonwealth's Rule of the Ukraine" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1976). Also see Ivan Novitskii, "Adam Kisel', voevoda kievskii, 1580 (?)–1653 g.," *Kievskaia starina* 13 (September 1885): 51–72, 13 (October 1885): 204–219, 13 (November 1885): 408–430, 13 (December 1885): 612–38; and Zbigniew Wójcik, "Kisiel, Adam Swiętoldycz," *Polski słownik biograficzny* 12 (1966): 487–91.

[2] For documents on his early career, see Kazimierz Pułaski, "Pierwsze lata zawodu publicznego Adama Kisiela (1622–1635)," in *Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne,* 3 vols. (Cracow, 1887), 1: 191–236. For a discussion of his early career, see Sysyn, "Adam Kysil," pp. 53–91.

dymyr county and left his sons the village of Niskynychi as their patrimony. Although Adam's mother, Teodora Ivanyts'ka, came from a Volhynian family that included many prominent Socinians, both of his parents were Orthodox. He studied at the Zamość Academy, where he found a powerful protector in his fellow student Tomasz Zamoyski. Kasiian Sakovych (Sakowicz), the Ukrainian poet and religious polemicist, tutored him. Between 1617 and 1627 he fought in the Commonwealth's wars against the Muscovites, the Ottomans, and the Swedes. King Sigismund III appointed Kysil a royal delegate to the Volhynian dietine in 1622, and he was elected a delegate to the Diet from Volhynia in 1624. In the mid-1620s, he married Anastaziia Bohushevych-Hul'kevych, whose family was closely connected to the Orthodox church establishment in Kiev. These skeletal biographical details demonstrate that Kysil was energetic and upwardly mobile. Yet, before 1629, his few laconic letters or the mention of him in official acts give no substantial evidence about his views or talents. His participation in the plan to bring Uniates and Orthodox together to discuss their differences in 1629 provides the first extensive documentation about Kysil's thinking and abilities.

Kysil began to assume a major role in the Eastern church question just at the time when a number of the principals involved in the struggle were willing to consider a new compromise. The Uniate metropolitan Iosyf Ruts'kyi (1613–1637), a man of dedication and piety, had come to realize that notwithstanding his tireless efforts to secure acceptance of the Union of Brest, the majority of the Ukrainian and Belorussian clergy and nobility found the Uniate church unacceptable. After 1620, Ruts'kyi had to compete with an Orthodox rival, Metropolitan Iov Borets'kyi (1620–1631), and Ruts'kyi's protests against Orthodox activities and requests for the government's support were to no avail. He was particularly disturbed by the Latin-rite clergy's contempt for the Uniates and its success in convincing Eastern clergy and nobles to join the Roman Catholic church directly. He sought to buttress the position of his church by securing a papal edict forbidding Uniates to transfer to the Latin-rite, by establishing a Ruthenian seminary, and by requesting the elevation of the Kievan See to a patriarchate. Although Ruts'kyi obtained the papal edict and had some success in his efforts to raise the educational level of his clergy, he continued to be hindered by the vigorous Orthodox resurgence and by the contempt and indifference of his Latin-rite coreligionists.[3]

[3] On Ruts'kyi's dissatisfaction, see Myrosław Szegda, *Działalność prawno-organizacyjna Metropolity Józefa IV Welamina Rutskiego (1613–1637)* (Warsaw, 1967), pp.

Ruts'kyi's Orthodox competitor, Iov Borets'kyi, also had considerable cause for dissatisfaction. Although the Orthodox faithful had succeeded in restoring an Orthodox hierarchy in 1620, had retained control over a considerable segment of the Eastern church's properties, and had pressured the government for concessions at every Diet, they had not obtained full governmental recognition for their church.[4] In areas of the western Ukraine and Belorussia where the Cossacks' power and the Orthodox nobles' support were less effective, the bishops who had been consecrated in 1620 were not able to take up their sees.[5] Dependence on force and pressure to secure Orthodox rights was a dangerous practice. For example, in 1623 the murder of the Uniate bishop of Polatsk (Polotsk), Iosafat Kuntsevych, by the burghers of Vitsebsk (Vitebsk) unleashed a persecution of Orthodoxy and provided the Uniates with a martyr.[6] Borets'kyi sought foreign support for Orthodoxy and made approaches to Muscovy, but this was a dangerous game that made his church liable to charges of treason. In any event, substantial Muscovite support was not forthcoming.[7]

The stronghold of the Orthodox metropolitan's power was the city of Kiev, where the Orthodox controlled almost all the churches and monasteries.[8] The Kievan Brotherhood and its school had furthered the city's Orthodox intellectual life. In the early 1620s, the Monastery of the Caves had become a major publishing center.

In 1627 Petro Mohyla's ordination and election to the position of archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves further strengthened the

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177–86. For the problems facing the Uniate church, see A. H. Velykyi, *Z litopysu khrystyians'koi Ukrainy*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1972), pp. 27–32.

[4] The best concise description of this period is Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Kosciół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska, 1370–1632* (Warsaw, 1934), pp. 431–39. For the problems of the Orthodox church, see Władysław Tomkiewicz, "Cerkiew dyzunicka w dawnej Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej: Okres walki z Unią Kościelną, 1596–1635," *Przegląd Powszechny* 200 (1933): 149–78; Ludomir Bieńkowski, "Organizacja Kosciola Wschodniego w Polsce," in *Kościół w Polsce*, ed. by Jerzy Kłoczowski, vol. 2: *Wieki XVI–XVIII* (n.p., 1969), pp. 733–1050 (on the structure of both the Orthodox and Uniate churches); and P. Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadnorusskogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei od 1609*, 6 pts. (St. Petersburg, 1901–1911).

[5] For the problem of the Orthodox hierarchy, see Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 10 vols. (reprint ed., New York, 1954-58), 7: 497–508.

[6] On Kuntsevych, see M. Solovii and A. H. Velykyi, *Sviatyi Iosafat Kuntsevych: Ioho zhyttia i doba* (Toronto, 1967).

[7] On Borets'kyi's contacts with Muscovy, see Chodynicki, *Kosciół prawosławny*, pp. 541–43.

[8] On Kiev's rise as a cultural center in this period, see Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi, *Kul'turno-natsional'nyi rukh na Ukraini XVI–XVII st.*, 2nd ed. ([n.p.], 1919), pp. 208–230.

Kievan Orthodox center. Mohyla, the son of a Moldavian hospodar and a relative of the Vyshnevets'kyis (Wiśniowieckis) and other powerful families in the Commonwealth, brought the wealth, respectability, and connections of a grand seigneur to the service of the Orthodox church.[9] Mohyla's loyalty to the Commonwealth and the favorable opinion that he enjoyed in government and Catholic circles increased the chances for a reconciliation of church and state. Mohyla, unlike Borets'kyi, was not compromised by having accepted an unauthorized consecration.

Despite its successes in the 1620s, the Orthodox church vitally needed recognition by the government. Approval by the Diet and the king was necessary even for convening a synod to discuss essential problems of the church's organization.[10] Synods that had been convened in 1627 after the election of Mohyla as archimandrite and in 1628 after the Diet had passed tax provisions concerning the Orthodox church were only tacitly recognized by the government.[11] But if the Orthodox leaders wished to shed Orthodoxy's image as a faith of rebels and to secure a favorable climate for the church's development, they had to secure official approbation.

In 1628, the conversion to the Uniate church of Meletii Smotryts'kyi, archbishop of Polatsk, a major intellectual and cultural leader, demonstrated the weaknesses of an illegal Orthodox church.[12] Although Smotryts'kyi may have been motivated by personal conviction, the stress of defending a church in revolt against the Commonwealth's authorities

[9] The fundamental work about Mohyla, which is also a history of the Eastern church in the first half of the seventeenth century, is Petr Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki (Opyt tserkovno-istoricheskogo issledovaniia)*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1883–98). Also see his "Zapadno-russkaia tserkov' pri mitropolite Petre Mogile (1633–1646)," *Kievskaia starina* 60 (January 1898): 1–34, 60 (March 1898): 397–420, 61 (April 1898): 26–50. For bibliographies of scholarly literature and Mohyla's works, see O. I. Bilets'kyi et al., eds. *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky: Biobibliohrafichnyi slovnyk*, 5 vols. (Kiev, 1960–65), 1 (comp. by L. E. Makhnovets'): 415–27; and Arkadii Zhukovs'kyi, *Petro Mohyla i pytannia iednosty tserkov* (Paris, 1969), pp. 265–77.

[10] Chodynicki, *Kościół prawosławny*, pp. 107–109.

[11] *Prawa, konstytucye y przywileie Królewstwa Polskiego, y Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego, y wszytkich prowincyi należących: Na walnych seymiech koronnych od Seymu Wiślickiego roku Pańskiego 1347 aż do ostatniego Seymu uchwalone*, comp. by Stanisław Konarski, 8 vols. (Warsaw, 1732–82), 3: 282.

[12] On Smotryts'kyi's defection, see Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, 1, pt. 1: 188–201; Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba*, pt. 6, pp. 157–59; Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia*, 8, pt. 1: 77–78; Bohdan Kurylas, *Z"iedynennia arkhyepyskopa Meletiia Smotryts'koho v istorychnomu i psykholohichnomu nasvitlenni* (Winnipeg, 1962); Tadeusz Grabowski, "Ostatnie lata Melecjusza Smotryckiego," in *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Bolesława Orzechowicza* (Lviv, 1916), pp. 297–327; and Meletii M. Solovii, *Meletii Smotryts'kyi iak pys'mennyk*, pt. 1 (Rome and Toronto, 1977) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sect. 2, vol. 36).

must have influenced his decision. Smotryts'kyi's conversion unleashed a wave of recriminations and mistrust against the higher clergy. Without recognition of the church as a legal body, the hierarchs would continue to depend on the Orthodox laity's support and be subject to pressure from nobles and Cossacks.

The clergy were not the only members of the Orthodox church who would benefit from a new accommodation. The leaders of the Orthodox nobility had considerable inducement to begin negotiations about the status of the church. Although they could justify their resistance to the king's and Diet's decisions as a defense of their liberties, the Orthodox leaders were sensitive to charges that they were rebels against the "Commonwealth of the Nobility." Only legalization of the church could reconcile them fully with their "brother-nobles" and terminate their discomfort at being in league with Cossacks and foreign hierarchs. Finally, leadership of an illegal church blocked the nobles' path to royal favor and advancement.[13]

Sentiment for resolving the turmoil in the Orthodox church was not confined to the Orthodox nobility. Metropolitan Ruts'kyi had complained that numerous Catholic nobles viewed the Uniate church with contempt and preferred the Orthodox church to it.[14] The Protestant nobles openly espoused the Orthodox cause, thereby seeking to strengthen the multireligious composition of the Commonwealth. Nobles of all faiths feared the consequences of the religious struggle for the security of the state and the effectiveness of the Diet and dietines. For over thirty years, the defenders of Orthodoxy had agitated for privileges at the Diet and had threatened to block all legislation if their demands were not met. Indeed, numerous de facto concessions had been won by this tactic. The nobles of the Commonwealth would be grateful for any resolution of the Orthodox-Uniate controversy that would end the turmoil at Diets, dietines, and courts.

Sigismund III (1587–1632) had pursued a consistent policy of support for Catholicism and the Uniate church. However, as with his striving for absolute rule and for his restoration to the throne of Sweden, the king had

[13] For the Orthodox obstruction of the Diet, see Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba*, pts. 5 and 6.

[14] For Ruts'kyi's complaints to Rome about Latin-rite Catholic attitudes toward Uniates, see his letter of 1624 in Theodosius T. Haluščynskyj and Athanasius G. Welykyj, eds., *Epistolae Josephi Velamin Rutskyj Metropolitae Kioviensis Catholici (1613–1637)* (Rome, 1956) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sect. 3), pp. 136–141; this work constitutes volume 1 of the subseries *Epistolae Metropolitarum Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum*. Hereafter cited as Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae*.

been thwarted by the Commonwealth's decentralization of power and gentry republicanism. In the 1620s, Sigismund had had to cope with wars with Sweden, hostility from Muscovy, rebellions by the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and raids by the Tatars in the Ukraine. Interests of state influenced the king to abandon his initial stance that after the Union of Brest, no Orthodox existed in his realm. Although Sigismund's fervent Catholicism did not abate, he realized he could not ignore the explosive issue of Orthodox discontent in his eastern lands.[15]

The most consistent principal in the religious controversy was the Holy See. Through its nuncio in Warsaw, it supported the Union of Brest and the Uniate church and it protested concessions to the Orthodox.[16] Papal policy discouraged any innovations that would weaken the Holy See's control over the Uniate Metropolitan See. It opposed any conferences with the Orthodox as dangerous to Catholic interests. Rome demanded submission to the Papal See as a precondition for discussion.[17] The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith closely supervised the activities of the Uniate church and was well informed of the Commonwealth's difficult problems with the Orthodox. In an attempt to strengthen the position of Metropolitan Ruts'kyi and to improve the functioning of the Uniate church, the Congregation had empowered the metropolitan to call synods of his particular church, the first of which assembled in 1626. In conducting their policies toward the Uniate and Orthodox churches in the Commonwealth, the officials of the Congregation had to take into account other papal interests, including relations with the king and the military position of Poland-Lithuania. In sum, Roman policy consisted of keeping maximum control over the Uniate church without foregoing any acceptable opportunity to win over the Orthodox, of not alienating King Sigismund or loyal Catholics in the Commonwealth, and of not crippling the position of a major Catholic state that could be engaged against the foes of Rome.[18]

The 1620s were a period when the principals worked their way towards

15 For Sigismund's policies, see Chodynicki, *Kosciół prawosławny*, pp. 472–79.

16 For the activities of the papal nuncio, Antonio Santa Croce, see Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed., *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes (1550–1850)*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1961) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sect. 3).

17 On the rulings of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, see Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed., *Acta S. C. de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjae Spectantia*, vol. 1: *1622–1667* (Rome, 1953) (= *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sect. 3).

18 For papal policy in this period, see E. Šmurlo, *Le Saint-Siège et l'Orient Orthodoxe Russe: 1609–1654*, 2 pts. (Prague, 1928), pt. 1, pp. 52–69.

a reconsideration of their positions. In 1624, Ruts'kyi proposed plans for a patriarchate that would be both loyal to Rome and accepted by the Orthodox.[19] Rome equivocated over the various plans of the project, but in 1627 it demanded Orthodox submission to the Holy See as a precondition. Ruts'kyi's probes on renewing the dialogue found an audience in Orthodox Kiev. But Smotryts'kyi's attempts to minimize the differences between Orthodoxy and Catholicism at the Synod of 1628 in Kiev aroused popular disapproval, forcing Borets'kyi and Mohyla to condemn him.[20] Although the public reaction to Smotryts'kyi's views gave Mohyla and Borets'kyi considerable reason for caution, they were at least willing to entertain the possibility of discussion with the Uniates. Finally, the king and Diet had de facto allowed Orthodox synods to convene in 1627 and 1628, and they were interested in resolving the Eastern church issue. All sides were, of course, extremely circumspect and reluctant to admit that they were ready to make any concessions. Each had to convey different impressions to different audiences in order to justify discussion, and the probability of recrimination was always great.

The proposal for convening separate Orthodox and Uniate synods, followed by a joint synod, in Lviv, appears to have originated with Metropolitan Ruts'kyi, who acted without prior approval from Rome.[21] The metropolitan enlisted the king's support, but, without Rome's approval, it was in both men's interests to portray the initiative as coming

[19] For Ruts'kyi's attempts to obtain papal approval for a Kiev patriarchate, see Mirosław Szegda, *Działalność*, pp. 193–200. This section is a summary of a chapter in Father Szegda's dissertation, which he has kindly permitted me to read. Also see D. Tanczuk, "Quaestio Patriarchatus Kioviensis tempore conaminum Unionis Ruthenorum (1582- 1632)," *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sect. 1, 1 [7] (1949): 128–44; J. Krajcar, "The Ruthenian Patriarchate — Some Remarks on the Project for its Establishment in the 17th Century," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 30, nos. 1–2 (1960): 65–84; and Mikołaj Andrusiak, "Sprawa patrjarchatu kijowskiego za Władysława IV," in *Prace historyczne w 30-lecie działalności profesorskiej Stanisława Zakrzewskiego* (Lviv, 1934), pp. 269–85.

[20] For the reaction to Smotryts'kyi's discussions, see Kurylas, *Z"iedynennia Arkhyepyskopa Meletiia Smotryts'koho*, pp. 65–73.

[21] Ruts'kyi to the Congregation, 9 January 1629, in Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae*, p. 225, and in Szegda, *Działalność*, p. 186. For discussions of the synods of Kiev, Luts'k and Lviv, see Ivan Khoma, "Ideia spil'noho synodu 1629 r.," *Bohosloviia*, no. 37 (1973), pp. 21–64; Petr Orlovskii, "Kievskii sobor v 1629 g.," *Kievskaia starina* 90 (July-August 1905): 168–73, and Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba*, pt. 6, pp. 9–33. In addition to Šmurlo's *Le Saint-Siège*, and the *Analecta OSBM*, the major source publications are P. Zhukovich, *Materialy dlia istorii kievskogo i l'vovs'kogo soborov* (St. Petersburg, 1911) (= *Zapiski Imperatorskoi akademii nauk*, ser. 8: *Po Istoriko-filologicheskomu otdeleniiu*, no. 15), and Ivan Kryp"iakevych, "Novi materiialy do istorii soboriv v 1629 r.," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 116 (1913): 5–39.

from the Orthodox.[22] The Diet held in January and February 1629 provided Ruts'kyi with the forum he needed to carry out his plan.

When Ruts'kyi first contacted Kysil about his project is not clear, but Ruts'kyi's suggestion to the king that Kysil be named royal delegate to the Orthodox synod and his subsequent laudatory remarks about Kysil's service indicate that the two men worked closely together from the beginning.[23] The question of Kysil's religious convictions is, therefore, of considerable importance. His innermost religious convictions posed a quandry for his contemporaries throughout his life. Reporting Kysil's death in 1653, the papal nuncio Pietro Vidoni mused that just as during Kysil's life it had never been certain whether his real convictions were Catholic or Orthodox, so at his deathbed those present were unsure as to whether or not he had converted to Catholicism.[24]

Kysil's external actions are better known. In the 1630s and 1640s, he led the Orthodox resistance in the Diet. Between 1644 and 1647, he carried on secret negotiations with Rome about a new union. Finally, after 1648, he championed the cause of Orthodoxy. Caught between the intransigence of Counter-Reformation Catholicism and the zeal of the Orthodox masses, Kysil's actions seemed determined by the balance of external forces.

The question of Kysil's formal religious affiliation in the 1620s, and especially in 1629, has troubled historians for some time.[25] Earlier views

22 Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae,* p. 225. Ruts'kyi, in some of his correspondence with Rome, also attributed the initiative to the Orthodox: see his letter to the Congregation, 25 March 1629, in Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae,* pp. 229–30. The papal nuncio was opposed to the idea from the outset and viewed calling the synods as a usurpation of papal authority. Antonio Santa Croce to Cardinal Bandini, 17 March 1629, in *Litterae Nuntiorum,* 5: 11–13.

23 For Kysil's thanks to Ruts'kyi for proposing him as a delegate, see his letter of 14 July 1629, in Ivan Kryp"iakevych, "Novi materiialy," p. 29. For Ruts'kyi's praise of Kysil, see his letter of 27 July 1629, to the papal nuncio, Antonio Santa Croce, in Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae,* p. 232.

24 Pietro Vidoni's dispatch of 19 May 1653 in *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes,* vol. 8 (Rome, 1963), p. 95.

25 Golubev describes Kysil as an Orthodox nobleman: *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila,* 1, pt. 1: 212. Zhukovich's document publication proved definitely that the king's delegate to the Kiev synod was Kysil, and not Prince Aleksander Zasławski, as had been earlier postulated on the basis of manuscripts of the eighteenth-century Uniate metropolitan, Lev Kishka (Zhukovich, *Materialy,* p. 5). In fact, although Pułaski's publication in 1874 of the king's mandate to Kysil proved this, the document was unknown to historians of the synod: Pułaski, "Pierwsze lata," p. 197. Zhukovich maintained that Kysil was still a Uniate, but possibly already favored Orthodoxy. Chodynicki accepted this view (*Kościół prawosławny,* p. 485), but in a series of corrections replaced Uniate with "zealous Orthodox" (p. 631). He proposed that Radziwiłł's comment referred to Adam Franciszek Kisiel. This hypothesis is spurious, since Adam Franciszek, a generation younger than Adam Kysil, was active in the

of Kysil as an ardent proponent of Orthodoxy were cast into doubt by the publication of material about the synods of 1629 and Kysil's part in framing the synodal project and serving as the king's delegate.[26] On the basis of the assertion by Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł that Kysil renounced the union on Easter, 1632 (April 11), it has been supposed that sometime after 1621, when he wrote a will affirming his allegiance to Orthodoxy, Kysil had accepted the union.[27] On this basis, Kysil has been described as a Uniate during the Synod of 1629.[28] The assertion that Kysil was an openly professed Uniate, as opposed to a Uniate sympathizer, is disproved by a statement in a letter of 27 July 1629, from Metropolitan Ruts'kyi to the papal nuncio Antonio Santa Croce: "In the future he [Kysil] could be of great use to us; he has great significance among them [the Orthodox]; and they take him as theirs, and because of this they believe everything, while for all that he is inwardly united with us, although not yet externally."[29] Thus, Kysil was officially Orthodox in 1629, though considered by the Uniate camp as one of their own.[30] Yet, unlike Smotryts'kyi, he never appears to have made a formal, albeit secret, profession of faith. Nevertheless the example of Smotryts'kyi's secret adherence to the union must have influenced Ruts'kyi to give credence to Kysil's assurances.[31] Unless Kysil publicly converted between July 1629 and April 1632, Radziwiłł's assertion must be doubted. What Radziwiłł may have described was Kysil's public clarification that he was not a Uniate.

In 1629, Kysil was elected to the Diet from the Volhynian dietine. During the Diet, he took part in discussions with Ruts'kyi's emissary,

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second half of the seventeenth century; cf. Biblioteka PAN in Cracow, MS 2878, fol. 40. Adam Franciszek could not have been at the Diet in 1632. Kryp"iakevych took a non-committal stand, putting Kysil "in the middle between Uniates and Orthodox" ("Novi materiialy," p. 9).

26 For the older tradition, see S. Baranovskii, "Pravoslavnyi, volynskii pomeshchik, A. Kisel' kak pol'skii diplomat v èpokhu B. Khmel'nitskogo," *Volynskie eparkhial'nye vedomosti,* no. 21, 1 November 1874, pp. 747–66.

27 Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Memoriale Rerum Gestarum in Polonia 1632–1656,* 5 vols. (Wrocław, 1968–75) (=Polska Akademia Nauk, Oddział w Krakowie, Materiały Komisji Nauk Historycznych, vols. 15, 18, 22, 25, 26), 3: 66.

28 See fn. 25.

29 Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae,* p. 232.

30 This assertion is made on the basis of Kysil's comment to Mohyla (as reported by Kysil to Ruts'kyi) that he was of the same faith as Mohyla. Zhukovich, *Materialy,* p. 10.

31 For Ruts'kyi's views on Smotryts'kyi's conversion, see his letter to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith of 9 January 1629. Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae,* pp. 223–25.

Iosyf Bakovets'kyi, the Uniate abbot of Zhydychyns'k Monastery, Iosyf Bobrykovych of the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood Monastery, and the Orthodox leaders of the nobility — Fedir Sushchans'kyi-Proskura, delegate from the Palatinate of Kiev, Mykhailo Kropyvnyts'kyi, delegate from the Palatinate of Bratslav, and Lavrentii Drevyns'kyi, delegate from the Palatinate of Volhynia.[32] Kysil drew up a legislative proposal calling for a series of synods that would result in a "Pacification of the Greek Faith";[33] the phrase was that traditionally used for Orthodox demands for recognition and privileges. However, the inclusion of a request for a joint synod with the Uniates and the participation of Bakovets'kyi indicate that the Orthodox leaders were at least ready to enter discussions with the Uniates. Although the Diet did not act on the proposal, the discussants continued to meet after it had formally recessed. Bakovets'kyi attempted to convince the Orthodox leaders that the synods could be called by the king alone and the Orthodox leaders signed the proposal.[34]

The subsequent web of recriminations and justifications makes it difficult to establish either side's positions during the negotiations. It appears, however, that before Kropyvnyts'kyi, Drevyns'kyi, and Bobrykovych departed, they agreed to the proposal that the king call the synods. In any event, they later fully supported the synod convened by the king. In February, Sigismund issued universals convening an Orthodox synod in Kiev and a Uniate synod in Volodymyr on July 9, and a joint synod in Lviv on October 28.[35] It is likely that the planners of the synods avoided introducing legislation at the Diet because they feared the papal nuncio might have protested any action before the Holy See's approval had been secured. Also, the Orthodox delegates had not been empowered by the dietines to negotiate for a synod, and an attempt to pass any legislation on the Greek faith might have encountered resistance in the Diet.[36] However, the universals that the king issued differed substantially from the pro-

32 For an account of the discussions, see Drevyns'kyi's and Kropyvnyts'kyi's protest after the synod (undated). Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 22–24.

33 For the projected constitution, see Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 19–20. The proposal concluded with the statement: "The delegate of the Palatinate of Volhynia wrote this copy with his own hand, Adam Kysil."

34 Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 23.

35 See the universal dated 16 February 1629, published in *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 6 (Kiev, 1883), pp. 598–99. Santa Croce sent a copy to Cardinal Bandini on 17 March 1629. *Litterae Nuntiorum*, 5: 11–13.

36 The protest of the Orthodox clergy on 12 July 1629 charged that the delegates to the Diet had not been empowered to convene a synod. Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 21. Drevyns'kyi and Kropyvnyts'kyi maintained that discussions had taken place after their official duties as delegates had terminated. Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 23.

jected legislation signed by the Orthodox delegates. Instead of convening the synods for the "Pacification of the Greek Faith," the king called for them as a means of promoting the union of churches. By this wording, the king could expect to strengthen his case to gain approval from Rome for the proposed joint synod. Such wording, however, roused Orthodox opposition.[37]

Upon Ruts'kyi's recommendation, the king appointed Kysil royal delegate to the Orthodox synod in Kiev.[38] After the appointment, Kysil traveled to Kiev, where he worked out a program of procedure with Metropolitan Borets'kyi.[39] Throughout, Borets'kyi cooperated with Kysil, although his real position on the advisability of religious union is difficult to determine.[40] Kysil's major supporter among the Orthodox clergy, Petro Mohyla, arrived the day before the synod began. Mohyla's role was especially crucial because Metropolitan Ruts'kyi considered him an ideal candidate for Uniate patriarch in a reunited Ruthenian church.[41]

In his report on the synod, Kysil maintained that while the most important clergymen were favorably disposed toward a projected union, most Orthodox nobles were ardently opposed and refused to participate. The nobles maintained that the delegates to the Diet of 1629 had no right to arrange a synod. They asserted that the delegates had not been empowered by the dietines to arrange synods and that a synod could be called only by legislation of the Diet. The presence of numerous Cossacks in Kiev during the synod also impeded negotiations. The armed Cossacks made it clear that they would accept no concessions to the Catholics.[42]

Consequently, the synod that convened on 9 July 1629 was hardly a cross section of Rus' society. Borets'kyi was the only hierarch present, and Izaak Boryskovych, bishop of Luts'k and exarch of the patriarch of

[37] See fn. 35 for the universals. Their wording was protested by Drevyns'kyi and Kropyvnyts'kyi. Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 23.

[38] For Sigismund's appointment of Kysil, undated, see Pułaski, "Pierwsze lata," p. 197.

[39] This account of the synod is based chiefly on Kysil's report to Metropolitan Ruts'kyi published in Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 8–18; another copy of the report is in Kryp"iakevych, "Novi materiialy," pp. 25–28. Relevant material is in Šmurlo, *Le Saint-Siège*, pt. 2, pp. 44–72. The course of the synod is described in all of these works, but the best general discussion of the events of 1629 is in Chodynicki, *Kosciół prawosławny*, pp. 479–512.

[40] Although Kysil praised Borets'kyi for his efforts to reach an agreement, Ruts'kyi was suspicious of Borets'kyi's real intentions: Ruts'kyi to Santa Croce, 27 July 1629; Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae*, pp. 231–33.

[41] Szegda, *Działalność*, p. 196.

[42] Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 8–18.

Constantinople, protested the legitimacy of the synod. On the first day, Lavrentii Drevyns'kyi was elected head of the lay assembly of the synod, but the absence of the majority of the Orthodox nobles put the assembly's legitimacy in question. The monk Teodor, an emissary of the bishop of Lviv, Iarema Tysarivs'kyi, was elected head of the clerical assembly. Kysil presented his proposals before the synod on the first day. He requested that all points of conflict in the dogma and administration of the Orthodox and the Catholic church be defined, proposals for resolving conflicts be made, and delegates to the joint synod in Lviv be selected.[43]

On July 10, after considerable disturbances by the Cossacks, including an attempt to eject Kysil from the assembly, the Orthodox synod debated the issue of sending delegates to the joint synod. Petro Mohyla and delegates from the Vilnius Brotherhood spoke in favor of participation. Delegates of the Lviv Brotherhood and Teodor, the emissary of the bishop of Lviv, argued that because the synod was convened by order of the king alone and not by the Diet, participation by the Orthodox might only jeopardize their church's rights and privileges. Kysil tried to calm Orthodox fears and convince the delegates that the Orthodox had nothing to lose by participation, but could make considerable gains.[44]

On July 11, Kropyvnyts'kyi and Drevyns'kyi spoke in favor of participation. The continued absence of the nobility and the agitation of the Cossacks brought the synod to an impasse. Kysil's attempts to calm the Cossacks met with a sharp rebuff and threats of physical violence. He was forced to admit delegates sent by the Zaporozhian Host and the synod was held behind barred doors, with numerous armed Cossacks just outside. Borets'kyi was under particular pressure and for his personal safety spent the night at the Monastery of the Caves.[45]

Failing to secure the election of delegates to the joint synod, Kysil tried a new tactic. At a private meeting with Drevyns'kyi, Kropyvnyts'kyi, Proskura, Borets'kyi, and Mohyla, he proposed that an elite inner synod elect delegates. This suggestion was rejected, however, because Kropyvnyts'kyi and Drevyns'kyi refused to take action without authorization from the nobility. The clergy insisted that they were authorized to make decisions only in spiritual matters, and that since the points now under consideration affected the liberty of nobles they could be decided only

[43] Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 10–11, 14–16. For Boryskovych's objections, see the protests of the Orthodox clergy, 12 July 1629, in Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 21.
[44] Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 11–12.
[45] Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 12–13.

with the nobles' participation. Over the objection of Mohyla and Bobrykovych, the Vilnius Brotherhood's delegate, the synod was adjourned on 12 July 1629.[46]

It remained for the various parties to justify their actions before both the king and Rus' society. On 12 July 1629, Kysil, in his capacity as the king's delegate, filed a short report in the local court books on the failure of the synod.[47] The Orthodox clergy registered a protest against the synod, justifying their actions on three grounds: the divergence between the original project formulated at the Diet and its subsequent execution; the lack of consent by either the patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris, or his exarch, Izaak Boryskovych; and the boycott by the nobility.[48] Kropyvnyts'kyi and Drevyns'kyi justified their activities by denouncing the discrepancies between the plan that they had worked out at the Diet and the king's universals.[49]

Kysil later analyzed the obstacles to union on the basis of his discussions with Borets'kyi and Mohyla.[50] While the Orthodox prelates were willing to concede most points of dogma, their insistence that the patriarch of Constantinople agree to any synod and that the Orthodox church remain obedient to him posed a major stumbling block. Kysil, although aware of the great problem entailed by their insistence on the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, was encouraged by the willingness of the hierarchs and some of the nobles to discuss the problem of union. To Kysil, the Cossacks and popular masses were obstacles to be overcome. Although in a letter of July 14 to Metropolitan Ruts'kyi, Kysil apologized for his failure to control the synod, maintaining that shame kept him from writing to the king or to chancellor Jakób Zadzik, he was actually pleased over his performance at the synod.[51]

Kysil's tactics as delegate to the synod give us our first major insight

46 Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 12–13.
47 Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila*, 1, pt. 2: 368–69.
48 Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 20–22. Kryp"iakevych asserts that in the protest registered in the Kiev court books, a militant anti-Uniate position was taken by the clergy, who went so far as to demand the abolition of the Union of Brest: "Novi materiialy," p. 12. In the papers of Santa Croce, Kryp"iakevych found a more moderate translation of the protest which the clergy gave to Kysil, and a letter from the clergy to the king: "Novi materiialy," pp. 24–25. He postulates that the militant public protest was for home consumption, and the conciliatory message was for the king. I can find no support in Zhukovich for Kryp"iakevych's assertion that the clergy demanded the union's abolition.
49 Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 22–24.
50 Zhukovich, *Materialy*, pp. 13–14.
51 Kryp"iakevych, "Novi materiialy," p. 29.

into his opinions on religion and church affairs. The most striking aspect of his religious attitude is his fluid definition of his own belief and allegiance. He had informed Mohyla and Ruts'kyi that he was of each prelate's faith.[52] While Kysil seems to have been Orthodox in 1629, his religious views appear to have consisted of a tolerant adherence to Christianity in the Rus' rite and of a desire to end the conflict in the Ruthenian church. His primary concern was the *unity of the Ruthenian church.* In an address on the first day of the synod's deliberations, he maintained that:

Not only you, Gentlemen, weep, but we all weep gazing at the rent coat and costly robe of our dear Mother, the Holy Eastern Church. You, Gentlemen, bemoan, and we all bemoan that we are divided from our own brothers, we who were in one font of the Holy Spirit six hundred years ago in the Dnieper waters, in this metropolis of the Rus' Principality. It wounds you, Gentlemen, and it wounds us all; Behold! There flourish the organisms of commonwealths made of various nations, but we of one nation, of one people, of one religion, of one worship, of one rite, are not one (*A my z iedney naciey, iednego narodu, iedney Religiey, iednego nabożenstwa, iednych obrzędów nie iedno iestieśmy*). Thus we are torn asunder and so decline.[53]

These eloquent phrases, although formulated to urge the Orthodox faithful to compromise, strongly reflect Kysil's adherence to a program of unity of the Rus' faith and nation, a program that he hoped would be acceptable to both Uniates and Orthodox. He did not address the synod on the unity of Eastern and Western Christians or the relative merits of Catholicism or Orthodoxy. Instead, he expressed the conviction that the fratricidal struggle among the Ruthenians must be stopped. To him, Eastern Christianity was an intrinsic characteristic of the Ruthenian nation and people, those who had been baptized together six hundred years before in the Dnieper River in Kiev, the capital of the Rus' principality. As in his later activities, Kysil sought to preserve the unity of his historical-cultural-religious community, Rus', against the divisiveness of religious controversy. The desire to bring an end to the civil war among the Ruthenians had also been felt by Ruts'kyi, Borets'kyi, and Mohyla — men more tied to a specific denomination.

Although Kysil had a receptive audience for his program and the support of the king, his mission was bound to fail. The obstinate opposition of the Cossack Host intimidated the pro-union elements among the clergy. In vain Kysil attempted to curb Cossack influence and to ridicule

52 Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 10; Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae*, p. 232.
53 Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 17.

the Cossacks as "rabble."[54] Despite Kysil's view that the Rus' elite — that is, the higher clergy and nobility — should resolve church problems, the Orthodox Synod of 1629 demonstrated the Cossacks' importance as self-proclaimed protectors of the Orthodox church. Although Kysil and Bakovets'kyi convinced the leaders of the Orthodox nobility, Drevyns'kyi and Kropyvnyts'kyi, to attempt a compromise in order to gain royal concessions for the Orthodox, most nobles, distrustful after the long struggle for Orthodox rights, were unwilling to embark on discussions that might prove a trap to weaken the Orthodox position. In fact, they correctly assessed the king's primary interest, which was to find an acceptable formula for Orthodox accession to the Union of Brest.

External forces increased the unwillingness of the Orthodox to enter into union with Rome. The failure of the Diet or the Polish Catholic church to grant the Uniate church real equality, whether tangible (the inclusion of bishops in the Diet) or intangible (a change in the attitude that the Uniate church was an inferior form of Catholicism), weakened Metropolitan Ruts'kyi's position in attracting the Orthodox. In fact, only the accession of the Orthodox to the Union of Brest would have given Ruts'kyi a position of power sufficient to secure concessions from the Catholic church. In addition, the Protestant camp in the Commonwealth was loath to see the problem of the Rus' church solved through Orthodox consent to a union (either the existing one of Brest or a new one). During the synod, the great Calvinist magnate Krzysztof Radziwiłł even intervened to shore up the Orthodox opposition.[55] Finally, and most importantly, Rome was hostile to real compromise. Ruts'kyi, Kysil, and Sigismund had initiated the program of separate and joint synods without the knowledge of the nuncio or the consent of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Although Ruts'kyi pleaded the necessity for such a step to the Holy See, the Congregation forbade the calling of a joint Uniate-Orthodox synod.[56] Rome preferred a partial union of the Ruthen-

[54] Zhukovich, *Materialy,* p. 1. Kysil also reports having attempted to win over the Cossacks by calling them "men necessary to the Fatherland": Zhukovich, *Materialy,* p. 10.

[55] See Radziwiłł's letter of 20 June 1629 in Golubev, *Kievskii mitropolit Petr Mogila,* 1, pt. 2: 364.

[56] For Rome's views, see Šmurlo, *Le Saint-Siège,* pt. 2, pp. 44–72; Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae,* pp. 225, 229–37; *Litterae Nuntiorum,* 5: 27–33; *Acta S. C. De Propaganda,* 1: 78–80. The most thorough discussion of the problems of the Ruthenian church and the considerations of Rome was that by the Congregation's secretary, Francesco Ingoli, dated 4 June 1629. Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed., *Litterae Episcoporum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes (1600–1900),* vol. 1 (Rome, 1972) (= *Analecta OSBM,* ser. 2, sect. 2), pp. 182–88. For Ruts'kyi's explanations of his motives and the course of events, see

ians to any negotiations that might prove dangerous to its control of the Uniate church or that might result in a more autonomous Ruthenian church. The refusal of the Orthodox to appoint delegates to the joint synod in Lviv, in fact, saved face for the Uniate hierarchy, since the Congregation had ordered Ruts'kyi to prevent the synod from convening.[57]

Although Kysil failed in his mission to the Orthodox synod, the incident was by no means a personal disaster and was in many ways a success. Kysil had furthered the consensus on dogmatic problems, and he had worked out an agreement of the terms under which the Orthodox leadership would consent to a new synod. His relations with Borets'kyi, Mohyla, Drevyns'kyi, and Kropyvnyts'kyi were cordial, for he had assisted them skillfully during the tense and potentially dangerous synod.[58] Kysil's relations with the Uniate hierarchy were just as amicable. He worked closely with the Uniate bishop of Volodymyr, Iliia Morokhovs'kyi, throughout the synod; a year later, Morokhovs'kyi named Kysil an executor of his will, which endowed the Uniate school in Volodymyr.[59] Metropolitan Ruts'kyi wrote to Nuncio Santa Croce praising Kysil for his dedication, industry, and bravery during the synod, and suggesting that he be commended to the king.[60]

The synodal project of 1629 had given Kysil a chance to prove his worth to a number of factions within the Commonwealth. It must have played a considerable part in shaping Kysil's subsequent policies and attitudes. The events of 1629 demonstrated that, despite the able leadership of Ruts'kyi, the Uniate church was a weak institution and that the Holy See was not interested in renegotiating the terms of the Union of Brest. The power of Orthodoxy was evident from the struggle, as was the influence of the Cossacks in church affairs. If the Rus' church was to be reunited, the reunification could hardly be accomplished under Uniate aegis. The

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Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae*, pp. 225, 229–37 and, in particular, his letter to Santa Croce of 10 November 1629 in *Litterae Episcoporum*, 1: 197–202.

57 Kryp"iakevych, "Novi materiialy," pp. 18–19. The Congregation rejected the request to hold a joint synod on June 4 and June 22: *Acta S. C. De Propaganda*, 1: 78–80.

58 For Kysil's favorable comments about them, see Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 13.

59 Kysil quoted Morokhovs'kyi's opinions in discussing the synod: Zhukovich, *Materialy*, p. 13. Morokhovs'kyi had even been proposed as a Uniate liaison to the Kiev synod: Šmurlo, *Le Saint-Siège*, 1: 64. Morokhovs'kyi's will is in *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, pt. 1, vol. 6, pp. 634–37.

60 Ruts'kyi, *Epistolae*, p. 232.

synods of 1629 must have been a major factor in Kysil's decision to join and lead the Orthodox camp during the interregnum after Sigismund's death in 1632.

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Kiev as the Ukraine's Primate City

ROMAN SZPORLUK

In his celebrated article entitled "The Law of the Primate City," the American geographer Mark Jefferson declared: "All over the world it is the Law of the Capitals that the largest city shall be supereminent, and not merely in size but in national influence."[1] Jefferson argued that its size gives the largest city "an impetus to grow that cannot affect any other city," causing it to draw away from all others not only in size, but also in character. Citing statistical evidence from many lands, Jefferson formulated a "primacy index" for measuring the degree to which capitals have succeeded in establishing their preeminence. He counted the values of the populations of a country's three largest cities as percentages of the value of the largest city. Thus, for example, in Austria the primacy index was reflected in the relationship "100 — 8 — 6," in which 100 represented Vienna (population of 1,874,000), and the next two numbers represented Graz (153,000) and Linz (109,000), respectively. In this way Austria was shown to be a highly integrated state, whereas Italy, with an index of 100 — 96 — 75, was shown to be lacking in unity. (Rome's population in 1936 was 1,156,000; Milan's 1,116,000; and that of Naples, 866,000.)[2]

Jefferson was clearly aware that certain primate cities lose their status while other cities achieve it, but he did not offer any explanation why this was so. He acknowledged that in 1914, Naples, not Rome, was Italy's largest and therefore, on his terms, primate city, and in measuring primacy as of 1914 he assessed Milan's and Rome's standing in relation to Naples. (Naples was 100, Milan 96, and Rome 85.) By 1936, Rome and Naples had changed places, but, in Jefferson's view, Italian unity had not really increased: the new primate city, Rome, was about as strong in relation to Naples and Milan as the old primate city, Naples, had been in relation to Milan and Rome twenty years earlier.[3] Admittedly, Jefferson

1 Mark Jefferson, "The Law of the Primate City," *Geographical Review* 29 (1939): 227.
2 Jefferson, "Law," p. 228.
3 Jefferson, "Law," p. 232.

said he expected Rome now to increase further the ascendancy that it had first achieved in 1931 by becoming Italy's largest city, but he did not say why he expected this. A historian could have pointed out that Rome owed its victory of 1931 to the political decision made in 1870, which gave it the rank of a capital city. That decision had nothing to do with Rome's size, but it had everything to do with Rome's historical image and status. When Rome finally became Italy's largest city, demographic reality was made to conform to historical ideal, for ideally Rome had always been Italy's primate city.

Jefferson's neglect of the political factor is revealed in another facet of his thesis: the assumption that the primate city is not simply the most populous, but also the one which "expresses the national disposition more completely than any other city.... Primacy of a leading city is... an earmark of intense nationalism."[4] This geographic onesidedness led the author to see in Austria and Vienna the most convincing demonstration of his thesis — a strange claim to make at any time, but especially so in the 1930s.

It is pointless to dwell on Jefferson's limitations. Despite them, the thesis he presented has proved to be stimulating and fruitful, and his article is read today, decades after its first publication. Let us take up, then, a theme Jefferson suggested but did not care to develop and explore: the problem of the primate city of a nation that lacks political independence. How is such a nation's "ideal capital" related to the actually existing largest or primate city in its ethnic homeland? Modern-day Ukraine offers an excellent case study for the exploration of such duality between the actual and the ideal.

At the close of the nineteenth century, when the first modern census in the Ukraine under the Russian Empire took place, Odessa emerged as the largest city located in Ukrainian ethnic territory. Kiev, at some distance behind, came in second. The actual figures (rounded off to the nearest thousand) for the largest cities were:

Odessa	404
Kiev	248
Kharkiv	174
Lviv	160
Dnipropetrovs'k	113
Mykolaiv	92

[4] Jefferson, "Law," p. 231.

Chernivtsi	68
Zhytomyr	66
Kremenchuk	63
Kirovohrad	61
Kherson	59
Poltava	54

Source: Chauncy D. Harris, *Cities of the Soviet Union* (Chicago, 1970), table 27, p. 256ff. Note: Katerynoslav and Ielysavethrad were the names of Dnipropetrovs'k and Kirovohrad, respectively, in 1897.

This list includes not only the ten largest Ukrainian cities in the Russian Empire, but also two cities located in the Austrian Empire — Lviv and Chernivtsi, the respective capitals of Galicia and Bukovyna, ethnically mixed crownlands whose capitals were located in the predominantly Ukrainian portions of those two provinces.

Following the Jefferson formula, we assign to Odessa the value of 100, and, correspondingly, those of 61 and 43 to Kiev and Kharkiv, respectively. Since the sum of values for Kiev and Kharkiv barely exceeded the value assigned to Odessa alone, it would seem that the Ukraine had a fairly strong primate city, certainly a stronger one than Italy had in 1914. But it does not take much political or historical wisdom to see that this index cannot serve as an indicator of the strength of Ukrainian nationalism. Nor does it reflect the actual hierarchical relationship among the Ukrainian cities of the time. The city of Odessa, ranking third in size in the Russian Empire, owed its growth to being an imperial commercial and transportation center, not to performing any specifically Ukrainian economic function. As for its role in Ukrainian nationalism, suffice it to say that in 1897 only 9.4 percent of Odessa's populace considered itself Ukrainian by nationality. In fact, except for Mykolaiv, where Ukrainians were even less numerous (8.5 percent), Odessa had the lowest share of Ukrainians among the ten or twelve largest cities in the Ukrainian ethnic homeland. There was only one major city situated in ethnic Ukrainian territory that had a Ukrainian majority in 1897: this was Poltava, ranking tenth in size among Ukrainian cities in the Russian Ukraine alone and twelfth if those under Austria are included.[5]

[5] For the ethnic composition of Ukrainian cities in the Russian Empire, see *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii 1897 g.*, 89 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1899–1905). Data quoted here are taken from table 2, "Ethnic Composition of [the] Ten Largest Ukrainian Cities, 1897," in Steven L. Guthier, "The Popular Base of Ukrainian Nationalism in 1917," *Slavic Review* 38 (1979): 41.

This fact, supported by the discovery that no other major city had a population more than 30 percent Ukrainian, reveals a significant feature of nineteenth-century economic developments such as urbanization and industrialization in the Ukraine. The most rapid economic growth took place in those parts of the Ukraine, such as the south and the east, where Ukrainians were relatively weak and which lay outside the historic "core area" of the Ukrainian nationality. Simultaneously, the traditional center of the Ukraine, Kiev, and such smaller cities as Poltava and Chernihiv found themselves side-tracked in the process. One of the consequences of this dichotomy was the pressure for Russification of Ukrainians moving to, or living in, the rapidly growing urban centers. The most drastic case in point was Odessa.[6]

For reasons that cannot be discussed here, the political center of modern Ukrainian organized life was formed in Lviv, on the western periphery of the Ukrainian ethnic homeland, just at the time that its economic centers were developing along the southern and eastern peripheries. Lviv played an exceptional role in Ukrainian politics and culture, but it could not assume the function of an all-Ukrainian capital. As a result, Ukrainian developments, as we can see, followed a pattern quite different from what the Czechs or the Poles experienced in the nineteenth century. Both Prague and Warsaw, located as they were in the core areas of their respective nations and both enjoying the status and prestige of historical capitals, became, under the impact of capitalism, major industrial, financial, and transportation centers, while at the same time functioning as centers of their national movements. In consequence, they helped modernize the Czech and Polish peoples without fostering their denationalization. In the Ukraine such centers did not overlap: commerce and transport were concentrated in Odessa; Kharkiv and Katerynoslav led in industry; and Lviv was the center stage of political and cultural activity. Kiev, meanwhile, was the Ukraine's ideal capital, its primate city *in pectore,* deriving status from the past, when it was the great capital during the Kievan period of Ukrainian history.

Where did Kiev stand in terms of the Jefferson formula, modified, however, to recognize a nation's spiritual capital as its primate city, regardless of that city's actual size? As could be expected, Kiev did not emerge as a strong center: to its 100 points, Odessa registered 163 and Kharkiv, 70. Combined, these two cities exceeded Kiev's population two and one-third

[6] Patricia Herlihy, "The Ethnic Composition of the City of Odessa in the Nineteenth Century," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1977): 53–78.

times. Clearly, Kiev was no capital to them. Obviously, the Ukraine was less integrated in 1897 than Italy was in 1914, a conclusion that one somehow senses to be correct without recourse to arithmetic.

The format of this essay does not allow a discussion of the political events of twentieth-century Ukrainian history in terms of the role of primate cities or the urban hierarchy in the Ukraine. It is obvious, for example, and has been noted by historians that during the Ukrainian Revolution, the Ukrainians were handicapped not only by an overall weakness in the cities, but also by the fact that their center, Kiev, lacked a clear position of primacy in relation to Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, or Odessa. The Soviets also encountered difficulties in the Ukraine that were due to lack of communication between their regional groups in the east, the south, and the west. The Bolsheviks of Kharkiv and Katerynoslav, for example, refused to recognize the claims of those in Kiev to organize an all-Ukrainian Bolshevik network. Instead, each regional center preferred to communicate directly with Petrograd and then Moscow.[7] After the revolution and civil war, the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic established its seat in Kharkiv. It was not until 1934 that the capital was moved to Kiev, where Ukrainian national governments had been located in the post-1917 period. For consistency's sake, however, let us consider Kiev the Ukraine's capital city throughout the post-revolutionary era.

The census of 1926 revealed that Kiev had become the actual number one city in the Ukraine. Its population was 514,000, compared with Odessa's 421,000 and Kharkiv's 417,000.[8] On Jefferson's index we register a definite strengthening in Kiev's position: with Kiev valued as 100, we get 82 for Odessa and 81 for Kharkiv. By 1939, when the next census was taken and when Kiev had already functioned for several years as the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, its relative strength had declined, reflect-

[7] As examples of scholarly works in which these problems are discussed, see Jurij Borys, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine* (Stockholm, 1960); Arthur E. Adams, *Bolsheviks in the Ukraine: The Second Campaign, 1918–1919* (New Haven and London, 1963), p. 328; Yaroslav Bilinsky, "The Communist Take-over of the Ukraine," in Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917–1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 104–127; and S. M. Korolivs'kyi, M. A. Rubach, and N. I. Suprunenko, *Pobeda Sovetskoi vlasti na Ukraine* (Moscow, 1967), pp. 33–34.

[8] Chauncy D. Harris, *Cities of the Soviet Union: Studies in Their Functions, Size, Density, and Growth* (Chicago, 1970), p. 256. Harris provides a wealth of data concerning cities and towns of the Soviet Union, including many in the Ukraine. See also Iu. I. Pitiurenko, *Rozvytok mist i mis'ke rozselennia v Ukrains'kii RSR* (Kiev, 1972), p. 121, which contains a table giving the population growth of the eight largest Ukrainian cities (as of 1970) from 1897 to 1970.

ing, no doubt, the intensive urbanization and industrialization drive in the east and southeast of the Ukraine and a corresponding neglect of the central and western areas. Kiev and Kharkiv were almost equal in size in 1939: the former had a population of 847,000, and the latter, that of 833,000, which gave Kharkiv 98 points against Kiev's 100. Third place was held by Odessa (602,000), with 71 points.[9] One can speculate that but for the transfer of the capital to Kiev in 1934, which brought with it an influx of thousands of officials and an expansion in housing and service construction, Kharkiv would have surpassed Kiev in size by 1939.

The Second World War brought immense population changes to the Ukraine. One consequence was an expansion of the Ukrainian SSR to the west. This transformed the geopolitical position of Kiev, giving it a more central location in the Ukraine. When the first postwar census was taken in 1959 — unusually late, one might add — it showed Kiev with a population of 1,110,000, followed by Kharkiv with 953,000, and, in third place, Donets'k with 708,000. Kharkiv represented 86 percent of the value of Kiev, and Donets'k, 64 percent; together, the two had a population 50 percent larger than Kiev's, but, relatively, Kiev had improved its position by 19 points. By 1970, third place was taken by Odessa (population 892,000) which just beat Donets'k (879,000), now number four. Kharkiv was safely in the number two position (1,223,000), and Kiev had forged ahead (1,632,000).[10] By then Kharkiv had 75 percent and Odessa had 55 percent of Kiev's population, and Kiev had further strengthened its lead by 20 points. The most recent census, taken in January 1979, shows Kiev continuing its surge forward. Its population has passed the two million mark (2,144,000), whereas Kharkiv has yet to reach 1.5 million (1,444,000). Dnipropetrovs'k held third place in 1979 (1,066,000), thanks to administrative annexations carried out in 1978: without them it would have remained behind Odessa, which had 1,046,000 inhabitants in 1979 and was thus number four. (Donets'k slipped to fifth place, although it has continued to grow and had 1,021,000 people.)[11] In percentages of Kiev's population, Kharkiv had 67, and Dnipropetrovs'k had 50. Odessa, which in 1897 was so much larger than Kiev, in 1979 had less than half of Kiev's population.

[9] Harris, *Cities*, p. 256, and Pitiurenko, *Rozvytok*, p. 121.
[10] For both the 1959 and the 1970 censuses, see *Itogi Vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1972), pp. 43–49. This source gives adjusted figures for Ukrainian cities in 1959, by taking into account administrative annexations carried out after 1959 and omitted from the publication of 1959 returns during the 1960s.
[11] "Pro poperedni pidsumky Vsesoiuznoho perepysu naselennia 1979 roku po Ukrains'kii RSR," *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 25 April 1979, p. 3.

Over all, Kiev's showing in the 1979 census was the best in more than a hundred years. For Kiev was smaller than Odessa in the 1897 census and, insofar as can be ascertained, smaller than Lviv earlier in the nineteenth century.[12] It can plausibly be argued that by 1959 or 1970, Kiev had become not only the Ukraine's largest city, but also the central city for Ukrainians. It registered a Ukrainian majority in 1959 and increased it in 1970.[13] (The nationality portion of the 1979 census returns has not yet been published.) Although its size does not correspond to the size that certain geographers project for a capital of a republic with the Ukraine's population,[14] Kiev seems to have established itself solidly as the unchallenged primate city of the Ukraine.[15]

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12 Harris, *Cities*, passim, and Patricia Herlihy, "Ukrainian Cities in the Nineteenth Century," paper presented at the Ukrainian Historical Conference, London, Ontario, May 1978, p. 7.

13 See V. V. Pokshishevskii, "Urbanization and Ethnogeographic Processes," *Soviet Geography* 13 (1972): 117 and passim, for a discussion of the significance of the changing ethnic composition of Kiev, Baku, Tashkent, and Tbilisi, as well as the capitals of other Soviet republics. For 1970 figures, see *Itogi Vsesoiuznoi perepisi naseleniia 1970 goda*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 1973), p. 178.

14 Harris, *Cities*, p. 135, writes: "Kiev . . . is only about a third as large as would be expected from the network of 301 cities and towns of more than 10,000 population in the Ukraine." Peter Woroby, "Effects of Urbanization in the Ukraine," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 13 (1973–77): 95 and 113–14, also argues that Kiev is an underdeveloped metropolis, but he notes that it improved its position between the censuses of 1959 and 1970.

15 Such is the conclusion of David J. M. Hooson, *The Soviet Union: People and Regions* (Belmont, Calif., 1966), p. 163. An interesting examination of Kiev's place in the urban hierarchy of the Ukraine, especially in comparison with the other supra-regional centers of Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovs'k, Donets'k, and Lviv, appears in Iu. Pitiurenko, *Territorial'nye sistemy gorodskikh poselenii Ukrainskoi SSR* (Kiev, 1977), pp. 80–84. Pitiurenko argues that Vynnytsia may be in the process of becoming another such supra-regional center, in view of its location between Lviv and Kiev, the two major cities of the western part of the Ukraine which are separated by an unusually long distance (ibid., pp. 83–84).

Timur Devrine ait iki Türkçe Şiir
[Two Turkish Poems of the Timur Period]

GÖNÜL ALPAY TEKİN

XIV. yy.ın sonları ile XV. yy.ın ilk yarısında yaşamış musikîşinas, hattat ve şair 'Abdü'l-ḳādir b. Ġaybī el-Ḥāfıẓ el-Merāġī, sırasıyla Azerbaycan ve Irak'ta hükûmet süren Celāyirlerden Sulṭān Ḥüseyin Celāyirī (1374–1382) ve Sulṭān Aḥmed Celāyirī (1382–1410)'nin önceleri Tebriz'de, daha sonra Bağdat'taki sarayında saray musikîşinası olarak bulunmuştur. Timur (öl. 1405)'un Azerbaycan ve Irak'ı fethetmesinden sonra ise, önce onun sarayına, onun ölümünden sonra sırasıyla Ḥalīl Sulṭān (1405–1409)'ın ve Şāhruḫ (1407–1447)'un sarayına intisap etmiştir[1]. Hattat olup *nesiḫ* ve *nesta'līḳ* yazılarında üstat idi. Hem Farsça hem Türkçe şiirler yazmıştır. Fakat A. Merāġī asıl şöhretini klasik İslâm musikîsinin en büyük üstatlarından biri olarak kazanmıştır. İyi ud çalardı; sesi fevkalâde güzeldi. Bütün bunlara ilâveten, Yakın Doğu musikî nazariyâtına dair geniş bilgiye sahip olup, hem *taṣnīf*ler yapardı hem de musikîye ait eserler yazardı[2]. Fakat A. Merāġī, ana dili Azerî Türkçesi olmasına rağmen, bazı Türkçe şiirleri dışında, eserlerini Farsça yazmıştır. Onun bilinen ve zamanımıza kadar gelebilmiş eserleri[3] arasında en önemli olan-

[1] 'Abdü'l-ḳādir Merāġī'nin hayatı hakkında bilgi için bk. H. G. Farmer, "Abdülkadir", *İA* (1950), s. 83–85; *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*, mukaddime, s. 17–39.

[2] H. G. Farmer, *İA*, s. 84; *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*, mukaddime, s. 15, 27; H. G. Farmer, "'Abdalqādir ibn Ġaibī on Instruments of Music", *Oriens*, 15 (1962), s. 242.

[3] A. Merāġī'nin en önemli eserlerinden birisi *Cāmi'ü'l-elḥān*'dır. Farmer, bu eserin bilinen iki nüshası olduğunu söyler: (a) Bodleian Ktp. Marsh, No. 282. (b) Nuruosmaniye Ktp. No. 3644. Bu her iki nüsha da yazarın kendi el yazısıyla yazılmıştır (daha fazla bilgi için bk. Farmer, *İA*, s. 83–84; *Oriens*, 15, s. 242–243; *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*, mukaddime, s. 29–30). Bu bilgilere ilâveten biz *Cāmi'ü'l-elḥān*'ın Nuruosmaniye Ktp. de No. 3645'te bir nüshasının daha bulunduğunu belirtelim.

A. Merāġī'nin ikinci önemli eseri *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*'dır. Taḳī Biniş, *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*'da, mukaddime (s. 30), H. G. Farmer'dan naklen bu eserin Bodleian'da, İstanbul'da Rauf Yekta'nın kütüpanesinde ve Hollanda'da Leiden Ktp. de olmak üzere üç nüshası olduğunu söyler (ayrıca bk. Farmer, *İA*, s. 84. Ancak burada H. G. Farmer, *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*'ın Bodleian, Ouseley No. 385'te bir nüshası olduğunu zikreder, bir de Ouseley No. 264'te *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān* olması çok muhtemel olan yine bir başka

larından birisi *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*'dır. Bu eserin bilinen üç nüshasından Kütüpḫāne-i Āsitāne-i Meşhed'de bulunanı, normalleştirilerek, Taḳī Bīniş tarafından Tahran'da basılmıştır[4].

Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān Farsça yazılmış olmakla beraber, sonunda bazı Türkçe şiirler göze çarpmaktadır. Meselâ bunlardan birisi, 140. sahifedeki *tuyuğ*dur:

sorma menden kim ne[5] bolmış yā ne-dur
k'āteş-i 'ışḳung cānumda yanadur

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nüsha daha bulunduğundan bahseder. Bu numara T. Bīniş tarafından 261 olarak verilmektedir, bk. *aynı eser,* mukaddime, s. 30). Fakat daha sonra T. Bīniş, Bodleian'da *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*'ın No. 1843'te 21 Şevvāl 821 (22 Kasım 1418), ve No. 1844'te Muḥarrem 1077 (4 Temmuz-3 Ağustos 1666) tarihli olmak üzere bir değil iki nüshası bulunduğunu söyler. Bu sonuncu nüsha, Ramażān 842 (15 Şubat-17 Mart 1439) tarihli bir başka nüshadan istinsah edilmiştir. T. Bīniş, Kitābḫāne-i Āsitāne-i Meşhed'de *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*'ın üçüncü ve en eski nüshasının bulunduğunu, bu nüshanın Ramażān 821 (2 Ekim-1 Kasım 1418) tarihinde bizzat A. Merāġī tarafından yazıldığını bildirir. Bu nüsha hakkında bilgi için bk. *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān,* mukaddime, s. 30, 35-39. Tahran'da yayınlanan *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*'ın esas alındığı nüsha bu nüshadır.

Ancak yukarıda H. G. Farmer'ın ve yine ondan naklen T. Bīniş'in, *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān* nüshaları hakkında verdikleri bilgilere dönerek bazı düzeltmeler yapmak zorunluğu vardır. Zira Rauf Yekta'nın kütüpanesinde bulunduğu söylenen nüsha *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān* değil A. Merāġī'nin *Zübdetü'l-edvār* adlı eseridir. Bk. R. Yekta, "Eski Türk Musikisine Dâir Tarihî Tetebbular", *Millî Tetebbular Mecmuası,* C. III (İstanbul 1331), s. 460, not 2.

A. Merāġī'nin diğer bir eseri *Şerḥü'l-edvār* adını taşımaktadır. Bu eserin bir nüshası Nuruosmaniye Ktp. de No. 3651'de bulunmaktadır (bk. Farmer, *İA,* s. 84; *Oriens* 15, s. 243; *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān,* mukaddime, s. 30-31). Fakat T. Bīniş, bu eserin aslında *Şerḥ-i Kitābü'l-edvār* adını taşıdığını ve eserin 'Abdü'lmü'min b. Ṣafī'ed-dīn Urmevī'ye âit olduğunu söyler.

H. G. Farmer, A. Merāġī'ye izâfe edilen Türkçe musikîye dâir bir diğer eserin Leiden'de Or. 1175'te bulunduğunu bildirmektedir (bk. Farmer, *İA,* s. 84; *Oriens,* 15, s. 243). T. Bīniş ise yine Farmer'dan naklen S. Urmevī'nin *Kitābü'l-edvār* adlı eserinin, A. Merāġī tarafından yapılmış Türkçe çevirisinin Leiden, Or. 1175'te bulunduğunu söyler (bk. *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān,* mukaddime, s. 31). Biz bu hususta H. G. Farmer'in İA ve Oriens'teki (C. 15) ifadelerine katılmaktayız. Zira mikrofilminden incelediğimiz Leiden'deki bu nüshanın başında Urmevī'nin bu eserini, A. Merāġī'nin Türkçeye çevirmiş olduğu bildirilmekte ise de, çevirinin dili Osmanlıcadır. Bu yüzden eserin, Doğu Türkçesiyle karışık bir Azerî Türkçesiyle yazdığını bildiğimiz A. Merāġī'ye âit olabileceği çok şüphelidir. Belki de Osmanlı sahasından birisi, A. Merāġī'nin yaptığı bu çeviriyi Osmanlıcaya nakletmiş ve kendi adını zikretmemiştir.

Son olarak hem Farmer, hem T. Bīniş, A. Merāġī'nin bugün elde mevcut olmayan bir eserini daha zikrederler. Bk. H. G. Farmer, *İA,* aynı yer; *Oriens* 15, aynı yer; T. Bīniş, *aynı eser,* mukaddime, s. 30.

Biz bu listeye A. Merāġī'nin yukarıda da zikredilen bir eserini daha ilâve etmek istiyoruz. O da, eskiden Rauf Yekta'nın kütüpanesinde bulunan ve onun ölümünden sonra bugün nerede olduğu meçhul olan *Zübdetü'l-edvār* adlı eserdir. Bk. R. Yekta, *Millî Tetebbular Mecmuası,* C. III, s. 460.

4 مقاصد الالحان . تاليف عبد القادربن غيبى حافظ مراغى . به اهتمام تقى بينش . مجموعه متون فارسى . زيرنظر احسان يارشاطر ٢٤ تهران ١٣٤٤ . مقدمه ٣٩ . متن ٢٤٢

5 Neşirde نوبولش şeklinde okunmuştur.

bardı dil bilmen ki ḫansı yaña-dur
'ömr keçdi yine ḫacan[6] yana-dur

A. Merāġī, *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*'ın *ketebe* kaydını yazdıktan sonra, esere altı sahifelik bir ilâve daha yapmıştır. Bu ilâvede bestelediği Farsça ve Türkçe şiirler yer almaktadır. İşte bizi burada asıl ilgilendiren iki Türkçe şiir, bu bölümde 143. ve 144. sahifelerde bulunmaktadır. Bu şiirlerden 143. sahifede bulunanı صورت درپردهٔ نوی برین ابیات ترکی başlığını, hemen bu Türkçe şiiri takip eden 144. sahifedeki ise ضعیف نبشته فرستاد این غزل را امیر اعظم اعدل امیرشاه ملک خلد دوله از خوارزم بدین başlığını taşımaktadır. A. Merāġī, *nevā perdesi*nde bestelenmiş olan yedi beyitlik ilk gazelin kime ait olduğunu belirtmemektedir; ama ikinci gazelin Emīr Şāh-Melik tarafından kendisine hitâben yazıldığını ve Harezm'den gönderildiğini hemen başlıkta bildirmektedir. Ancak bu iki şiirin muhtevasını, dil ve üslûbunu incelediğimiz zaman bunların aslında aynı kişiye âit olmaları gerektiği, yani birinci şiirin de *Emīr Şāh-Melik* tarafından yazıldığı neticesine varıyoruz.

İlk bakışta ilki yedi, ikincisi altı beyitlik gazel tarzında kafiyelenmiş olan bu iki şiirin aynı kafiyeli[7], aynı redifli '*bizni unutma*' ve aynı vezinli *mef'ūlü mefā'īlü mefā'īlü fe'ūlün* olması, birbirine nazire iki şiir karşısında kaldığımızı da akla getirebilir. Ancak şiirlerin muhtevalarını yakından incelediğimiz zaman bu imkânın ortadan kalktığını görüyoruz. Muhtevayı incelemeden önce, yine bu konuyla ilgili olarak şiirlerin ortak redifi üzerinde biraz durmak gerekiyor. Bize göre '*bizni unutma*' ifadesi Timur devri edebiyatında bir nazire geleneğinin zorunluluğundan doğmamıştır. Tıpkı her devirde bazı belli sözlerin ve ifadelerin o devrin modasına ve zevkine uygun bulunması ve yaygın bir şekilde kullanılması gibi bu ifadenin de bir moda ve zevk zorunluluğundan doğmuş olabileceğini düşünmemize yol açan bir sebep vardır: Farsça şiirlerinin yanısıra bazı Türkçe şiirleri de bulunan Timur ve Şāhruḫ devri şairlerinden Ḳāsimü'l-Envār (1356–1433/4)'ın da yarı Türkçe yarı Farsça mülemma bir

[6] Bu iki kelimenin okunuşundan pek emin değilim. Metnin aslını görmek yardımcı olabilir.

[7] İlk şiirde kafiyeler ilk beyitte *ṣafā, liḳā*, ondan sonraki beyitlerin ikinci mısralarında olmak üzere *mesā, gedā, cüdā, ḳażā, rūḥ-fezā, devā*'dır. İkinci şiirin kafiyeleri de şöyledir: *ṣafā, ṣenā, ṣabā, cüdā, revā, 'aṭā*. İkinci şiirin dikkati çeken noktası, *maṭla'* durumunda olan ilk beytin mısralarının kendi aralarında kafiyelenmemiş olması ve beyit sayısının sadece altı olmasıdır. Zira *ġazel* tarzındaki şiirler genellikle 5, 7, 9 ve daha fazla beyitlerden meydana gelirler. Bu gazelin *maṭla'*beytini A. Merāġī eserine almamış olabilir mi? İlk beytin mısralarının kendi aralarında kafiyelenmemiş olması bu ihtimali kuvvetlendiriyor. Ayrıca bu durum, ikinci şiirin, ilk şiirin bir devamı olabileceği ihtimalini akla getiriyorsa da muhtevadaki farklar bu imkânı ortadan kaldırıyor (aş. bk.).

şiirinde '*Çelebi bizni unutma*' ifadesi en azından bu ifadenin bir tek kişi, yani sadece Emīr Şāh-Melik tarafından kullanılmadığını göstermektedir. Bu durumda iki şairin birbirine nazire olarak yazdığı iki şiir karşısında olmadığımızı düşünmemizde bizi haklı çıkaracak bir sebebimiz olduğunu kabul edebiliriz.[8]

Aynı şekilde her iki şiirin muhtevasına bakıldığı zaman bunların aynı kalemden çıkmış oldukları ve sanki uzakta birisinin, iki ayrı dostuna özlemini ve sevgisini dile getiren birer mektup gönderdiği izlenimi okuyucuda uyanmaktadır. İlk okuyuşta bazı hitaplar, ilk yedi beyitlik şiirin, sanki devrin sultanına, yani Şāhruḫ'a sunulduğunu hemen düşündürmektedir. Meselâ bu şiirde şair dostuna *ey cān-ı cihān, şehā* şeklinde hitap etmekte, onun cömertliğinden bahsetmekte ve derdinin devasını kendisine bağışlamasını, yani kendini çok üzen ayrılık acısına bir çâre bulmasını ondan istemekte ve şair kendisini *gedā* şeklinde zikretmektedir. Bütün bu ifadeler kalıplaşmış birer mazmun olarak eski şiirlerde sevgili için kullanılabilir. Bu yüzden şair burada geleneğe uyarak, sevgilisini bir hükümdar, kendini de onun karşısında bir *gedā* yani "dilenci" olarak tasavvur edebilirse de şiirin bir kaç yerinde dostunun ömrünün uzun olmasını dilemesi yukarıdaki ifadeleri, sevgiliye değil, bir hükümdara bağlamamıza yol açıyor. Çünkü eski şiir geleneğinde şairler böyle bir dileği daha çok hükümdarlar için dile getirirler. Ayrıca şiirin *ger çarḫ u felek ḳıldı cüdā bizni unutma* mısraı ve *ger saldı cüdā bizni ḳażā* ifadeleri, bu iki kişinin ayrılmalarının sebebini alın yazısına ve feleğe yüklemektedir. Emīr Şāh-Melik'in Şāhruḫ'a yazdığı çok muhtemel olan bu şiirde, ayrılığın sorumluluğunu hükümdara yüklemesi imkânsızdır ve sorumluluğun kazaya veya feleğe yüklenmesi hükümdardan çekinmesinin tabii bir sonucudur. Oysa A. Merāġī'ye yazılan ikinci şiirde *hem ol kişi kim ḳıldı cüdā bizni unutma* mısraı ise ayrılık sebebini, A. Merāġī'nin ve şairin bildiği belli bir kişinin üzerinde toplamaktadır ki bu ifade de çelişkili görünmesine rağmen, ilk şiirdeki ifade kadar tarihî olaylara uygun düşmektedir. Zira Şāhruḫ'un emriyle Emīr Şāh-Melik 815 (1412–13) yılında Herat'tan Harezm'e vali olarak gönderilmiştir[9].

Altı beyitlik ikinci şiirde ise yine özlemlerini ve ayrılık acısını dile getiren şairin hitap ettiği kişi bu sefer *hem-dem-i sulṭān-i cihān* yani "Cihan sultanının arkadaşı", "Cihan sultanının yanında bulunup ona refakat eden kimse" olarak vasıflandırılmaktadır. İlk şiirde hitap edilen kişi açıkca sultanın kendisi olduğu halde bu şiirde hitap edilen kimsenin,

8 E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1956), 3:479.
9 bk. bu makalede s. 865.

bu sultanın arkadaşı olduğunu görüyoruz. Böylece bu iki şiirin kesinlikle biri diğerinin devamı olmadığı da ortaya çıkmış oluyor[10].

İkinci şiirde ayrıca A. Merāġī'ye *baḥr-i hüner ve kān-i ṣafā* "hüner denizi ve mutluluk madeni" şeklinde hitap ediliyor. Buna ilâve olarak A. Merāġī'nin şiir yazdığını, hâfız olduğunu *inşā ḳıluban medḥ u şenā . . . ḳur'ān ḳıluban ḫatm* . . . ifadelerinden hemen anlıyoruz. Şairin kendisinin Harezm'de, A. Merāġī'nin ise Horasan'da bulunduğunu da şu beyit göstermektedir (II/3):

gülzār-i ḫorāsānda ḳıluruñgda temāşā
ḫᵛārezm sıñgar isse ṣabā bizni unutma

Bütün bu ifadeler bu şiirleri yazanın mecazî bir üslûptan çok realist bir üslûp kullandığını göstermektedir. Zira şiirde anlatılan A. Merāġī, tarihî kaynaklardakiyle aynıdır. Şu halde birinci şiirde *şehā* şeklinde hitap edilen kişi de sevgili değil hükümdarın kendisidir ve özlem dolu ayrılık acısının bir ifadesi olan iki şiirden birisinin hükümdara, diğerinin hükümdarın arkadaşına yazıldığı da açıkça anlaşılmaktadır. Bütün bunlara ilâve olarak, Şāhruḫ'un en güvendiği emirlerden biri olan Şāh-Melik'in sadece A. Merāġī'ye özlem dolu bir şiir gönderdiğini ve Şāhruḫ'u ihmal etmiş olacağını düşünmek imkânsızdır. Şāh-Melik, A. Merāġī'ye gönderdiği bu mektup mâhiyetindeki gazelden Şāhruḫ'un hemen haberdar olacağını elbette biliyordu: böyle bir durumda hükümdarın kendisine kırılacağından kesinlikle emin olması gerekirdi.

İşte muhtevaya dayanılarak yapılan bütün bu akıl yürütmeler ve iki şiirin üslup ve ifâdesindeki farklar ve birleşen noktalar ilk yedi beyitlik şiirin de Şāh-Melik tarafından yazılarak Şāhruḫ'a sunulduğu kanısını kuvvetlendiriyor. Böylece sultana yani Şāhruḫ'a çok yakın bir sanatkârın yani A. Merāġī'nin de dostu Şāh-Melik'in Şāhruḫ için yazdığı bu şiiri bestelemiş olması kadar tabii bir şey olamıyacağı da açıkça anlaşılıyor.

* * *

I صورت درپردۀ نوی برین ابیات ترکی

1 ey cān-i cihān baḥr-i ṣafā bizni unutma
v'ey māh-cebīn mihr-liḳā bizni unutma

2 ḥaḳ-dın dileyür cān u göñül 'ömrüng uzaḳı
virdüm budurur[1] ṣubḥ u mesā bizni unutma

3 ol dem ki yüzüng birse şehā ḥüsn zekātı

[10] bk. not 7.

ger[2] bolmaya[3] ḥāżır bu gedā bizni unutma
4 ayrılmadı cānum ḳılıç ile işikündin[4]
ger çarḫ ū felek ḳıldı cudā bizni unutma
5 bardur ger muñdın bu ḳadar bizge[5] tevaḳḳu'*
ger saldı cudā bizni ḳażā bizni unutma
6 biz 'ömrüñ içün[6] dilerüz ez ḥaḳḳ be-du'āhā
sen 'iyş ḳıl ū rūḥ-fezā bizni unutma[7]
7 hecrüng ḳıla-dur her nefesi sīnemi mecrūḥ
birgil bu cerāḥat-ġa devā bizni unutma

1 بودورور
2 كو
3 بوملیا
4 ایشیکونکدین
5 بیزکا *5[a] mısraında vezin bozuktur.
6 عمروکی چون
7 اونوتیا ötekiler hep اونوتمه

II * امیر اعظم اعدل امیرشاه ملك خلد دوله از خوارزم بدین ضعیف نبشته فرستاد این غزل را

1 ey hem-dem-i sulṭān-i cihān bizni unutma
baḥr-i hüner ū kān-i ṣafā bizni unutma
2 şol ṭab'-i laṭīfüng kim irür[1] genc-i ma'ānī
inşā ḳıluban medḥ ū s̱enā bizni unutma
3 gül-zār-i ḫorāsānda ḳılırungda temāşā
ḫ[v]ārezm sıngar[2] isse ṣabā bizni unutma
4 ḳılġay[3] yine[4] biz devlet-i dīdār müyesser
hem ol kişi kim ḳıldı cudā bizni unutma
5 ḳur'ān ḳıluban ḫatm[5] du'ālar oḳuyurda
ḥācāt bolur ḥālde revā bizni unutma
6 sulṭān-i cihān ḥażretidedür geh ū bī-gāh
çün tengri[6] ḳılar luṭf ū 'aṭā bizni unutma
فراموشی نه شرط دوستا نست

* 'Abdü'l-ḳādir bin Ġaybī Ḥāfiẓ Merāġī, *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān, be-ihtimām-i Taḳī Bīniş* (Tehrān, 1344), s. 143, 144.
1 ایدور
2 سنیکار
3 قیلغای
4 بینه
5 ختم
6 تنکوی

METİNLERİN DİL BAKIMINDAN YORUMU

İmlâ:

Ünlüler A) Gerek kelime köklerinde ve gerekse eklerdeki bütün ünlüler tam olarak gösterilmiştir. Yalnız *sen* (I/6b) ve *ayrılmadı* (I/4a) kelimelerinde ünlüler (ى – ا) yazılmamıştır.

Eski Uygurcanın bir imlâ geleneği olan ünlülerin bu 'tam yazılması' usûlü, Karahanlılarla gelişen Doğu Türkçesi imlâsının esasını teşkil ettiği halde, Batıda, Oğuz yazı dilinde (Eski Anadolu Türkçesi) ancak dar bir coğrafî bölgede, kısa bir süre için kullanılmıştır (Karışık şiveli Anadolu metinleriyle, Doğu Anadolu'daki eserlerde: 13–14. yy ve meselâ Kadı Burhaneddin Divanı vb.).

B) *e* sesinin kelime sonunda genellikle (ا) ile ifâde edilmesi Eski Anadolu Türkçesi imlâ geleneğine aykırıdır (*ile* ايلا *dile-* ديلا I/2a, 4a).

Ayrıca redifin son unsuru *unutma* bir yerde (I/6b) اونوتما şeklinde yazıldiğı halde, diğer yerlerde hep اونوتمه şeklinde ve kökü Doğu Türkçesine ait olduğu halde *birse*'nin بيرسه biçiminde (I/3a) yazılışı Batı Türkçesi etkisine işaret olmalıdır.

Ünsüz yazılışında *ñ* (*ng*) dışında dikkate değer bir özellik yoktur. Kelimenin bünyesinde ك ile (كوكول I/2a, *muñdın* موكدين I/5a) yazılmış. Yalın hal ve çıkma halindeki iyelik 2. şh. teklikte ise نك iledir (*'ömrüng* عمرونك I/2a, *laṭīfüng* لطيفونك II/2a, *yüzüng* يوزونك I/3a, *hecrüng* هجرونك I/7a, *işiküngdin* ايشيكونكدين I/4a).

ك veya نك nin kullanılışı hem Doğuda hem Batıda belli bir tutarlılık göstermediği için bu husus, herhalde sağlam bir ölçü olarak kullanılamaz.

Sesbilgisi:

Önsesteki bazı ünsüzlerin durumu dikkate değer: *bolur* (II/5b), *bolmaya* (I/3b), *bardur* (I/5a), *birse* (I/3a) ve *birgil* (I/7b) kelimelerindeki *b-* ile *muñdın* (I/5a)'daki *m-*, metnimizin Doğu menşeli olduğuna işaret ediyorsa da *dileyür* (I/2a) ve *dilerüz* (I/6a)'deki *d-* açıkça Batıya yani Oğuzcaya işarettir! Ayrıca, yalnız Eski Anadalu Türkçesinde görülen iyelik 1. ve 2. şahıslardaki yardımcı ünlünün yuvarlaklaşması olayına âit şu örneklerin bulunması Batı Türkçesinden gelen etkiyi açıkça gösteriyor: *cānum* (I/4a), *işiküngdin* (I/4a), *hecrüng* (I/7a), *laṭīfüng* (II/2a).

Şekilbilgisi:

Yükleme hali hep *-ni** (*bizni* I/1a vb . . .); Batı: *-i*

Verme h. hep *-ge* (*bizge* I/5a, *cerāḥatġa* I/7b); Batı: *-a*

Çıkma h. hep *-din* (*ḥaḳ-dın* I/2a, *işiküngdin* I/4a, *mungdın* I/5a);

Geniş zaman: *dilerüz* (I/6a) açıkça Batıdan alınma. Batı: *-dan***. Doğuda **tiler-miz* beklenirdi.

Birleşik fiiller: *ḳıla-dur* (I/7a) da Batının malı; Doğuda **ḳılıp tur(ur)* beklenirdi.

Metnimizde sık sık kullanılan *-uban* zarf-fiil şekli, Eski Anadolu Türkçesinin en dikkat çekici özelliklerindendir: *ḳıluban* II/9b, 5a.

Geniş zamanın isim-fiil oluşu: *ḳılırungda* (II/3a), *okuyurda* (II/5a); Eski Anadolu Türkçesinde bunun yerine *-duḳ+ta* beklenirdi.

İyelik eki 3. şahıstan sonra ve hemen çekim ekinin önünde zamirsel *-n-*'nin bulunmayışı da Doğu Türkçesinin özelliklerindendir: *ḥażret-i-de* (II/6a).

Kelime farkları:

uzaḳ "uzunluk" anlamında Eski Anadolu Türkçesi metinlerinde görülmez: *'ömrüng uzaḳı* (I/2a). *sıngar* kelimesi de yalnız Doğu Türkçesine âittir (II/3b: *ḫ'ārezm sıngar*).

* * *

Bu şiirleri okuyan, kendiliğinden şiirleri yazanın kimliği hakkında bazı sorular sormak zorunluluğunu duyuyor. Meselâ Şāh-Melik kimdi? Şāhruḫ ve A. Merāġī ile ilişkisi nasıl bir ilişkiydi? Bu ilişkiler hangi şartlar altında doğmuştu? Bu şiirler ne zaman yazılmıştı? gibi sorular ilk akla gelenlerdir.

İşte bütün bu sorulara cevap verebilmek için önce Şāh-Melik'in kim olduğuna bir göz atalım, sonra onun A. Merāġī ile olan ilişkisinin mahiyetini araştıralım.

Emīr Şāh-Melik'in babasının adı[11] *Ravżatu'ş-ṣafā*'da bir yerde Melik

* Yalnız bir yerde -i: *sīnemi.* Bu da vezin gereği, zira *sīnem-ni* vezni bozardı.

** Pek az da olsa Anadolu'da çıkma hali için *-da* yanında *-dın* da kullanılmıştır, fakat bunlar sayı bakımından *-dan* yanında pek az olduğu gibi zamanla da azalıp sadece belli ve kalıplaşmış deyimlerde kalmışlardır; meselâ bunlardan biri bugünkü *üstün körü*'dür. Burada eski *-din* ekinin kalıplaştığını görüyoruz: *üst-tin kör-ü*!

11 Bu adla Şāh-Melik'in babasından sadece *Ravżatu'ş-ṣafā*'nın bir tek yerinde bahsedilir (bk. *Ravża,* C. VI, s. 153: شاه ملك پسر ملك غياث الدين برلاس). Halbuki yine *Ravża*'da

Ġiyāşe'd-dīn Barlās[12] olarak zikredilir. Fakat ne babasının kişiliği, ne de Şāh-Melik'in hayatının ilk yılları ve eğitimi hakkında başka hiç bir bilgi verilmez. Tarihî kaynaklarda dağınık olarak verilen bilgileri yan yana getirerek Şāh-Melik hakkında biz ancak şunları söyliyebiliriz: Şāh-Melik, Timur'un büyük emirlerinden birisidir. Timur onu çok genç yaşta eğitmeye başlamış ve yavaş yavaş emirliğe yükseltmiştir[13]. *Ravżatu'ş-şafā*'dan onun Hint ve Mısır seferleri sırasında *tümen*[14] kumandanı olduğunu öğreniyoruz: «حکم فرمود که امیرشاه ملك و شیخ محمد تیموربا تومانات خود برسر انجماعت . . .» «امرا تومان امیرشاه ملك وعلى سلطان . . .» «درا مرا تومان امیر سونجك و امیرشاه ملك»[15] Yine *Ravżatu'ş-şafā* ve *Maṭla'u's-sa'deyn*'de Şāh-Melik'ten bahsedilirken *emīr* ünvanının yanısıra *noyān*[16] ünvanı da kullanılmaktadır. Meselâ 'Abdu'r-razzāḳ

(C. VI, s. 691) Şāh-Melik, *Emīr Ġiyāşe'd-dīn* olarak zikredilmektedir. 'Abdu'r-razzāḳ Semerḳandī ise onun adını *Emīr Ġiyāşe'd-dīn Şāh-Melik* olarak vermektedir (bk. *Maṭla'*, C. II, l. cüz, s. 306). *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*'de *Emīr-i a'ẓam Ġiyāşe'd-dünyā ve'd-dīn Şāh-Melik* şeklinde zikredilmektedir (bk. *Mücmel*, C. III, s. 259). Bu yüzden Ġiyāşe'd-dīn kelimesinin onun ünvanı mı, kendi adı mı, yoksa babasının adı mı olduğu pek kesinlikle belli olmuyor. Z. V. Togan ise Şāh-Melik'in "Bilgüvüt uruğundan" olduğunu söylüyor, ancak hiç bir kaynak gösterilmediği, ve başvurduğum kaynaklarda da böyle bir bilgi bulunmadığı için, doğruluğu hakkında bir şey söyliyecek durumda değilim; bk. Z. V. Togan, "Hârizm", *İA* s. 240–257 (s. 250).

12 Yazıcızāde 'Alī, Reşīde'd-dīn'den naklen Moğol kabilelerini sayarken on altı tane Moğol boyu arasında *Barlas* boyunu da zikreder. Ancak kelime nüshalarda *birlas* şeklinde harekelenmiştir (bk. *Oğuz-nāme*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, No. 1823, vr. 4b). Ayrıca B. Y. Vladimirtsov, *Moğolların İçtimaî Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1944), s. 138, not 37'de bu kabileyi Barulas kabilesi olarak zikrediyor; V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 8–9 ve s. 9'daki not 7.

13 *Maṭla'*, C. II, l. cüz, s. 306–307. Timur'un kendisinin de Barlas kabilesinden olduğu bilinmektedir. Bk. Yazıcızāde 'Alī, *Oğuz-nāme*, aynı yer, vr. 4b'de derkenar olarak bir başka el tarafından düşülmüş kayıtta şu bilgi bulunmaktadır: "ammā tīmūr beg barlās boyındandur. şöyle ki tīmūr bin taraġāy bin . . . barlās". Ayrıca bk. V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 13–14. Barthold, Timur'un, Barlas kabilesinden olanları etrafında topladığını, Barlas kabilesinden olan emirlerin Timur'un kardeşi kabul edildiğini yazıyor (*aynı eser*, s. 14, 16 ve 38). Belki de Barlas kabilesine mensup olması, Şāh-Melik'e çok genç yaşta Timur'un dikkatini çekme imkânını vermiştir.

14 *tümen* (تومان تمن تمان تومن) 'onbin kişiden oluşan bir askerî birlik', ayrıca 'coğrafî-idarî bölge' anlamına da gelir. Türkçenin en eski belgelerinden başlamak üzere her devirde her yerde kullanılmış bir kelime olup ilk devirlerdeki anlamı kesin bir şekilde 'onbin' olmaktan çok 'sayısız, çok, sonsuz'dur. Ayrıca bk. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen II* (Wiesbaden, 1965), s. 632–642: Cūveynī (13. yy)'deki şu kayıt önemlidir: ده هزار امیر تومان

15 *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 285, 294–295, 311, 369.

16 Moğolcada *noyan* 'Lord, prince, chief, superior, commandant, seigneur' anlamlarına geliyor. Bu kelime bazan da bir prensin veya yüksek rütbeli bir asîlzâdenin oğluna verilen bir ünvan olarak kullanılıyor. Bk. F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Bloomington, 1973). Fakat Z. V. Togan, İlhanlılarla ilgili şu Arapça kaydı veriyor: النويان امير تومان تومان وهو امير عشرة آلاف (bk. *Türk Hukuk ve İktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* (İstanbul, 1931), C. I, s. 35. str. 16–17). Bu durumda onbin kişinin kumandanı olan *tümen* kumandanı ile *noyan* aynı anlama gelmektedir. Biz buradan *tümen* ku-

Semerḳandī ondan şöyle bahseder: [17] امیر اعظم نویان اعدل اکرم امیرغیاث الدین شاه ملك
Bu durumda kendisinin Barlās kabilesine mensup olması ve *noyān* ünvanıyla çağrılması bir arada düşünülünce, Şāh-Melik'in aslen Moğol olduğu kanısı kuvvetleniyor[18].

Şāh-Melik Timur'un hemen hemen bütün seferlerine katılmıştır. Nizamüddin Şâmî, 793 (1390–91) tarihindeki Timur'un Deşt-i Kıpçak seferinde, Şāh-Melik'in çok gayret gösterdiğini, bu yüzden Timur'un ona *mühr-i ḫāṣṣ*'ı ve *pervāne mührü*'nü teslim ettiğini yazar ve şöyle devam eder: ". . . akrabalarını lûtuf ve iltifatiyle müşerref kılmakla beraber, kendisine vezaret elbisesini giydirdi[19]." Deşt-i Ḳipçāḳ seferinin yanısıra Şāh-Melik sırasıyla Timur'un şu seferlerine katılmıştır: Irak ve Azerbaycan seferlerinde, Tekrit kalesinin 1393'te alınmasında[20], Hindistan seferinde, Dehli ve Kişver'in zaptında[21], 1401 yılındaki Hama, Hums, Baalbek, Dımışk ve Mısır seferlerinde[22], aynı yıldaki Bağdat'ın ikinci defa alınışında[23], Anadolu seferinde, 1402'deki Ankara savaşında, Ayasulug, İzmir ve civarının fethinde[24], Anadoludan dönüşte Gürcü ve Ermeni seferlerinde[25] ve nihayet Timur'un son seferi olan Çin seferine çıkmak üzere Otrar'da bulunmuştur[26].

Timur'un 1405 yılındaki ölümünden sonra meydana gelen siyasî karışıklıklarda önemli rol oynayan kişilerin arasında Şāh-Melik de yer almıştır. Timur'un ölümünden sonra Otrar'dan geri dönüş sırasında Şāh-Melik, Uluġ Beg ile beraber ve onun *atabeg*i olarak görülmektedir[27]. Bu

mandanlarına *noyan* ünvanının da verildiği neticesine varabiliriz. Esasen Barthold, İran kaynaklarında askerî liderlere *emīr* dendiğini, fakat zaman zaman bu kelime yerine Türkçe *beg* ve Moğolca *noyan* kullanıldığını bildiriyor (bk. *aynı eser*, s. 10). *tümen* kumandanı olan Şāh-Melik'e bu rütbede *emīr* dendiğine göre, *noyan*'ı *emīr*'in müteradifi olarak düşünmek yerinde olur. Nitekim 'Abdu'r-razzāḳ Semerḳandī, *emīr* ve *noyan* ünvanlarını Şāh-Melik için bir arada kullanıyor, bk. *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 88.

17 *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 298; *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 88.

18 Nitekim Barthold, Barlasları Türkleşmiş Moğollar olarak gösterir, bk. *aynı eser*, s. 9.

19 N. Şâmî, *Zafernâme* (Ankara, 1949), s. 149–150.

20 N. Şâmî, *aynı eser*, s. 173; Ḥāfıẓ Ebrū, Zübdetü't-tevārīḫ (Süleymaniye, Esad Ef. No. 919), vr. 881^{b}–882^{a}.

21 N. Şâmî, *aynı eser*, s. 209, 210, 217, 219, 225, 229, 230, 237, 240, 248; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 273, 284–285, 288, 294–295, 300–301, 310–312, 314.

22 N. Şâmî, *aynı eser*, s. 280–282; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 364, 367, 369, 373.

23 N. Şâmî, *aynı eser*, s. 287; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 386–388.

24 N. Şâmî, *aynı eser*, s. 299, 304, 321; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 408, 413, 425, 429, 434.

25 N. Şâmî, *aynı eser*, s. 335, 339; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 450, 451, 453.

26 V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 54; *Mücmel-i Faṣīhī*, C. III, s. 152; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 485, 487.

27 *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 490–497; Ḥāfıẓ Ebrū, Zübdetü't-tevārīḫ, vr. 830^{b}, 831^{b}; Ş. 'Alī Yezdī, *Ẓafernāme*, C. II, s. 679–680; V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, aynı yer.

andan itibaren Şāh-Melik, 1411 yılına kadar Uluġ Beg'in *atabegi* olarak kalmıştır. Timur'un ölümünü izleyen yıllardaki Ḫalīl Sulṭān ve Şāhruḫ arasındaki siyasî güç elde etme kavgalarında, Şāh-Melik, Şāhruḫ'un tarafında yer alarak, bütün gücün Şāhruḫ'ta toplanması için savaşmış ve Şāhruḫ'un en önemli kumandanlarından olmuştur[28]. Şimdi Timur'un ölümünden (1405), Semerkand'ın Ḫalīl Sulṭāndan geri alınmasına kadar (1409) yapılan mücadelede Şāh-Melik'in nasıl bir rol oynadığına kısaca temas edelim: 1406'da Emīr Seyyid Ḫōca'nın isyanı bastırıldıktan sonra Şāhruḫ, Uluġ Beg'e Horasan valiliğini verdi. Fakat aslında Uluġ Beg'in *atabegi* olan Şāh-Melik, Horasan'ı idare etmekle görevlendiriliyordu[29]. 9 Ẕī'lḳa'de 809 (18 Nisan 1407)'de Mīrānşāh'ın oğlu Mīrzā 'Ömer'in isyanından ve bu isyanın bastırılmasından sonra, Mīrzā 'Ömer'e verilmiş olan Mâzenderan Vilâyeti de Uluġ Beg'e tevdi edilmiş oldu[30]. Böylece Emīr Şāh-Melik daha 809 (1407)'de Horasan ve Mâzenderan'daki hakiki siyasî güç oldu.

Ḫalīl Sulṭān'ın, kendisine isyan eden Emīr Ḫudāydād tarafından 30 Mart 1409'da esir alınması ve topraklarının işgal edilmesi üzerine[31], Şāhruḫ, Şehr-i Sebz'de bulunan başsız kalmış Ḫalīl Sulṭān'ın ordusunu kolayca sindirerek Semerkand'a doğru yürüdü. Ḫudāydād bu haberi alınca, Ḫalīl Sulṭān'ı da alarak Fergana'ya kaçtı. Semerkand'ın ileri gelenleri Şāhruḫ ile savaşmak istemediler ve Şāhruḫ da 13 Mayıs 1409'da beraberinde Uluġ Beg ve Şāh-Melik olduğu halde Semerkand'a girdi[32]. Bu yılın sonunda Herat'a dönerken 24 Aralık 1409'da yine Uluġ Beg'i Şāh-Melik'in denetimi altında Semerkand valisi tayin etti[33]. Bu andan itibaren, Şāh-Melik bütün gücüyle isyan eden Ḫudāydād ve ona yardım eden Moğolların kuvvetleriyle savaşdı. Ḫudāydād ile oğlu 'Abdu'llāh'ın öldürülmesiyle[34] neticelenen bu seferler sonunda Ḫalīl Sulṭān'ın Otrar'da Şāhruḫ ile 812 (1409/1410) yılında buluşmasını temin etti[35]. Şāhruḫ'un bu yılda Ḫalīl Sulṭān'ı Rey hakimi olarak tayin etmesinden sonra, Mave-

[28] Ş. A. Yezdī, *Ẓafernāme*, C. II, s. 696–712; *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 77–78, 84–85, 86–88; Devletşāh-i Semerḳandī, *Teẕkiretü'ş-şu'arā*, s. 397; V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 56–70.

[29] *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*, C. III, s. 170; V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 69.

[30] V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 69; *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 51–52. Barthold, Ḥāfıẓ Ebrū'nun 9 Ẕī'l-ḳa'de yerine 9 Ẕī'l-ḥicce tarihini verdiğini söyler.

[31] V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 73; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*, C. III, s. 188. Burada bu olayın tarihi 16 Ẕī'l-ḳa'de 811 H. olarak veriliyor.

[32] *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 77–78; V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 74.

[33] V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 77; *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 77–78, 88; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 593.

[34] *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 84–85; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 590–592.

[35] *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 86–87; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 592; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*, C. III, s. 193.

raünnehir'de gerçekten barış temin edilmiş ve bu sahanın idaresi hakikatte 812 (1409–10) tarihinden itibâren Uluġ Beg'in *atabegi* olarak Şāh-Melik'e verilmiş oldu[36].

Şāh-Melik'in bu kadar yükselmesi, rakiplerinin, özellikle Muḫammed Cihāngīr'in *atabegi* olarak Ḥisar'da bulunan Emīr Şeyḫ Nūre'd-dīn'in kıskançlığını celbetti. Emīr Şeyḫ Nūre'd-dīn, 1410 yılının ilkbaharında Uluġ Beg ve Şāh-Melik'in üzerine yürüdü[37]. Uluġ Beg'in Şeyḫ Nūre'd-dīn isyanını bastırmakla hiç uğraşmadığını ve bu görevi tamamen Şāh-Melik'in yüklendiğini görüyoruz. Yalnız bu olayı duyan Şāhruḫ, Herat'ten Semerkand'a iki defa sefer yapmak zorunluluğunu duymuştur. İlk defa 20 Haziran 1410'dan önce Maveraünnehir'e gelerek 12 Temmuzda Kızıl Rabat'ta Şeyḫ Nūre'd-dīn kuvvetlerini mağlup etmiş ve 23 Temmuz 1410'da Semerkand'ın idaresini yeniden Şāh-Melik'e tevdi ederek Herat'a dönmüştür. Emīr Şeyḫ Nūre'd-dīn ile ve ona yardım eden Moğollarla savaşı 11 Ocak 1411'den itibaren Emīr Şāh-Melik yürütmüştür. Bu savaşları V. V. Barthold, 'Abdu'r-razzāḳ Semerḳandī ve Mīr Ḫ^v^ānd bütün tafsilâtiyle anlatmışlardır[38].

Emīr Şeyḫ Nūre'd-dīn'in öldürülmesiyle son bulan bu seferlerin sonunda, Şāhruḫ ikinci defa Rebī'ü'l-evvel 814 (1411 yazında) Semerkand'a doğru yola çıkmıştır. Uluġ Beg'in habercisi onu yolda karşılayarak, Şāh-Melik'in başarısını müjdelemiş; fakat bu arada Uluġ Beg'in Şāh-Melik'ten şikâyetçi olduğunu da haber vermiştir[39]. Şāhruḫ hemen Semerkand'a Emīr Seyyid 'Alī Tarḫān'ı göndermiş ve bu meselenin iç yüzünü araştırmıştır. Seyyid 'Alī Tarḫān geri döndüğünde Şāh-Melik'in çok iyi bir idareci olduğunu, Uluġ Beg'i mükemmel bir idareci olarak yetiştirdiğini, fakat onun bu arada verdiği faydalı ama zaman zaman sert öğütlerinden Uluġ Beg'in hoşlanmadığını ve gururunun rencide olduğunu bildirmiştir[40]. Önceden bu haberleri alarak Cemāẓī'l-evvel 814 (1411 sonbaharında) Semerkand'a gelen Şāhruḫ, Şāh-Melik'in hile ile Emīr Şeyḫ Nūre'd-dīn'i

36 *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 87–88; Devletşāh-i Semerḳandī, *aynı eser*, s. 397; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḫī*, C. III, s. 195. *Maṭla'* ve *Mücmel-i Faṣīḫī* 812 H. tarihini verdiği halde Devletşāh 811 H. tarihini vermektedir. *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 592–593.

37 V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 77; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḫī*, C. III, s. 199.

38 V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 77–80; *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 102–104, 117–124; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 596–598, 600–604. 'Abdü'r-razzāḳ ve Mīr Ḫ^v^ānd bu savaşların 813–814 H. yılları arasında vukubulduğunu bildirmektedirler. Ayrıca bk. Ḥāfıẓ Ebrū, Zübdetü't-tevārīḫ, vr. 978^b^–980^b^; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḫī*, C. III, s. 200–201.

39 *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 119–120; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 605; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḫī*, C. III, s. 205.

40 *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 120; V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 81–82; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḫī*, C. III, s. 205.

öldürmesini bahane etmiş ve Herat'a dönüşünde Kasım 1411 tarihinde onu da beraberinde götürmüştür[41].

V. V. Barthold'a göre, Emīr Şeyḫ Nūre'd-dīn'in isyanının bastırılmasından sonra, Maveraünnehir'de artık Şāhruḫ'a karşı çıkacak son askerî güç de ortadan kalkmış ve dolayısiyle, büyük emir Şāh-Melik'e Maveraünnehir'de ihtiyaç kalmamıştı. Bu çok güçlü emiri artık oradan uzaklaştırmak gerekiyordu[42]. Aslında bu sırada hemen çözülmesi gereken meseleler, Timur'un ölümünden sonra Özbeklerin eline geçmiş olan Harezm'de belirmişti[43]. Şāh-Melik 1413 yılının başlarında bir orduyla Harezm'e gönderildi. Altun Ordu'daki karışıklıklar yüzünden orada çok az bir direnme ile karşılaştı. Aynı yılın Nisan ayında Herat'a döndü. Kısa bir süre sonra Harezm valisi tayin edildi ve 1426 tarihinde vukubulan ölümüne kadar bu görevde kaldı[44].

Onun ölümüne çok üzülen Şāhruḫ, oğlu Emīr İbrāhīm Sulṭān'ı Harezm valisi olarak tayin etmiş ve bu ölüm olayı için Mevlānā Şehābe'd-dīn 'Abdu'r-raḥmān'dan bir tarih düşürmesini istemiştir. *Maṭla'u's-sa'deyn*'de tamamı verilen bu şiirin son beytinin ilk mısraı Şāh-Melik'in ölüm tarihini ihtiva etmektedir[45]: [829]

Maṭla'u's-sa'deyn'de onun Meşhed'e getirilerek orada defnedildiği kayıtlıdır.

Harezm'deki valiliği sırasında Şāh-Melik sık sık oradan ayrılarak Şāhruḫ'un çeşitli seferlerine katılmıştır[46]. Uluġ Beg ile olan ilişkisi de daima dostluk ve nezaket çerçevesi içinde kalmıştır. Meselâ evāil-i Rebī'ü'l-āḫir 820 (Mayıs 1417) tarihinde Uluġ Beg Herat'ta bulunduğu sırada Şāh-Melik ve Muḥammed Cihāngīr'in şerefine büyük bir ziyâfet vermiş ve bu ziyâfet için Şāh-Melik Harezm'den Herat'a gelmiştir[47]. 1418 tarihinde Uluġ Beg'in Harezm'e, Şāh-Melik'e yardım için gönderdiği kuvvetlerin Semerkand'a döndüğü kaynaklarda kayıtlıdır[48]. 1419 tari-

[41] V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser,* s. 82; *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 124; *Ravża,* C. VI, s. 605; Ḥāfıẓ Ebrū, vr. 980^b; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī,* C. III, s. 207.

[42] V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser,* s. 81.

[43] *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 136–138.

[44] V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser,* s. 87; *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 139. Burada Şāh-Melik'in Herat'a dönüş tarihi, 816 H. başı olarak gösterilir. *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī,* C. III, s. 211 ve *Ravża,* C. VI, s. 609'da ise bu tarih 815 H. olarak verilmektedir.

[45] *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 307–308. Bu şiir aynıyla Ḫ^{v}āndmīr'in *Ḥabībü's-siyer*'inde de verilmektedir. *Ḥabībü's-siyer*'de Şāh-Melik'in, Meşhed'de İmām-i Büzürgvār ebī'l-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Mūsā er-Riżā'nın merkadi civarında gömülü olduğu bildirilir; *Ravża,* C. VI, s. 691.

[46] *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 143, 173, 291; *Ravża,* C. VI, s. 650–652, 654, 657, 660–661.

[47] *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 201.

[48] *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 215; *Ravża,* C. VI, s. 667.

hinde Uluğ Beg Buhara'ya geldiği vakit Şāh-Melik *nökerleri*ni hediyeler ile birlikte onu karşılamak için göndermiştir[49].

'Abdu'r-razzāḳ Semerḳandī, Şāh-Melik'in Harezm'e barış getirdiğini, Deşt-i Kipçak ve Özbek vilâyetindeki başkaldıranları mağlup ederek onları kendi itaati altına aldığını söyler. Ayrıca Şāh-Melik'in pek çok *ribāṭ*, *mescid* ve *medrese* inşâ ettirdiğini ve bunlara zengin vakıflar bağladığını anlatır[50]. Aynı şekilde Ravżatu'ṣ-ṣafā'dan Şāh-Melik'in Herat'ta bir bağ yaptırdığını ve bir *ribatı* olduğunu öğreniyoruz[51].

Z. V. Togan da Harezm'de vali olarak bulunduğu sırada Şāh-Melik (1414–1426) ve oğlu İbrāhīm (1426–30)'in Ürgenç şehrini ihya ettiklerini ve "bu ülkenin kültür sahasında yükselmesine" hizmet ettiklerini bildirmekte; Ḥüseyin b. Ḥasan el Ḫ^{v}ārezmī (öl. 840)'nin *Cevāhirü'l-esrār* adlı üç ciltlik *Mesnevi* Şerhini Şāh-Melik nâmına yazdığını söylemektedir[52]. Bütün bu bilgiler Şāh-Melik'in sadece bir asker olmadığını, kültür faaliyetlerine de değer veren aydın bir kişi olduğunu göstermesi bakımından önemlidir.

* * *

Şimdi Emīr Şāh-Melik ile 'Abdü'lḳādir Merāġī'nin ilk defa nerede ve ne zaman karşılaşmış olabileceklerini ve bu karşılaşmanın bir dostluğa dönüşmesini gerektirecek kadar bir zaman içinde aynı yerde beraber bulunup bulunmadıklarını araştıralım.

A. Merāġī'ye yazılan şiir, Harezm'den, Şāh-Melik'in oraya 815 (1412–13) yılında vali olmasından sonra gönderildiğine göre, şiirlerin yazılış tarihi kesinlikle bu yıldan sonraki bir tarihtir ve A. Merāġī ile Şāh-Melik'in dostluğu, şüphesiz yukarıda zikredilen tarihten çok önce başlamış olmalıdır.

A. Merāġī, Timur'un İrak ve Azerbaycan seferi sırasında, Bağdat'ta Sulṭān Aḥmed Celāyirī (1382–1410)'nin sarayında bulunmaktaydı. Timur 1393 yılında Bağdat'ı alınca, A. Merāġī'yi, Bağdat'ta bulunan diğer

49 *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 221; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 669.
50 *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 307.
51 *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 715, 812.
52 Z. V. Togan, "Büyük Türk Hükümdarı Şahruh", *TDED*, C. III, sayı 3–4 (1949), s. 522. Z. V. Togan, *Cevāhirü'l-esrār*'dan başka Hüseyin bin Ḥasan el-Ḫ^{v}ārezmī'nin, *Mekārimü'l-aḫlāḳ* adlı bir eseri daha olduğunu bildirir. Bu iki eserin de asıllarını göremediğim için *Cevāhirü'l-esrār*'ın hakikaten Şāh-Melik'e ithaf edildiğini tespit etmem mümkün olmadı. Ayrıca imkânsızlıklar yüzünden *Mekārimü'l-aḫlāḳ*'ın da Şāh-Melik ile bir ilgisi olup olmadığını tesbit edemedim.

âlim ve sanatkârlarla birlikte Semerkand'a göndermişti[53]. A. Merāġī, 1393–97 arasında Semerkand'da Timur'un saray musikîşinası olarak bulunmuştur. Bu dört yıllık süre içinde onun, Şāh-Melik ile karşılaşmış olması mümkündür. Zira Ş. 'Alī Yezdī, Emīr-zāde İskender'in 1397 yılındaki düğününde A. Merāġī'nin ve Timur'un bütün emir ve *noyan*larının bulunduğunu söyler[54]. Bu ifadeden, hiç olmazsa bu yıllarda Semerkand'da yapılan *toy* ve düğünlerde bu iki kişinin birbirleriyle karşılaştıkları ve birbirlerini tanıdıkları hükmüne varabiliriz.

A. Merāġī'nin ikinci defa Semerkand'a getirilmesi[55] Timur'un 19 Haziran 1401 tarihinde Bağdat'ı tekrar Sulṭān Aḥmed Celāyirī'den geri almasından sonra olmuştur[56]. 1401 tarihinden itibaren Timur'un ölümüne kadar (1405) A. Merāġī'nin Semerkand'da kaldığını biliyoruz. Zira Ş. 'Alī Yezdī, Timur'un son seferi olan Çin seferine çıkmadan az önce 1405'te yapılan Uluġ Beg, kardeşi İbrāhīm Sulṭān, Īcīl b. emīr-zāde Mīrānşāh ve 'Ömer Şeyḫ oğullarından emīr-zāde Aḥmed ve Bayḳarā'nın düğünlerini A. Merāġī'nin güzel sesiyle şarkılar söyliyerek, ud, kopuz çalarak şenlendirdiğini; bu düğünde Timur'un bütün emir ve *noyan*larının da hazır bulunduklarını söyler[57]. Eğer A. Merāġī ile Şāh-Melik'in karşılaşması, A. Merāġī'nin 1393–97 yılları arasında Semerkand'da bulunduğu ilk dönemde vukubulmamışsa bile, onun 1401–1405 yılları arasında Semerkand'daki ikinci ikameti esnasında mutlaka gerçekleşmiş

[53] H. G. Farmer, "Abdülkadir", *İA*, s. 83; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*, C. III, s. 136; N. Şâmî, *Zafernâme*, s. 169–173. Burada A. Merāġī'den hiç söz edilmez; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 219; *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*, mukaddime, s. 23.

[54] *Ẓafernāme*, C. II, s. 5.

[55] T. Bīniş (*Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*, mukaddime, s. 24, 25–26) ve H. G. Farmer (*İA*, s. 83), A. Merāġī'nin 800–802 (1397–1400) yılları arasında sıla hasreti yüzünden Tebriz'e gittiğini, orada bir süre Mīrānşāh'ın yanında kaldığını; fakat bu yıllarda Mīrānşāh'ın idâresinden şikâyetler belirince, onun etrafındaki âlimler ve sanatkârları Timur'un suçlu bularak katlettirdiğini; işte bu tarihten az önce felâketi sezen A. Merāġī'nin derviş kıyafetinde Tebriz'den kaçarak, eski hâmisi Sulṭān Aḥmed Celāyirī'nin yanına Bağdat'a gittiğini yazarlar. Ayrıca bk. Ş. A. Yezdī, *Ẓafernāme*, C. II, s. 205–206, 213–214; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*, C. III, s. 143; Devletşāh-i Semerḳandī, *aynı eser*, s. 369–370; V. V. Barthold, *aynı eser*, s. 34–35. Ancak bu zikredilen kaynakların hiç birisinde A. Merāġī'nin derviş kıyafetine girerek kaçtığı ve katliamdan kurtulduğu hakkında hiç bir bilgi yoktur. H. G. Farmer, bu bilgiyi Ḫ'āndmīr'in *Ḥabībü's-siyer*'ine (C. III, 3, 212) dayanarak vermektedir.

[56] *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*, mukaddime, s. 26; H. G. Farmer, *İA*, s. 83; *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*, C. III, s. 145. Burada Bağdat'ın ikinci defa alınışından bahsedilirse de ne A. Merāġī ne de diğer âlim ve sanatkârlar zikredilir. N. Şâmî, *Zafernâme*, s. 286–289. N. Şâmî de Bağdat alındığı zaman sadece âlimler, sâlihler ve şeyhlerin öldürülmediğini söyler. Ayrıca bk. Ş. 'Alī Yezdī, *Ẓafernāme*, C. II (Bağdat'in fethi s. 354–369), s. 368–369; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 387. Bu son iki kaynakta da N. Şâmî'nin verdiği bilgiden daha fazla bilgi yoktur. H. G. Farmer ve T. Bīniş'in izahlari Ḫ'ändmīr'in *Ḥabībü's-siyer*'ine dayanmaktadır.

[57] *Ẓafernāme*, C. II, s. 601, 614, 622; ayrıca bk. *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*, C. III, s. 151.

olmalıdır. Ancak bu karşılaşmanın Timur hayatta iken dostluğa dönüştüğünü düşünmek biraz sakıncalı olur. Zira bu yıllarda A. Merāġī hep Semerkand'da kaldığı halde, Şāh-Melik sık sık Timur'la birlikte seferlere çıkmıştır. Bu yüzden A. Merāġī ile onun karşılaşmaları herhalde seferlerden Semerkand'a dönüş sıralarında ve zaman zaman olmuştur.

Timur'un ölümünden sonra A. Merāġī'nin bir süre yine Semerkand'da ve Ḫalīl Sulṭān (1405–409)'ın sarayında kaldığı bilinmektedir[58]. Bu durumda Şāhruḫ'un hizmetinde ve Uluġ Beg'in *atabeg*i olarak Ḫalīl Sulṭān'a karşı savaşan Şāh-Melik ile Semerkand'da kalan A. Merāġī'nin, Timur'un ölümünü izleyen yıllarda biribirlerini görmedikleri anlaşılıyor. Onların tekrar buluşmaları herhalde Ḫalīl Sulṭān'ın 812 (1409–10) yılında Şāhruḫ ile anlaşıp, Rey hâkimi olarak Rey'e gitmesi ve aynı yıl Uluġ Beg'in Şāh-Melik'in denetimi altında Semerkand valisi tayin edilmesi sırasında olmalıdır[59]. Fakat bu buluşma da çok sürmemiştir. Çünkü tarihî kaynaklar, A. Merāġī'nin Uluġ Beg'in değil de Şāhruḫ'un sarayında bulunduğunu bildirdiklerinden, biz Şāhruḫ Semerkand'da asâyişi temin edip, Uluġ Beg ve Şāh-Melik'i orada bırakarak Herat'a döndüğü sırada A. Merāġī'yi de beraberinde götürdüğünü kolayca tahmin edebiliriz. Zira, Devletşāh, Şāhruḫ'un sarayını süsleyen dört sanatkârdan birisinin A. Merāġī olduğunu bildirmektedir. Ayrıca Şāhruḫ'un sarayında 'Abdü'lḳādir-i 'Ūdī'nin, Şeyḫ Āzerī'yi, Selmān Sāvecī (öl. 1378)'nin birkaç kasidesiyle imtihan ettiğini söyler[60]. Buna ilâveten Sulṭān Aḥmed Celāyirī'nin 813 (1410–11) yılında Ḳara Yūsuf tarafından öldürüldüğünü A. Merāġī'nin Herat'ta haber aldığı, bu habere çok üzüldüğü ve onun ölümü için tarih düşürdüğü, *Mücmel-i Faṣīḥī*'de bildirilmektedir[61]. Bütün bu ifadeler, Ḫalīl Sulṭān'ın Semerkand'dan ayrılmasından sonra, (1410), A. Merāġī'nin kesinlikle Şāhruḫ'un sarayında ve onun nedimleri arasında bulunduğunu göstermektedir.

Biz, 812–814 (1409–1412) yılları arasında Şāh-Melik'in Semerkand'da olduğunu ve 814 (1411–12) yılında Semerkand'a gelen Şāhruḫ ile birlikte Herat'a gittiğini ve 815 (1412–13) yılında Harezm'e vali tayin edilinceye kadar Şāhruḫ'un yanında Herat'ta kaldığını biliyoruz[62]. İşte uzun bir ayrılık devresinden sonra A. Merāġī ile Şāh-Melik'in Herat'ta bir yıl beraber olduklarını kesinlikle söyliyebiliriz. Tanışıklığın dostluğa dönüş-

58 H. G. Farmer, *İA*, s. 83; *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*, mukaddime, s. 26.
59 *Maṭla'*, C. II, cüz 1, s. 86–88; *Ravża*, C. VI, s. 590–593. Ayrıca bu makalede bk. not 35, 36.
60 Devletşāh, *aynı eser*, s. 379, 448–449.
61 C. III, s. 202.
62 Bk. bu makalede, s. 862–863.

mesi bu bir yıl içinde gerçekleşmiş olmalıdır. Ancak bu bir yıldan sonra, birisi hep Herat'ta[63] diğeri de çoğu zaman Harezm'de yaşayacak olan bu iki önemli tarihî sîma, dostluklarını bir yıl sonraki ayrılık yıllarında mektuplarla ve Şāh-Melik'in çeşitli vesilelerle Herat'a gelmeleri sırasındaki[64] buluşmalarla devam ettirmiş olduklarını yukarıdaki şiirlerden anlamaktayız.

* * *

Şāh-Melik'in bu iki gazelini ortaya koymakla, şiir yazdığını, Türk debiyatı ve kültürüyle ilgilendiğini bildiğimiz Timur'un iki kumandanına, Arslan Ḫ^{v}ōca Tarḫān ve Emīr Seyfe'd-dīn Barlās'a, bir üçüncüsünü, yani Emīr Şāh-Melik'i de ilâve etmiş oluyoruz[65]. Fakat Emīr Şāh-Melik'in bu şiirlerdeki diliyle, *'Atabetü'l-Ḥaḳāyıḳ*'ın sonuna eklenmiş olan Emīr Seyfe'd-dīn ile Arslān Ḫ^{v}ōca Tarḫān'ın şiirlerindeki[66] dil özelliklerini karşılaştırdığımızda açık ve seçik olarak, Emīr Şāh-Melik'in dilinin Oğuzca ile karışık bir Doğu Türkcesi olduğu görülüyor[67]. Bu oldukça şaşırtıcı bir durumdur. Çocukluğunun ve gençliğinin, Doğu Türkçesi konuşulan bölgelerde geçtiğini kuvvetle tahmin ettiğimiz Şāh-Melik'in tıpkı diğer iki emir gibi katıksız bir Doğu Türkçesiyle yazması gerekirdi. Bu durumda akla gelen kuvvetli ihtimallerden biri, Azerbaycan'da Merâga'da yetiştiğini bildiğimiz A. Merāġī'nin bu şiirleri Oğuzcalaştırmış olmasıdır. Fakat bu hâliyle bu mesele, çözülmek üzere dil tarihçilerinin ilgisini beklemektedir.

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[63] H. G. Farmer'a göre, A. Merāġī, Herat'ta çıkan veba salgınında 1435 yılında, Mu'īne'd-dīn Muḥammed İsfizārī'ye dayanan T. Bīniş'e göre ise 1434'te ölmüştür (*İA*, s. 83; *Meḳāṣidü'l-elḥān*, mukaddime, s. 21). Farmer, onun sadece 1421 yılında Herat'tan kısa bir süre için ayrıldığını; musikîye dair yazdığı bir eserini II. Murād'a (1421–1451) sunmak için Bursa'ya gittiğini yazar (bk. *İA*, aynı yer).

[64] Bk. bu makalede s. 863 ve not 47. 1417 yılında Şāh-Melik Uluġ Beg'in ziyafeti için Herat'a gelmiştir.

[65] R. R. Arat, *'Atabetü'l-Ḥaḳāyiḳ*, s. 15–19; Z. V. Togan, "Büyük Türk Hükümdarı Şahruh", *TDED*, C. III, sayı 3–4 (1949), s. 519–538 (s. 522).

[66] R. R. Arat, *aynı eser*, s. 79–81.

[67] Bk. bu makalede şiirlerin dil özelliklerinin işlendiği bölüm.

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A Qaraḫānid Document of A.D. 1121 (A.H. 515) from Yarkand

ŞINASI TEKİN

Several legal documents belonging to the Qaraḫānid period have come down to us, and a few brief descriptions of them have been published (Barthold and Ross, p. 158; *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 1 [1925]: 221–26; Huart, p. 607; Minorsky, p. 192; Ş. Tekin, "Bilinen en eski İslami Türkçe metinler," p. 158.)* The land sale document that I discuss here is in Arabic, but the witnesses' section is in Turkish — more precisely, Qaraḫānid Turkish. The original has disappeared, but, fortunately, old photographs of it are preserved in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, under no. M 63, Yarkand. My edition is based on these photographs, reproduced here on pp. 880–81.

Besides personal names, titles, and some toponymical information, the document, executed on 21 April–20 May 1121 in Yarkand, contains the names of two witnesses, given in Uighur rather than Arabic letters (lines 43 and 44; cf. also the documents of Huart and Ş. Tekin, the latter written entirely in Uighur letters). Who were these two persons? They must have been Muslims, yet they did not know Arabic letters. The only explanation possible is that they belonged to another culture, namely, to that of the mainly Buddhist Hočo-Uighur region through which the ancient Northern silk trade route passed. Yarkand, the city where the document was composed, lies in the small district where the Northern and Southern trade routes converged; the district includes Kashgar. The area's extensive commerce makes it likely that from relatively early times the non-Muslim Uighur population migrated into the Kashgar region, where the Muslim Qaraḫānids were dominant. This migration probably ended with the Uighurs' conversion to Islam.

How were the newcomers to the Islamic world of Western Turkistan able to preserve their non-Qur'anic alphabet? There are answers to this question which are equally valid:

(1) The Uighur émigrés were adults at the time of their conversion to Islam, which means they had already been educated in a non-Muslim, most likely Buddhist Uighur culture.

* For references, see pp. 882–83.

(2) They belonged to a generation that had already converted, but in close family circles the old writing tradition, along with their own language, had been kept alive. This might have been especially possible at the time when Islam had been presented to the Turks in an Iranian, i.e., Sāmānid model: the Turks observed that the Islamic Creed could be expressed in a non-Qur'anic language, namely, in Persian.

(3) Extensive trade with Eastern Turkistan and political ties with the Buddhist Turks in Hočo created a demand for Uighur writing in the Qaraḫānid domain.

These historically possible answers lead to the following conclusion: The Buddhist Uighur elements prevalent east of Kashgar were responsible for the creation of a Turkish version of Islam by the Qaraḫānids. (Similarly, the Iranian version of Islam was created by the Sāmānids. Yet another example would be the Mongols' conversion to Islam; they, however, did not maintain a separate ethnic identity because they could not create their own version of Islam.) The document presented here can be regarded as evidence for this conclusion.

TRANSCRIPTION

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
1 هذا ما اشترى الماسمى اسرافيل سوباشى بن هارون اوكا بن بكربن قرلق جده من المسمى
2 تمماجى الحاجب بن الحسن الحجاج بن يوسف بن اوكا جميع كرم و حمى وقطعه ارض . . .
3 . . . ومشجره حور التى موضع الكل بسناس ماورا النهربسواد و
4 هى قرية من قروى كورة ياركنده بحضرة مسجد منسوب الى يحيى انال الحاجب التى يشتمل على الكل
5 ويحيط بالكل حدود اربعة اما الكرم فحده الاول لزيق طريق الجادة والثانى لزيق كرم البانى المسمى فيه
6 و لثالث لزيق ارض المسعود يغوبن موسى و الرابع لزيق الراكب واما القطعة الارض فحدها الاول
7 لزيق ساقية الارض البايع المسمى فيه والثانى لزيق ارض المشترى المسمى فيه والثالث لزيق نهر يدعى
8 الملا بتغى والرابع لزيق نهريدعى يقالق واما المشجرة فحدها الاول والثانى لزيق كرم البايع
9 المسمى فيه والثالث لزيق چمكان والرابع لزيق مسجد ارض منسوب الى يحيى <انا> ل المسمى فيه
10 اشترى هذا المشترى المسمى فيه من البايع المسمى فيه جميع الكرم ووالحمى والقطعة الارض و المشجرة
11 التى ذكرموضعها وبين حدودها فيه بجميع حدودها وحقوقها ومرافقها واشجارالكرم والحمى والمشجرة
12 المثمرة وغيرها وجميع مكارم الكرم و . . . وفضائها . . . واصلها . . . وطرقها ومسلك
13 طرقها وشربها بمجارية وسبيل ويجرى حالها فى حقوقه وكل حق هوله فيها ومنها داخل فيها
14 خارج منها وكل قليل وكثير هوله فيها وكل ما هومعروف بها ومنسوب اليها بخمسة
15 عشر الف وخمسمائة درهم التى يكون نصفها سبعه الف وسبعمائه وخمسون درهما
16 نقد البلدة ياركنده اكلها جيدا نافعة رايجة . . . سرا صحيحا جائزا نافذا باتا بتة بتلة
17 خاليا عن الشروط المفسدة و المعانى المبطلة وقبض البايع المسمى فيه جميع الثمن
18 المذكور مبلغه فيه تاما وافيا عملا بايفا المشترى المسمى فيه وقبض المشترى المسمى فيه جميع

19 المبيع المذكور فيه بتسليم البايع المسمى فيه فارغا غير مشغولة وضمن البايع المسمى فيه ضمان الدرك
20 والاستحقاق هذا المشترى المسمى فيه ضمانا صحيحا يشغلها . . . و تفرقا عن مجلس العقد بعد صحته وابرايه
21 تفرق الابدان و الاقوال عن تراض منهما بعد ان قرئ عليهما بلسان عرفاه وفهماه واقرا ان الامر كما
22 بين فيه من غير زيادة ولا نقصان واشهدا على ذلك كله . . .
23 هذا الذكر حال . . . عليهما كالعيون اعتبر غير مكرهين ولا مجبر عليهما لا علة بهما من مرض ولا غيرها
24 من العلل المانعة لجواز التصرف و ذلك لخمس ليال كتب فى شهر صفر من شهور سنه خمسه عشر وخمسمائه
25 . . .
26 . . .
27 . . .

28 اسال بك اغلى عمر . . .
[اينال بك اغلى عمر]

بواهر سومر من معاجى
29 سرابدار حيل باسى [بو خط <اوزا> تنق من من تغاجى]
[شرابدار خيل باشى]
حاجب اغلى عهد اوا
[حاجب اغلى خط او<ز>ا]

30 سومن بوصن بو بر لار سانمرادرم
[تنوق من <تى>نوقمن بو خط اوز<ا> نشانم اردم]

31 الياس خاص حاجب من تغاجى حاجب اغلى
[الياس خاص حاجب من تغاجى حاجب اغلى]

32 اوغلى احمد معاجى عثمان اوز سانم اردم
[اوغلى احمد تغاجى عثمان اوز نشانم اردم]

33 عمر شراب دار خيل باشى بوغا دانشمندكلرى
[عمر شراب دار خيل باشى بوغا دانشمندكلرى]

34 اوغلى صالح شراب دار سومن محمد سومن
[اوغلى صالح شراب دار تنق من محمد تنق من]

35 هارون اوكا اوغلى محمد . . .
[هارون اوكا اوغلى محمد . . .]

36
[سو باشی تنق من]

37
[عمر سو باشی اوغلی من ابراهیم بو خط]

38
[اوزا تنق من عمر سو باشی اوغلی]

39
[موسی تنق من]

40
[الیاس خاص حاجب اغلی من محمود]

41
[اینال تنق من]

42
[بیغوا بك اوغلی من اغل خیل باشی تنوق من]

Uighur

43 بو قاتنكا مان راسول تار تانوق <مان> ایعقا
[بو خطكا من رسولدار تنوق ایمغا]

44 قاجیب تانوق <مان>
[حاجب تنوق]

45
[اسحاق خاص خیل باشی اوغلی محمود شرابدار]

46
[بو خط اوزا تنوق من]

TRANSLATION

In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

(1) This is [to testify] that the named İsrāfīl Çav̌li Sübaşi bin Hārūn Öge b. Bakr b. Ḳarluḳ, his ancestor [?], has purchased from the named **(2)** Tamġaçi el-Ḥācib b. el-Ḥasan el-Ḥaccāc b. Yūsuf b. Öge an entire vineyard, a meadow, and a piece of land . . . **(3)** and a wood of white poplars which are located entirely at Sinmas, beyond the river, in an arable **(4)** rural district of Yarkand, opposite the mosque belonging to Yaḥyā İnal el-Ḥācib. These are comprised and **(5)** surrounded in totality by four boundaries.

As to the vineyard, as to its first boundary, it is adjoined by the road of quarter [?]; the second one is adjoined by the vineyard of the herein named vendor; **(6)** the third one is adjoined by the land of Mes'ūd Yabġu b. Mūsā; the fourth one is adjoined by the top of the hill.

As to the piece of land, as to its first boundary, **(7)** it is adjoined by the irrigation canal of the land of the herein named vendor; the second one is adjoined by the land of the herein named buyer; the third one is adjoined by a river called **(8)** *Mollā Batiġi*; the fourth one is adjoined by a river called *Yaḳaliḳ*.

As to the wood [of white poplars], as to its first and second one [i.e., boundary], they are adjoined by the vineyard of the **(9)** herein named vendor; the third one is adjoined by the meadow; the fourth one is adjoined by the mosque of the land belonging to Yaḥyā <İna>l, named herein.

(10) That herein mentioned buyer has purchased from the herein mentioned vendor the entire vineyard, meadow, a piece of land, and a wood [of white poplars] **(11)** whose location has been mentioned and whose boundaries have been stated herein, with the entirety of the vineyard, of the meadow, **(12)** of the fruit trees and others . . . space . . . tracks of their roads, **(13)** of their irrigation by the canals with their rights and all the rights he has on streams small and large, **(14)** flowing in and out, which he possesses in them; and finally with all that which is recognized and attributed to them, for **(15)** 15,000 dirhems whose half is 7,750 **(16)** in the currency of the city of Yarkand, entirely perfect, useful, current . . . standard, licit, actual, real and this is an absolute and definite sale; **(17)** without conditions to vitiate or to annul it.

The herein named vendor declares to have received **(18)** the herein mentioned entire sum in full, pursuant to the payment of the herein named buyer. The herein mentioned buyer declares to have received the herein named **(19)** sold properties being free and not occupied, upon delivery by the herein named vendor.

The herein named vendor assures **(20)** the herein named buyer . . . with a good and sufficient security . . . and both of them left the place of the legal transaction after having stated its sincerity and its acquittal **(21)** its physical and verbal separation.

Both of them have recognized the affair as it has been explained **(22)** herein, no more no less, after the document had been read to both of them in a language which they knew and understood. Both of them have witnessed in that . . .

(23) . . . **(24)** This document is a free . . . for both of them just as faults. They are

considered unforced and unobliged. They had no handicaps or similar calamities preventing them from possible action.

It has been written in the month of Ṣafer of the year A.H. 515 [21 April–20 May A.D. 1121].

[Lines **25**, **26**, and **27** are illegible]

(28) ‘Ömer, son of İnal Beg . . . / **(29)** I, Şarābdār Ḫaylbaşi, am a witness in this document. / I, son of Tamġaçi Ḥācib, am **(30)** a witness in [this] document. / I am a witness; I put my signature onto this document: **(31)** İlyās Ḫāṣṣ Ḥācib. / I, son of Tamġaçi Ḥācib **(32)** Aḥmed Tamġaçi ‘Oṣmān, put my own signature. / **(33)** ‘Ömer Şarābdār Ḫaylbaşi Boġa, their interpreter / **(34)** I, his son Ṣāliḥ Şarābdār, am a witness. / Muḥammed, I am a witness. / **(35)** Muḥammed son of Hārūn Öge . . . / I, . . . **(36)** Sübaşi, am a witness. / **(37)** I, İbrāhīm, son of ‘Ömer Sübaşi, am a witness in this **(38)** document. / I, Mūsā, son of ‘Ömer Sübaşi, **(39)** am a witness. / **(40)** I, Maḥmūd İnal, son of İlyās Ḫāṣṣ Ḥācib, **(41)** am a witness. / **(42)** I, son of Yabġu Beg, Oġul [?] Ḫaylbaşi, am a witness. /

[In Uighur script:] **(43)** I, Rasul-tar, <am> a witness to this document [?]. / <I>, Imġa **(44)** Hacib, <am> a witness. / **(45)** I, Maḥmūd Şarābdār, son of İsḥāḳ Ḫāṣṣ Ḫaylbaşi, **(46)** am a witness in this document.

[End of the document]

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARIES

(initial numbers refer to lines of document)

(1) ارافيل Cf. Huart, pp. 615, 622, where the same person is named. حاقلى must be *çav̇li* ‘small falcon’, with ق (Kāşġarī, sub *çaflı*; *TMEN*, 3: 38: *čavli*; *EDPT*, p. 397).

The next word is partly obliterated, but it could be *sübaşi*. This person is named in Minorsky’s similar Turkish document, dated Rebi‘ II 515 (19 June–18 July A.D. 1121), in clear Arabic letters: اسرافيل چاولى سوباشى (Minorsky, pp. 191, 193).

Also, *çavli* occurs as early as in an Arabic Qaraḫānid Waqf document (A.D. 1046–1068): حاولى الخيلتاشى (*JA*, 1967, p. 325, line 13).

اوكا *öge* as a name and title is well attested in both pre-Islamic and Islamic sources; G. Doerfer and G. Clauson have listed all its occurrences (*TMEN*, 2:157–59; *EDPT*, p. 101). The word is, of course, a deverbal noun from *ö-* ‘to think’. However, sources from various periods indicate differences in how it was semantically and morphologically conceived: *ög-e* (from *ög-*, *üg-* ‘to praise’) = e.g., *il ügesi* ‘*faḫr al-mulk*’, or *ög* ‘mind’, or even Mongolian *üge* ‘word’. It is, therefore, impossible to give a single etymology for the term.

قرلق *Ḳarluḳ*, if my reading is correct; cf. *TMEN*, 3:385 < qarăl-uq.

(2) تمغاچى *tamġaçi*, originally meaning “keeper of the seal,” occurs in the old Turkish inscriptions. The word does not seem to have this meaning in

the early Islamic sources: *Kutadgu Bilig* gives it only in a very vague context (Arat, ed., p. 4046), and Kāşğarī does not mention it at all.

After the meaning "keeper of the seal," stemming from the Persian مهردار, had disappeared, the word came to designate a "tax and revenue collector." This semantic development, probably completed in the fourteenth century with Rašīd ad Dīn, has been illustrated in *TMEN*, 2:565–66 (where G. Doerfer misunderstood Köprülü entirely: "... KOP 9 طمغاچی 11./12. Jh." is misleading because Köprülü's example is a global and undated one, without any semantic interpretation; *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7–8, pt. 1:9).

A. C. Emre's etymology for the word *tamğa*, as *tam-ğa* (*tam-* 'to flame, to blaze up' (cf. Emre, p. 174), is very well justified; cf. semantic parallels in English, e.g., *brand, burn*, etc. (also see Tezcan, note 998).

In our document *tamğaçi* occurs only as a title (*lakab*), without any indication of its function.

(3) مشجرة حور 'wood of white poplars'. Since our document frequently omits dots, حور could also be read جوز which would be "walnut."

The detailed description of Yarkand by Mirza Muhammad Haidar (sixteenth century) justifies my reading of حور as "white poplars." E. Ross translates the passage by M. M. Haidar as follows: "Along the public roads are avenues of white poplar (*safidár*), so that one may walk for a statutory (*farsákh*) and a half on every side of the city, under the shade of these trees. Streams run by most of the avenues ..." (Haidar, p. 297); for a similar account from the nineteenth century, see Forsyth, "Mission to Yarkund [*sic*]," p. 22, and *Report*, p. 421).

بسناس *Sinmas* is a Turkish place-name which occurs in similar documents: بمحله تدعى با لتركيه التين قى سناس and بموضع يدعى با لتركية التنقى سناس (Huart, texts 2 and 3). If, as is possible, the name was actually written *sin-mas (z)*, it could be interpreted as "it will not break."

(4) بياركندە *Yarkanda*, also line 16. All the area's Arabic documents of sale use this form of the city's name (cf. Huart, pp. 611, 612; *BSOS*, 1923, p. 153).

The Chinese sources have recorded the name in various forms, but none explains the form "Yarkanda" (see Ch'ing-lung, p. 7, fn. 25). Even Kāşğarī refers to the city only as ياركند (p. 243, line 11).

Some of the earliest Qaraḫānid coins have the city's name as يارقند (Zambaur, p. 272: A.H. 404).

Tibetan documents from the eighth century have the form *G-yar-skyaṅ*, which translates as "upper city." *Yar, g-yar, ya-yar* mean "above, up" (cf. Thomas); *-kanda* (كندە), from the Khotanese *kanthā* 'city' (cf.

Leumann, p. 407), has the Sogdian cognates *knδh, knδ, knδ'k* (the last form is most common).

These data show that the city's name occurred in two forms: (1) *Yārkand* (*Yārḳand* on coins only), which was used by Kāşġarī (eleventh century) and all other Muslim historiographers and geographers, and, without the final *-d*, even by Tibetans around A.D. 700; (2) *Yārkanda* ياركنده, which appears only in private documents of sale drawn up by inhabitants of the city itself.

The first form was definitely based on the Sogdian element *-knδ*; in other words, outside of Yarkand the name of the city had been propagated by the Sogdians, insofar as we know, as early as A.D. 700 (e.g., Tibetan *G-yar-skyaṅ*). Since the second form, carrying on the Khotanese tradition, was used exclusively by the city's inhabitants, one could assume that its population was mostly Khotanese!

The component *yār+* occurred in local place-names in the Inner Asian territories. Its earliest appearance is in Tibetan sources, where it means "above, up, upper." According to R. N. Frye (an oral communication to me), *yār* does not exist in Iranian in this sense. In Turkish, however, *yar* can mean "the vertically eroded bank of a river" or "a precipice," that is, a high place from which one can look down (*EDPT*, pp. 953–54). In pre-Islamic Uighur materials, it occurs only in medical texts, which are of relatively late date (cf. *EDPT*, p. 953). Its earliest instance is in Kāşġarī (eleventh century). Since this element's basic meaning is "what remains when something has been split off," it can be derived from the common Turkish verbal root *yar-* 'to split, to cleave' <**ya-r-*. The participle *ya-r*, could easily have derived from this **ya-*, as well. If, however, the Tibetan *g-yar*, etc., was not borrowed from Turkish, has it an acceptable Tibetan etymology?

انال *Inal* can also be written اينال; cf. line 41. In the oldest Turkish documents it is well attested with the literal meaning "trustworthy" (< **ina-*; cf. *inan-*); its early usage seems to have been as the title of an obscure office (for a chronological listing, cf. *EDPT*, pp. 184–85).

Other titles have been derived from the verbal root **ina-*: e.g., *inanç* (~ *yinanç*), *inaḳ* (~ *inaġ*) (cf. *TMEN*, 2:217–20; *EDPT*, p. 187). Ş. Süleyman's dictionary gives several meanings for these words (p. 62). G. Doerfer seems to have a different word — *yinäl*; this reading is based on a palatal reading in Old Turkish inscriptions which may not be quite correct (*TMEN*, 4:196). الحاجب 'chamberlain' (cf. *EI*², s. v. *ḥādjib* and Enverī, pp. 29–31).

(6) يبغو *Yabġu*, also in line 42 يبغوا بك اوغلى. This ancient title goes back to the

Yüeh-chih. In the Islamic sources the dots are either missing or in the wrong place; therefore the word can also be read as *bayğu*, which was actually as the name of a totemic bird (Süleyman, s.v. يبغو: "doğana benzer bir nevi şikâr kuşudur"; Pritsak, "Kara-hanlılar," p. 253, and "Der Untergang," p. 407). The last syllable of *yabğu* (يبغوا , line 42) is obviously a calque of the Arabic verb, 3rd person plural; e.g., كتبوا or يكتبوا. Line 37 has بوا *bu*, which is interpreted in the same way. The same orthographical feature occurs in early Anatolian Turkish texts. (For a detailed discussion of *yabğu* and pertinent references, see Frye, pp. 353–59, *EDPT*, p. 873, and *TMEN*, 4:124.)

(7) ساقية 'irrigation canal'. In a similar document, this Arabic word has been translated into Turkish as *su ariği* ساقية تدعى سوا ريغي (Huart, p. 615). Ancient and modern visitors to Yarkand repeatedly spoke about the irrigation canals of the area (cf. Montgommerie, p. 181, and the commentary to line 3, above).

(8) نهر تدعى الملا بتغي *al-Mollā batiği* (cf. Huart, p. 615). This document, dated A.H. 505, deals with persons and locations very like those appearing in our document.

For *batiğ* 'gorge of a river; swamp', see *EDPT*, p. 301 and Kāşğarī.

نهر تدعى يقالق *Yaḳaliḳ* 'a river called Y'. This *yaḳaliḳ* is not attested; *yaḳa*, however, is well known as "edge, shore, bank." Huart, p. 615, has ساقية تدعى بالتركية يقالق 'irrigation canal with the Turkish name *Yaḳaliḳ*' and further in the same document we read: ساقية تدعى سوآريغي يقا بتيق 'irrigation canal called *su ariği* (water canal), *Yaka batik*'. This "canal" or "river" can perhaps be identified with a small village, approximately ten miles southwest of Yarkand, which today is called Yaka-arik.

(9) جمكان *Çimgen*. Cf. Huart, p. 615: يدعى بالتركية جمكان ; *TMEN*, pp. 99–101, and *EDPT*, p. 423.

(15) درهم *dirhem* is used here without specification to mean the Muslim monetary unit. Although all the sources insist that the metal of the dirhem was silver, in a similar document (Huart, p. 616) the dirhem is referred to as a gold coin: . . . درهما زهبا سادجا This document, dated Shavval 505 (April 1112), deals with similar locations and persons as the one examined here. Its specification — namely, "golden" — indicates that *dirhem* was a generic term for coin or money at the time.

(28) This line ends with words (signatures?) that I cannot identify. Undoubtedly the roll call of witnesses begins here. The rest of the document is in Turkish.

اينال بك (line 42: يبغوا بك). The compound *Yabğu beg* does not occur in earlier documents. Its first appearance, as far as I know, was in the

fourteenth century (cf. Arat, "Uygurca Yazılar arasında," p. 104, line 20). For the etymologies and occurrences of *beg*, see *TMEN*, 2:389–406, and *EDPT*, pp. 322–23.

(29) شرابدار (line 33 — 'Ömer Şarābdār Ḫaylbaşi; line 34 — his son Ṣāliḥ Ş.; line 45 — Maḥmūd Ş.) These examples, naturally, give no information about Şarābdār's function. The word signifies an officer who takes care of the royal repository of drinking water; sometimes he is also called شراب سلار.

For details see Enverī, pp. 214–15, s.v. شرابداری،شراب سلار،شرابدار.

خیل باشی Ḫaylbaşi (cf. lines 33, 45); *ḫayl*, of Semitic origin, means "military force, state." After the Iranians borrowed it from the Arabs during the first centuries A.D., the word came to mean "tribe, cavalry, battalion," and "horses; many" (see Aşnin, pp. 255–64).

The military and administrative term *ḫaylbaşi* is attested with the meaning "battalion commander" in Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāset-nāme* (Darke, p. 106; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 227). *Kutadgu Bilig* has the following important passage (Arat, ed., p. 4139): "*tegir erse hil ya sañga on otaġ* 'sana *takım* veya *on otag* rutbesi teveccüh ederse . . .'" (Arat's translation), which clearly indicates that *ḫayl* equals "ten *otaġ*," or tents. Niẓām al-Mulk mentions (Darke, p. 106) a Viṣāḳbaşi, or "commander of the tent"; a promotion raises this Viṣāḳbaşi to the rank of Ḫaylbaşi, or "commander of ten tents" (for this *viṣāḳbaşi* = *otaġbaşi* correlation, cf. Tekin, "Bilenen en eski İslami Türkçe metinler," pp. 175–76). Accordingly, C. E. Bosworth's statement "*khailtāsh* . . . was an officer who commanded ten cavalrymen . . ." (p. 46) should be corrected to "commanded ten tents."

The Persian historical and lexicographical sources contain the strange word خیلتاش; its meaning, based on the simple interpretation of the Turkish suffix *-das* (*-taş*) is "cavalry and infantry belonging to the same tribe." Enverī rejects this interpretation and states only that "*ḫayltāşān* are noblemen from the cavalry" (p. 131). *Ḫayltāş* (pl. *-ān*) is obviously a mistranscription of *ḫaylbaşi*. The missing dots and the confusion of شی in باشی with ش might have led the non-Turkish Muslim scribes to create this meaningless خیلتاش. Mohamed Khadr's reading should also be corrected (*JA*, 1967, p. 325, line 14).

What is *ḫāṣṣ ḫaylbaşi* (line 45)?

(30) *niṣān*. Here, suddenly, the style changes: <*ta*>*nuḳmn* appears at the beginning of the sentence, rather than at the end. Furthermore, an unusual expression occurs: "I put my signature onto this document (*Ilyās Ḫāṣṣ Ḥācib*)." The next witness says something slightly different: his name precedes "put my own signature." Obviously, here *niṣān* does not mean a

real "signature," but only a personal name. In the non-Islamic Uighur documents we find the following standard phrase: *bu nişan men* [name] *ning͡ ol,* meaning "This signature is mine, of (name)" (Arat, "Eski Türk Hukuk Vesikaları," pp. 5–53, especially 43), and personal "marks" appear right after this standard phrase. However, in some Uighur contracts the marks are missing, and these cases resemble the examples from our document. We can tentatively conclude that these two witnesses were familiar with the Uighur tradition (Yamada, pp. 253–59).

The word *nişān* is Middle Persian (see Boyce, p. 192: *nyš'n* 'sign, standard').

nişān ur- could be the translation of the Persian compound نشان زدن.

(33) The term *dānişmendekleri* 'their interpreter' (cf. Huart, p. 623) refers to line 21 where the text of the document has been read in a language which the parties concerned understood: 'Ömer Şarābdār Ḫaylbaşi Boġa was their *dānişmendek.* The Modern Persian equivalent is دانشمند 'wise, learned'. A different form of the word appears in an early Anatolian Turkish text which has Central Asian Turkish elements: "faḳih Yāḳūt Arslan رحمة الله عليه bunı dürk diline döndürdi daşdınḳı muḳirlering͡ *dañiş-mendeleri* bārsi dilin bilmez bolsalar bu kitābı oḳımaḳ ögrenmek bulara geng͡ez bola [Fakih Y. A. — may God's grace be upon him — translated this into the Turkish language (so that) if the advisers (*dānişmende*) of those living outside (the cities) did not know the Persian language, it would be easy for them to read and to study this book]." (The manuscript, now in Paris, is dated A.H. 743; my edition appeared in *TDAY,* 1973–74, p. 71.)

Where does this curious *dānişmende* دانشمنده come from? How does it relate to the *dānişmendek* of our document, or even to *yārkende*? The forms apparently do not occur in any other Turkish source.

(36) سوباشی *sübaşi*; cf. my note in "Selçuklu Araştırmaları," p. 178.

(42) Is the word اغل *oġul* correct? If not a dittography, it must mean "prince."

(43–44) These lines give the two witnesses in Uighur script.

(43) *bu hatke* 'to this document'; cf., however, lines 30 and 37–38: *bu ḫaṭ öze.* If this reading is incorrect, the next reading to be tried would be *Abu Hanifa.*

rasul-tar is the well attested title رسولدار, that is, an official attending to ambassadors at court (cf. Enverī, pp. 247–49 s.v. رسول).

Imġa was the treasurer of public monies, who also supervised their collection (Kāşġarī, 1:128; *EDPT,* p. 158).

The *ilimġa* of the *Kutadgu Bilig* and Kāşġarī can be understood as **il*

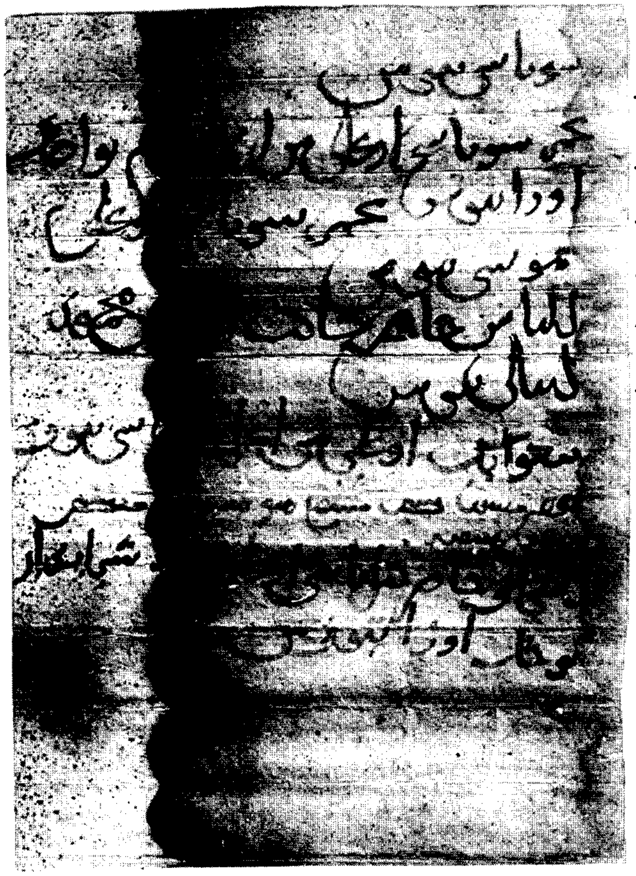
imġa: R. Arat translates it as "sır-kâtibi" (*Kutadgu Bilig*, pp. 4065, 4146). Kāşġarī (1:143) defines the term as "the secretary who writes the sultan's letters in Turkish script." Since *il* can also mean, among other things, "peace between two kings" (Kāşġarī, 1:49, 200), and since "Turkish script" could mean Uighur script (Kāşġarī, 1:8–10), we can tentatively conclude the following:

1. The *imġa* 'treasurer', being able to write, could also be called *il imġa.*
2. Consequently, the treasurer could have assumed the duties of a secretary, namely, taking care of correspondence with other rulers, especially with the non-Muslim Uighurs east of Kashgar (N.B.: *il* 'peace').
3. This explains why İmġa Ḥācib uses Uighur script for his signature at the end of the document.

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Armenian Variations on the Baḥira Legend

ROBERT W. THOMSON

Armenian historians do not hesitate to depict the unpleasant aspects of Muslim rule in the Caucasus. It is only natural that they should dwell on the carnage and extortion caused by these rulers, who were "even more wicked than the Persians," according to Thomas Artsruni,[1] and that they should see the cause for this scourge in their own sins, as did Ḷevond.[2] But although they describe in detail the initial expansion of Islam and the military successes of the Muslim armies, they have much less to say about Islam as a religious force. Indeed, not until the fourteenth century did Armenian historians attempt a discussion of the Muslim religion that aimed at understanding rather than ridicule.[3] However, the earlier polemical accounts of the origin of Islam that occur in Armenian sources are of some literary, if not historical, interest. They contain features that also occur in the other Christian polemical texts — Greek, Syriac or Arabic — as well as specifically Armenian developments. Not the least curious are the Armenian variations on the legend of Baḥira, the heretical Christian

[1] *T'ovmayi Vardapeti Artsrunwoy Patmut'iwn Tann Artsruneats'* (hereafter Artsruni) (Tbilisi, 1917), in the title to bk. 2, chap. 4; there is a French translation by F. M. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1874).

[2] *Patmut'iwn Ḷewondeay metsi Vardapeti Hayots'* (hereafter Ḷevond) (St. Petersburg, 1887), chap. 1. A French translation by G. Shahnazarian was published in Paris in 1857.

[3] See G. M. De Durand, "Une somme arménienne au XIV^e siècle," in *Etudes d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale,* ser. 4, Publications de l'Institut d'études médiévales, no. 19 (Montreal and Paris, 1968), pp. 217–77; and idem, "Notes sur deux ouvrages de Grégoire de Tathew," *Revue des études arméniennes* 5 (1968): 175–97. The article by F. Macler, "L'Islam dans la littérature arménienne d'après la publication récente du 'Livre des Questions' de Tathewatsi," *Revue des études islamiques* 6 (1932): 493–522, is not what the title might suggest, but merely gives a summary of sixteen errors of the Muslims as indicated in the work of B. Kiulēsērean, *Islamě Hay Matenagrut'ean mēj* (Vienna, 1930).

monk who supposedly recognized Muḥammad as a future prophet and inspired him with many of his doctrines.[4]

Baḥira does not figure in the earliest Armenian accounts of the life of Muḥammad. The late seventh-century source known as Sebēos dwelled at some length on the conquests of the Muslims in Syria and Armenia.[5] Their early success the author attributed as much to the encouragement of the Jews as to the weakness of the Byzantine army. But of Muḥammad himself he had little to say:

(chap. 30) At that time [lived] a certain man from among the sons of Ismael, whose name was Mahmet, a merchant. As if by the command of God he appeared to them as a preacher [teaching] the road of truth, and he taught them to recognize the God of Abraham, especially because he was versed and well informed in the history of Moses. Now since the command came from above, at a single order they all joined together in a united religion. Abandoning their vain cults, they turned to the living God who had appeared to their father Abraham. Then Mahmet gave them legislation: not to eat carrion, not to drink wine, not to speak falsely, and not to commit fornication. And he said: "With an oath God promised that land to Abraham and to his seed after him for ever. And he has fulfilled [that promise] as he said at that time while he loved Israel. Now you are the sons of Abraham, and God will fulfill the promise of Abraham and his seed for you. But only love the God of Abraham, and go and seize your land which God gave to your father Abraham, and no one will be able to oppose you in war, for God is with you."

Sebēos went on to describe the defeat of the Byzantine army in the sands, the Muslim expansion into Syria and Egypt, and the collapse of the Persian kingdom.[6]

Ḷevond, writing at the end of the eighth century, elaborated on the Jewish alliance and repeated Sebēos' information about the Byzantine defeat in the desert, but he said nothing about Muḥammad. The only comment relevant to our theme in Ḷevond occurs in the correspondence between the emperor Leo and the caliph 'Umar, where it is suggested that Muḥammad was influenced by "Nestorian" ideas. But the correspondence as it has survived is not authentic; the Armenian version of Leo's

[4] For a general account of the Islamic traditions concerning Baḥira, see L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam,* vol. 1 (Milan, 1905), pp. 160–61; for a more recent bibliography, see s.v. "Baḥīrā," by A. Abel, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* new ed., vol. 1 (Leiden, 1960), pp. 922–23.

[5] *Patmut'iwn Sebēosi Episkoposi i Herakln* (hereafter Sebēos) (Tbilisi, 1913); a French translation by F. Macler was published in Paris in 1906. On the question of whether the "History of Heraclius" as it is now known was written by "Sebēos" or a different author, see G. V. Abgaryan, *Sebeosi Patmut'yunĕ ev Ananuni areḷtsvatsĕ* (Erevan, 1965).

[6] For the reaction of Sebēos and other early Christian writers to the Muslim invasions, see W. E. Kaegi, "Initial Byzantine Reactions to the Arab Conquest," *Church History* 38 (1969): 139–49.

letter in Ḷevond is the product of an Armenian pen.[7] Curiously enough, only one other Armenian source picked up the "Nestorian" theme — the account in Ps.-Shapuh Bagratuni (translated below) — although the theme was known in Greek as early as George Hamartolus (ninth century) and appeared in Arabic in the *Apology* of al-Kindi at the court of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–833).[8]

The first Armenian author to give a detailed account of Muḥammad's life was Thomas Artsruni, who wrote at the beginning of the tenth century. He began with the story of the Jews inviting the Ismaelites to share their inheritance, as did Sebēos, but then continued with a circumstantial description of Muḥammad's career and teachings:

(II 4) At that time there were some despotic brothers in the regions of Arabia Patraea in the place [called] P'aṙan, which is now called Mak'a — warlike chieftains, worshippers of the temple of the Ammonites of the image called Samam and K'abar.[9] It happened that one of them, called Abdla, died leaving a son of tender age called Mahmet. His uncle Aputalp[10] took and raised him until he reached puberty. On attaining a sufficient age he dwelt with a certain wealthy man

[7] Ḷevond, pp. 42–98; an English translation of the correspondence is in A. Jeffery, "Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence between 'Umar II and Leo III," *Harvard Theological Review* 37 (1944):269–332. Thomas Artsruni was the first Armenian writer to refer to correspondence between the caliph 'Umar and the emperor Leo (Artsruni, bk. 2, chap. 4). He did not say that this was included in Ḷevond's history, and indeed the Armenian text of the letters shows evidence of being composed at a much later time than that of Ḷevond. Furthermore, Thomas's description of 'Umar's letter as a "t'uḷt' havatots'" (letter of faith) is hardly compatible with the cursory rehearsal of questions that had been prefaced to Leo's long response. Gero's demonstration that the letter of "Leo" in its Armenian form is the work of an Armenian is convincing: S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III*, CSCO, subsidia 41 (Louvain, 1973), Appendix 2: "The Authenticity of the Leo-'Umar Correspondence."

[8] Hamartolus in *Patrologia Graeca* (hereafter *PG*), vol. 110, col. 868; W. Muir, *The Apology of Al-Kindi* (London, 1882), p. 23.

[9] There are parallels between Thomas Artsruni and some Byzantine writers, notably John of Damascus (675–749?), whose works were translated into Armenian. John, like Thomas, began his account of the origin of Islam with the assertion that the Saracens were idolators, worshippers of the idol of Venus called Khabar; *De Haeresibus Compendium*, vol. 101 (*PG*, vol. 94, col. 764). The Ammonite connection adduced by Thomas is mentioned in Theophanes (*PG*, vol. 108, col. 685) and George Hamartolus (*PG*, vol. 110, col. 865).

[10] The name of Muḥammad's uncle is not found in Greek texts until the eleventh–twelfth centuries, in the texts attributed to Bartholomew of Edessa; in Syriac texts it did not occur until the works of the twelfth-century historian Michael. Muḥammad's father Abdullah was mentioned by name in the Greek abjuration; see E. Montet, "Un rituel d'abjuration des Musulmans dans l'église grecque," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 53 (1906):145–63. This has been dated to the late seventh century by F. Cumont, "L'origine de la formule grecque d'abjuration," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 64 (1911):143–50. A later date is regarded as more probable by several scholars; see D. J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 125–26.

from among their kin. He served him faithfully, pastured camels, and was the steward of his house. When some time had passed, the master of the house died. Seeing that Mahmet was a faithful man and very judicious in all worldly affairs, the wife [widow] married him and turned over to him all the supervision of the house and property. So he became a merchant by trade and skilled in commerce. He undertook distant journeys on mercantile business, to Egypt and the regions of Palestine.[11] And while he was engaged in this business he happened to meet in the regions of Egypt a monk called Sargis Bḥira, who had been a disciple of the mania of the Arians.[12] Becoming acquainted with him and in the course of time becoming friendly, he taught [Mahmet] many things, especially concerning the old testaments and that God has by nature no Son. He tried to persuade him to follow the former faith of the Israelites: "For if you accept this, I predict that you will become a great general and the leader of all your race." He reminded him of God's promise to Abraham and of the rites of circumcision and sacrifice and all the other things which it is not necessary to mention here in detail.

Artsruni went on to describe Muḥammad's eventual success, with Jewish support, in becoming leader of the Arabs, and the defeat of the Byzantine forces in Syria. Then he mentioned the death of Baḥira:

Now the Arian monk whom we mentioned above, Mahmet's teacher, on seeing his success rose up and went to Mahmet [to ask for] his kind favour, as if he had attained such things on being instructed by his teacher. But since [Mahmet] said he had a message from an angel and not from a man, he was very vexed at this and killed him secretly.

The only other Armenian author to mention the murder of Baḥira, Moses Daskhurantsʿi, implied a similar motive as that made explicit by Artsruni:

[When Muḥammad began to preach the doctrines he had learned from Baḥira,] (III 1) The foolish, heathen, self-indulgent race, amazed at such fine talk, asked Mahmet: "Where did you learn this?" Deceiving his ignorant people, Mahmet replied: "An angel spoke to me as to one of the first prophets who spoke of God." They secretly commissioned spies to discover who had really told him these things, however, and how he knew so much, but Mahmet learned of these deceivers and secretly killed his wicked teacher and buried him in the sand; sitting on this very place, he told the spies: "It was here that the angel appeared to me and told me of these great wonders."[13]

11 Muḥammad's mercantile journeys to Palestine and Egypt were known to Theophanes and George Hamartolus, as was his marriage to his master's widow.

12 As early as from John of Damascus, we learn that Muḥammad became acquainted with an Arian monk, but the name Sargis Bḥira, which becomes standard, is not known in Greek before "Bartholomew": Bartholomaeus Edessenus (anno incerto!), "Confutatio Agareni," *PG*, vol. 104, col. 1396, etc. An elaborate version of the story appears in Arabic in Ibn Isḥāq (d. 753 A.D.): A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad*: A Translation of Isḥ*aq's Sirat Rasūl Allāh* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 79–81.

13 *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranc̣i*, trans. by C.J.F. Dowsett, London Oriental Series, no. 8 (Oxford, 1961). The last hand in the compilation of this work dates to the beginning of the twelfth century.

But quite a different version of Baḥira's death is found in the late Greek source Euthymius Zigabenus and in Syriac (and Arabic?) sources, echoed by the West's William of Tripoli. These writers claimed that Muḥammad killed Baḥira under the influence of drink — hence Muḥammad's ban on wine.[14]

Thomas Artsruni's reference to Muḥammad's mercantile journeys reflects knowledge common to earlier Greek sources. A curious twist was given to the tradition by the chronicler Samuel of Ani, who wrote at the end of the twelfth century: according to him, Muḥammad was "the chief of the traders, an Egyptian."[15] But this may be nothing more than a confusion in the text, for Samuel's chronicle was revised and re-edited several times in later centuries. The suggestion that Muḥammad was an Egyptian is never repeated in Armenian tradition, though the last document to be discussed in this article is categorical in making him a Persian.

The way in which Muḥammad met Baḥira is variously described in the Armenian sources. Moses Daskhurantsʻi saw the meeting as the work of Satan:

(III 1): With the decline of the Sassanian kingdom of Persia there appeared among the false prophets of whom we heard from the Saviour a man called Mahmet, a diabolical and ferocious archer who dwelt in the desert. One day, Satan, assuming the shape of a wild deer, led him to meet a certain false Arian hermit by the name of Bahira and then vanished. When the well-bent bow of Mahmet was aimed straight at him, the man cried out loudly, and said: "Do not sin, my son, for I am a man like yourself!" And Mahmet said to him: "If you are a man, why are you in that cave?" And calling him to him, Bahira began to teach him from the Old and New Testaments after the manner of Arius who held that the Son of God was a created thing and commanded him to tell the barbarous Tačiks what he had learned from him, his foul teacher, insisting that none should know his whereabouts.[16]

According to Ps.-Shapuh Bagratuni, Muḥammad was taken to Baḥira (there called Sargis) by his father to be cured of demonic possession.[17] But in general the Armenian sources merely say that Muḥammad "studied with" Baḥira, or "was instructed" by him. Somewhat more elaborate are the accounts in Mkhitar of Ani (at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and Vardan (early thirteenth century). Mkhitar repeated verbatim the information in the Armenian translation of an undated docu-

[14] Euthymius, *PG*, vol. 131, col. 36; William, "Tractatus de statu Saracenorum," in H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), p. 577.
[15] Samuēl Anetsʻi, *Hawakʻmunkʻ* (hereafter Samuel of Ani) (Vaḷarshapat, 1893), s. anno 647. There is a French translation by F. M. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1876).
[16] Trans. by C.J.F. Dowsett; see fn. 13 above.
[17] See below, p. 892.

ment in Karshuni,[18] while Vardan added some details that are found in the earlier Samuel.

Mkhitar, chap. 25:[19]

There was at that time a man called Mahmet from the tribe called Kuresh, from the sons of Kedar [Ketura] of the twelve tribes of Ismael. Coming to the holy mountain of Sinai, he studied with a certain hermit who knew the Ismaelite tongue and also Persian;[20] he was called Bkhira. Receiving him, he wished to inform him about everything. Beginning from creation, he read to him in progressive order the book of Genesis and all the others, the new testament and the book which they call *The Childhood of Jesus.*[21]

While he only heard the divinely inspired scriptures and did not comprehend them correctly, he had reason to go to the innermost desert, and thereafter never returned to his teacher. His mind did not love Christianity, but his thoughts were seeking to know what Judaism was. Meeting a certain Jewish merchant, he learned from him their rites and faith. He despised that also. And he began of his own invention to proclaim a new faith, opposed to the truth and false.

Vardan, chap. 34:[22]

At that time there was a man from among the sons of Ismael whose name was Mahmet, a merchant. He was born in the city of Madina, a two days' journey away from Mak'a, from the tribe called Korēsh, the son of Abdla, who died leaving him an orphan. He joined a certain merchant, and made progress in his house. When the merchant died, he gained control of his master's house, marrying his wife [widow]. He used to go with camels to Egypt. And there met him a certain hermit named Sargis, of the sect of Arius and Cerinthus, who taught him (about) God from the old books and [taught him] the book of *The Childhood of our Lord.* On his return home he preached what he had heard. But his family persecuted him. So he went to the desert of P'aṙan. And when the 12,000 Jews[23] arrived, using them as a pretext, he preached the God of Abraham to the sons of

18 Published by Kiulēsērean; see fn. 3 above. The Armenian text is first found in a manuscript dated to 1273 A.D. (Jerusalem, 1288). An eighteenth-century copy (Jerusalem, 888) associates it with the thirteenth-century scholars Vanakan and Vardan. But this is because Jer. 1288 begins with theological works by Vanakan, and because the historian Vardan repeated some of the material found in Mkhitar.

19 Mkhitar Anets'i, *Patmut'iwn* (hereafter Mkhitar) (St. Petersburg, 1879).

20 The Karshuni text reads "Arabic" for "Ismaelite and Persian." As early as Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian tradition knew of Salman, the hermit from Persia who wrote down the Quran for Muḥammad. Cf. G. Levi Della Vida's article "Salmān al-Farisi," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* vol. 4 (Leiden, 1924), pp. 116–17. For Muḥammad himself as a Persian, see below, p. 892.

21 For the Armenian versions of the *Infancy Gospel,* see *Ankanon Girk',* vol. 2 (Venice, 1898), pp. 1–312. There is a translation of the long recension in P. Peeters, *Evangiles apocryphes,* vol. 2: *L'évangile de l'enfance, rédactions syriaques, arabe et arméniennes: Textes et documents pour l'étude du christianisme* (Paris, 1914).

22 Vardan Vardapet, *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean* (hereafter Vardan) (Venice, 1862); there is a more critical text of this section and a translation in J. Muyldermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie* (Louvain, 1927).

23 See Sebēos, chap. 30.

Ismael; and he assured them that if they worshipped him they would inherit the land that God had given to Abraham.

The most interesting feature here is the reference to Cerinthus. He first appeared in Armenian in the Chronicle of Samuel of Ani:

A.D. 615. In those days appeared the false prophet of the Saracens, a sectary of Cerinthus and the Arians, called Mahmet, from the race of Ismael, son of Hagar. He was instructed by a solitary called Bkhira, of the sect of Arius, in the Sinai desert, where they [the Ismaelites] had settled and multiplied when Sarah expelled the hand-maiden from her sight.

As Cerinthus was a Jewish gnostic, the introduction of his name may be a curious interpretation of the common statement in Byzantine sources that Muḥammad met both Christians and Jews on his journeys to Palestine. But since Cerinthus was known to Armenian heresiologists not for *Jewish* ideas but for his distinction between the heavenly Christ and earthly Jesus,[24] it is more likely that he was introduced to explain the Muslim account of Jesus' crucifixion. For the Muslims' claim that someone other than Christ was crucified was known to the eleventh-century writer Gregory Magistros.[25] Mkhitar of Ani elaborated on the same theme, though admittedly following his Karshuni source:

(chap. 26) And he said that the Jews did not crucify him, but he counterfeited [himself] to them. And he did not reckon them able to crucify the Word of God or [for him] to be crucified by them. And he was not subject to death, but remains alive and will come to the world in the latter times. And he praised Christians and accepted the gospel and the prophets. And he anathematized the Jews, since they denied Christ and abjured him, and killed the prophets.

The influence of Cerinthus was also claimed by the thirteenth-century historian Kirakos Gandzakets'i and by the translator of Juanshēr. Kirakos[26] merely repeated Samuel. But the reference by the Armenian Juanshēr is more interesting because it is not found in the Georgian original.[27] (Just as the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* of Michael the

[24] Cf. R. W. Thomson, "An Armenian List of Heresies," *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s. 16 (1965): 358–67, especially 362, 363, 366.

[25] Letter no. 70, in the edition by K'. Kostaneants', *T'ḷt'erě* (Aleksandropol, 1910). For a summary of their contents, see V. Langlois, "Mémoire sur la vie et les écrits du prince Grégoire Magistros," *Journal Asiatique,* ser. 6, 13 (1869): 5–64. See also H. Thorossian, "Grigor Magistros et ses rapports avec deux émirs musulmans, Manoutché et Ibrahim," *Revue des études islamiques* 15 (1941–46): 63–66, which contains a brief summary of Letters 70 and 71.

[26] Kirakos Gandakets'i, *Patmut'iwn Hayots'* (hereafter Kirakos) (Erevan, 1961), p. 56; a French translation by F. M. Brosset was published in St. Petersburg in 1870.

[27] Georgian text in *K'art'lis Tskhovreba,* vol. 1, ed. by S. Qaukhchishvili (Tbilisi, 1955), pp. 139–244; corresponding section in M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie,* vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1849), pp. 144–251; Armenian text in Juanshēr, *Hamaṙōt Patmut'iwn Vrats'* (Venice, 1884).

Syrian[28] is in general an abbreviated rendering of the Syriac but with new Armenian material, so the Armenian version of Juanshēr offers a greatly abbreviated text of the Georgian chronicle but with new Armenian material.) The passage in Juanshēr seems to be based on Samuel; it combines the story of Baḥira (s. anno 615) with that of K'aḷart' (s. anno 647).

Armenian Juanshēr, chap. 16:

> But no one can describe the afflictions that the Christians suffered from the Saracens, who for a while were also called K'aḷart'ians (*K'aḷrt'akank'*). As divine scripture says: "The tongues of K'aḷart' shall drink the blood of the innocent."[29] Now the origin of the power of the race of K'aḷart' was [as follows]. He was the chief of some nomadic Ismaelites. In his days a certain chief of Mesopotamia called Sargis used to rob the Ismaelite traders of their goods. K'aḷrt' earnestly begged him [to restore] what he had taken and asked that he do it no more, but he did not heed him. Becoming angry, he gathered a great crowd of his own people, went and seized their own and theirs' [i.e., the traders'], and became very powerful. At that same time they found Mahmet persecuted by his own people. He had been a pupil of a certain Arian monk and of the sect of Cerinthus; he avowed the resurrection to be one of passion, corporal and of bodily desire. After he attached him to his own people and made him general, they fought against the whole world.[30] For the sins of the Christians had reached full measure — of the Greeks and Armenians, Syrians, Albanians, and Georgians. Thereby gaining ascendancy, they also took for themselves the scepter of the Persians, so subjecting all nations.

The most peculiar of all Armenian stories concerning Muḥammad and Baḥira is that in the preface to an anonymous work commonly known as *Pseudo-Shapuh Bagratuni,* first published in 1921 in fragmentary form. Quotations from a historical work by Shapuh Bagratuni which dealt with the seventh and eighth centuries are found in later Armenian historians. But Shapuh's own work has been lost; what was published under his name is more of an epic tale dealing with the period of the emperors Maurice and Heraclius, followed by stories concerning various princes of Vaspurakan down to the tenth century. The text is found in numerous manuscripts, of which the oldest (in the Matenadaran, Erevan, 3777) was written in the years 1185–1188. But only some of the manuscripts contain the separate introductory section dealing with Muḥammad, and the earliest witness to that section dates only from the sixteenth century. The full text was published in 1971;[31] the relevant passage reads as follows:

28 *Zhamanakagrut'iwn Teaṙn Mikhayēli* (Jerusalem, 1871); French translation by V. Langlois, *Chronique de Michel le grand* (Venice, 1868).

29 Cf. Sirach, 12:16. *K'aḷart'* here seems to be a pun on *k'aḷts'r* ("sweet").

30 For Muḥammad and the Arab chief K'aḷart' (in Armenian also spelled K'aḷert', K'aḷrt'), cf. Mkhitar of Ani, chap. 27ff.; Vardan, chap. 34; Kirakos, p. 58.

31 *Patmut'iwn Ananun Zruyts'agri,* ed. by M. H. Darbinyan-Melik'yan (Erevan, 1971).

History of the Birth and Upbringing of the Servant of Anti-Christ Mahamat and His Reign

[The chapter begins with a brief description of the abolition of the Armenian monarchy at the beginning of the fifth century A.D.]

. . . For they lived abominable, foul and execrable lives, like heathens; and they went astray from the paths of God. Therefore God's anger came upon the land of Armenia and our kingdom was abolished and overturned for a long time. Then the harbinger of Anti-Christ appeared, who is Mēhēmēt,[32] leader of the Tachiks.[33]

There was a certain man from the land of the Persians called Abd-Rahman, son of Abdala, son of Belmikin, from the city of Ṙueran near the city of Reyy, opposite the castle of Isfahan. He begat a son and named him Mēhēmēt, then he begat a daughter also and called her name Fatima — a very beautiful woman. Now the son of Abd-ar-Rahman, Mahamat, was possessed by a demon and was deranged by the demon day after day. Incensed by the demon,[34] he burst his iron chains and bonds, and was driven by the demon into deserts, mountains, and caves. His father spent much money on doctors, but he was not helped and remained in continual anguish. There came a man to him and told him: "Take your son to the land of Syria to a man called Sargis. In accordance with his faith he is dressed in black and wears a cassock, and he will heal your son."[35] Abd-Rahman arose, took Mahmet his son, went to the land of Syria, and met a Syrian monk. When they reached the mountain of the monastery, the demon seized (Muḥammad) and struck him to the ground; he raved and foamed greatly. Sargis came up, took hold of Mahmet and raised him. Abd-Rahman said: "If it is possible and you can cure my son, I shall give you many treasures, honorable garments and noble horses." He undertook to cure him. So Abd-Rahman left his son Mahmet with him and went away. The man was Nestorian by faith, devilish and a lover of sorcery, very skilled in the demonic arts of incantations and sorcery; whereas Mahmet was an idolator by religion and a magus. Sargis said to Mahmet: "If you believe in God and turn from idolatry, I shall cure you." He agreed, and was baptized by him. He baptized him according to the Nestorian faith.[36] Mahmet lived with him for twenty-three years,[37] united with Satan in his body and his soul; he studied the art of sorcery and learned all the magical doctrines and heresies of Nestorius.

[32] The spelling of the name in this text is quite inconsistent; *Mahmet* is the usual Armenian form.

[33] In the pre-Islamic Armenian texts *Tachik* refers to the Arabs of Mesopotamia, whose land is called *Tachkastan.* In later times the term was used less explicitly to refer to Muslims in general, and was applied to Arabs, Persians, or Turks.

[34] The demonic possession is mentioned frequently in the Greek sources beginning with the abjuration, for which see fn. 10 above.

[35] There are parallels to the role of the monk as healer in Greek sources (see A.-Th. Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam* [Leiden, 1972], pp. 82–83), but they claim that Muḥammad was an imposter from the beginning.

[36] This is the only Armenian text to claim that Muḥammad was baptized by Baḥira. For Greek evidence, cf. Bartholomaeus Edessenus, "Confutatio Agareni," *PG,* vol. 104, col. 1429.

[37] Only seven years in Bartholomew; see *PG,* vol. 104, col. 1432.

After this the news reached Mahmet: "Your father Abd-Rahman has died." When Mahmet heard it, he wept. Sargis said: "Do not weep if your father has died, for I shall make you greater than your father and all your family. Now, rise up, visit the house of your father, and return to me." So Mahmet arose, took two of the monks from the monastery and went to his country. He reached Samarra and found his dead father and his sister, the wife of Ali his nephew. He said: "Ali, why did you raid the house of my father and take all my father's treasures and clothes and all my possessions?" Mahmet made a great outcry, took a part from Ali, returned to the land of Syria to the monastery of Demetrius[38] to the monk Sargis, and told him what had happened. Sargis said: "Do not fear, Mahmet, as I have a means to make you great. Now arise and go again to your father's house, and there induce some men to go as merchants to the land of Egypt. When you arrive opposite my monastery, pitch camp. But you are not to say: 'I know this monastery, or this place or this region,' or that it marks the site of your camp. And I, taking my deacons, with torches and candles will come to you, and raising our voices to heaven I shall frighten the Persians who will have followed you, and I shall say to them: 'I saw a heavenly vision concerning this young man; for he is a prophet and one must believe him, and whatever he says will surely come about.'"

Mahmet did everything that the sorcerer Sargis had instructed him to do. Mahmet went to the land of Persia, to the city of Samarra, and induced merchants to go to the land of Egypt to the city of Alexandria. Rich and honorable men assembled and journeyed as far as the land of Syria. On the way Mahmet said: "Oh Persian magnates, we are not in the [right] faith and piety, for our idols are vain. Now I have heard from some people that there exists a God in heaven, above the sun which is visible to us." They said: "What is the matter with you, Mahmet? Be quiet and do not speak about that." But he began to expound to them the earliest days, from Abraham and Noah and even from Adam. They were astonished at his wisdom and said: "Oh Mahmet, what is your source for such sayings and all this knowledge?" He replied: "Wisdom, knowledge, and prophecy have been given me from above." And when they had drawn near to the monastery, they camped there opposite the monastery in accordance with his advice.

That night the monk Sargis came out with torches and candles, accompanied by deacons and monks from the monastery. They came to the spot where Mahmet was, and surrounding him they raised a great shout. The merchants, waking with a start, were terrified. Rising up, they went to him and said to the monk: "What is this we hear, Nestor Sargis, about this man?" And he replied: "I saw a heavenly vision concerning him, and a great light and angels who said that he is a great prophet, and that whatever he says, his words are true."

Then the merchants realized: "The words he told us when we were journeying were true." Rising up, they went on their way. When they had returned to their own land and had gone each to his own house, they gave out that Mahmet was a prophet.

[38] The name of the monastery does not appear elsewhere in Armenian; the traditional site is Bosra; see Abel's article quoted in fn. 4 above, and R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich, *Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 208. For Baḥira as an astronomer, see Euthymius Zigabenus, "Disputatio de Fide," *PG*, vol. 131, col. 33.

Chapasp K'asrē, king of Persia, heard of this and sought to kill Mahmet, saying: "He has learned Syrian heresy and wishes to destroy the cult of our idols." Mahmet and Ali arose, took Fatima, went from their own country, from Persia, and came to dwell in the land of the Babylonians. And it was the beginning of the Armenian year 36 [587 A.D.].

Mahmet began to build the great city of Baghdad on the bank of the river Euphrates. And there was dissension between Ali and Mahmet. Ali held one side of the river, and Mahmet the other . . .[39] war between Ali and Mahmet. For [Mahmet] did not permit the practice of prophecy which Ali had. The latter planned to kill Mahmet, but was unable to do so because his sister Fatima was wife to Ali and she would not allow him to kill Mahmet.

The immediate source of this strange tale has not yet come to light. A few expressions in the text point to Arabic. The last Sassanian king, for example, is called K'asrē, which reflects the Arabic form of Khosrov, not the Armenian. The expressions *mlk'ers,* for "my possessions," is derived from the Arabic *mulk* with a medieval Armenian plural ending; but the term was used in medieval Armenian,[40] so this is not necessarily evidence for the whole text being a translation.

There are two main themes in the text: Baḥira's fraud, and the idea that Muḥammad was a Persian. The fraud of Baḥira, in that it is claimed that Muḥammad was "cured" by him, does have a parallel in Greek sources,[41] though they nowhere suggest that Baḥira's "discovery" of Muḥammad was a prearranged plot. More difficult to explain, however, is the idea that Muḥammad was a Persian, an idolator, and the builder of Baghdad. Can this be merely some fancy of Armenian popular tradition? For the reader is immediately reminded of the opening of the epic commonly known as "David of Sasun," the first cycle of which describes the struggle against the idolatrous (*kŕapasht*) caliph of Baghdad. It was not the caliphs of the first century who were remembered in Armenia, but those of the Abbasid line whose depredations caused so much damage. Thomas Artsruni, for example, passed in four pages from the death of Muḥammad to the reign of Jap'r (i.e., al-Mutawakkil, 847–861).[42] So it was, perhaps, not too great an effort of the popular imagination to see the founder of Islam as the man originally responsible for the later troubles of

[39] The editors of the 1921 and 1971 editions do not specify how many letters are missing.

[40] See H. Achaŕean, *Hayerēn Armatakan Baŕaran,* 7 vols. (Erevan, 1926–35), s.v. *mulk,* 4:1139 (rev. ed., Erevan, 1971–).

[41] Cf. fn. 35 above.

[42] Artsruni, pp. 177–81.

Armenia. Just as the tribute demanded by the Abbasids was said to have been set by Muḥammad himself,[43] so, too, was Muḥammad the idolator who built Baghdad, the residence of Armenia's arch-enemies.

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[43] See Samuel of Ani, s. anno 647; Kirakos, p. 60.

An Armeno-Kipchak Version of the Lord's Prayer

EDWARD TRYJARSKI

We all recognize Omeljan Pritsak as an eminent expert in Slavic and Turkic philology, linguistics, and history, but this modest offering is made in recognition of his research in Armeno-Kipchak studies, which has left its distinct imprint, especially his work on the grammatical principles of the Armeno-Kipchak language presented in "Das Kiptschakische . . . B. Armenisch Kiptschakisch," Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta, *vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 81–87. More than twenty years have elapsed since that article was written and many new texts have appeared in the meantime, but Professor Pritsak's detailed and systematic study and his keen observations on the Armeno-Kipchak language, based on an analysis of all earlier texts, remain valuable to scholars — E. Tryjarski.*

A considerable amount of Armeno-Kipchak material, including religious texts, has been published in recent decades,[1] but a version of the Lord's Prayer — that most fundamental of Christian texts — was not included among them; Turkologists did not even know where to look for it. Finally, however, a version has turned up in Poland. Of inestimable value in comparative studies, this rare copy is in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow, its text inserted into an Armeno-Kipchak breviary that is part of the Czartoryski Collection, ms. no. 2412, folios 129–130.

The text in question must have been seen by the Reverend K. Roszko when he prepared a catalogue of Armenian manuscripts in Polish collections some twenty years ago; unfortunately, however, he mentioned it neither in the catalogue[2] nor in a paper that summed up the results of his work.[3] A. Zajączkowski, in a book published in 1948, compared seven Turkic versions of the prayer, but made no mention of the Armeno-

[1] Cf. Ja. R. Daškevyč (Daškevič), "Armjano-kypčakskij jazyk: Bibliografija literatury 1802–1978," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 40, no. 2 (1979):79–86.

[2] *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens et géorgiens,* comp. by K. Roszko and E. Słuszkiewicz, *Catalogue des manuscrits orientaux des collections polonaises,* comp. by S. Strelcyn, M. Lewicki and A. Zajączkowski, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1958), p. 27.

[3] K. Roszko, "Rękopisy ormiańskie w zbiorach polskich," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 3 [23] (1957):309.

Kipchak version in Cracow,[4] and was probably unaware of its existence — had he known, he would surely have included it. It seems likely that texts of this basic prayer are also hidden away in collections in Erevan, Venice, Vienna, and other places. E. Schütz, when he listed the contents of the Armeno-Kipchak prayer book he discovered in Leiden,[5] wrote, "p. 7–10. Reference to Pater noster. Domine si labia mea aperies, os meum canet laudes tuas (Karg. p. 5, Brev. p. 1),"[6] but so far as I know neither that text nor any of the other religious texts in the prayer book have ever been published.

The Armeno-Kipchak Lord's Prayer reads:

(fol. 129)

atamïz bizim k'i kokta sėn
ari dir at'ïng sėning k'ėlgay χan-

(fol. 130)

lχïng sėning bolsun ėrking sėn-
ing nėç̌ik' kokda alay ịerda
ot'mak'imïznï k'undalik' bėr
bizgay damay bukun boš-
at bizga bizim borç̌umuznu
nėç̌ik' biz bošatïrbiz bizim
borç̌lularïmïzgay bėrma
bizni dušmannïng snamaχ-
ïnay saχla bizni ịamandan
abray sïnamaχïndan sėning
dir χanlχ u kuç̌ haybat'
mėngi mėngilik' amėn[7]

Its translation follows:

Our Father who [which] art in heaven
thy name is holy.
Might thy kingdom come,
might thy will be
as in heaven so in earth.
Give us our daily bread
always today,
forgive us our debts [offenses?]
as we forgive our debtors [offenders?].

4 See the Turkish catechism of Jan Herbinius in A. Zajączkowski, *Glosy tureckie w zabytkach staropolskich* (Wrocław, 1948), pp. 59–70.

5 E. Schütz, "An Armeno-Kipchak Print from Lvov," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 13, nos. 1–2 (1961): 123–30.

6 Schütz, "An Armeno-Kipchak Print," p. 127. Cf. also E. Schütz, "Armeno-Kipchak Texts from Lvov (A.D. 1618)," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* 15, nos. 1–3 (1962): 291–309.

7 The document is reproduced on p. 901.

Do not bring [lit., give] us to the test [temptation]
of the devil [or Satan; lit., enemy, foe],
save us from [the] evil,
protect from his test [temptation].
Thine is the kingdom and the might, the glory
for eternal eternity. Amen.

To evaluate the text in terms of its relations to others and what the translator may have contributed is an instructive, but not an easy, task. The sources for Zajączkowski's seven different Turkic versions for the period from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century are:

1. Codex Cumanicus (CC) — ca. 1300,
2. Schiltberger — ca. 1405,
3. Georgievits — 1548,
4. Megiser — 1612,
5. Bohemus (Boehm) — ca. 1650,
6. Herbinius — 1675,
7. Wieczorkowski — 1727.[8]

A comparison of the Armeno-Kipchak version with these seven does not show much in common between them. The Ottoman versions (3–7), all of which have *baba* and not *ata* in the first line, differ the most, but even the Schiltberger text and that inserted into the German part of the Codex Cumanicus are variants.

The Armeno-Kipchak version should be compared with that contained in the Codex Cumanicus to see if the two might have a common Kipchak basis, even though their dates of origin differ considerably. The text of the prayer from the codex in K. Grønbech's transliteration, as presented by A. Zajączkowski, follows:

Atamis kim köktä sen
algiszle bulsun sening ating
kelsin sening hanlechin
bulsun sening tilemegin nečikkim köktä allay ierdä
kundegi ötmackimisni bisgä bugun bergil
dage iazuclarimisni bisgä bozzatkil (bošatkył)
nečik bis bozzattirbis bizgä iaman etchenlergä
dage iecnik sinamakina bisni kuurmagil
bassa barča iamandan bisni kuthargil. Amen.[9]

The first two lines of the two versions show differences both in phonetics (-i ~ -ï; -s ~ -z; -ö ~-o. I shall not go into the still unsolved problem of the palatal labials ö and ü; -ä ~ -a) and in syntax (the use of the

[8] Zajączkowski, *Glosy tureckie*, pp. 64–67.
[9] Zajączkowski, *Glosy tureckie*, pp. 64–67.

possessive suffix *bizim*). Substantial differences also turn up in verb forms, especially in the imperative and optative moods:

CC	Arm.-Kip.
-sin (kelsin)	-gay (k'ėlgay)
-sun (bulsun)	-sun (bolsun)
-gil, -kil/-kył (bergil, bozzatkil/bošatkył, kuurmagil, kuthargil)	-° (bėr, bėrma, saχla, abray)

There are also differences in vocabulary between the two versions:

CC	Arm.-Kip.
kim	k'i
algiszle	ari
bul-	dir
tilemek	ėrk
nečikkim . . . allay	nėčik' . . . alay
kuṅdegi	k'undalik'
—	damay (= dayma)
dage	—
iazuc	borč
(bizgä) iaman etchenler	(bizim) borčlularïmïz
dage	—
iecnik	dušman
kuur-	bėr-
bassa	—
kuthar-	{ saχla- / abra- }

The Armeno-Kipchak version also departs on some important points from the Schiltberger text. For example:[10]

Schilt.	Arm.-Kip.
alguschlu	ari
iasoch	borč
bisum iasochlamasin	bizim borčlularïmïzgay
koima bisni sunamacha	bėrma bizni dušmannïng snamaχïnay

The Armeno-Kipchak version concludes with the well-known formula: "Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever and ever [eternal eternity] (*sėning dir χanlχ u kuč haybat' mėngi mėngilik'*)," which generally does not figure in the Latin versions. The additional phrase in line 10, "protect [us] from his test [temptation] (*abray sïnamaχïndan*)," should also be noted.

The Armeno-Kipchak version has a distinctly individual character

[10] Zajączkowski, *Glosy tureckie*, pp. 64–67.

among medieval Turkic versions of the Lord's Prayer. It seems to be the product of a bilingual (Armeno-Kipchak) translator, probably someone living in Lviv or in Kamj"anec'-Podil's'kyj, who did not know the other Turkic versions. To ask what text he used is, then, justified. A general presumption is that, as was usually the case with canonical and also many noncanonical Armeno-Kipchak texts, this one was modeled after an Armenian original. It is a matter for Armenologists to establish which Armenian version of the prayer our translator used, but even for the non-specialist it is striking that the Armeno-Kipchak version includes the final formula (doxology) that is found in the modern Armenian version of the prayer: "k'anzi k'ukd ē t'agaworut'iwnə ew zawrut'iwnə u p'ark'ə yawiteans."[11] This formula does not appear in an interesting Armenian version, probably little known to Armenologists, dating from around 1550, and published as "Das Armenische Pater noster." It was printed as a supplement on the last page of Johannes Schiltberger's *Ein wunderbarliche vnn kurtzweilige History* [sic] (Frankfurt-am-Main, ca. 1550). Attention was drawn to this text, and to "Das Tartarisch Pater noster" printed on the same page, by Zajączkowski, who reproduced it in facsimile.[12] Below, in transliteration, is the same text, which was originally printed in a German (Schwabacher) type:

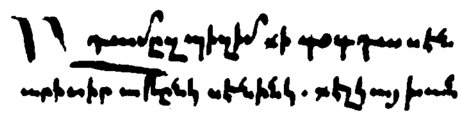
> Haer myer vr Gegnik es surpeitza annum chi
> ka archawtnichaw jogacy kam thuhy ergnick yep ergaty hatz
> meyr an-habas tur mies eis or yep thawg meis perdanatz hatz [?]
> mincm [?] therog nuch memrock per danabas yep mythawg myes
> yp-bwertz uchin heba prigo es mies ytz scheren — Amen.[13]

This early Armenian text could not have been the source for the Armeno-Kipchak version; it was an independent translation made for the use of that group of Armenians in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries still spoke, read, and wrote mainly in Armeno-Kipchak. The existence of the doxology "Thine is the kingdom . . . " indicates that the *terminus ad quem* for the translation was the union of the Polish Armenians with Rome.

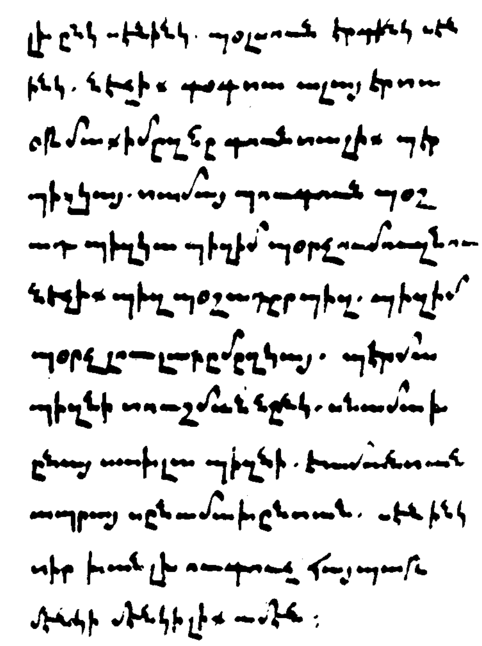
Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

[11] Matt. 6:13. *Astuacašunč' Girk' Hin ew Nor Ktakaranac'* (Beirut, 1963), "Nor Ktakaran," p. 6.
[12] Zajączkowski, *Glosy tureckie,* p. 62.
[13] I am indebted to Professor W. Haussig of the University of Bochum for correcting my reading of the text. It still contains some uncertain points, however, and should be analyzed by an Armenologist.

National Museum in Cracow,
Czartoryski Collection
Ms. No. 2412



Fol. 129, lines 14–15



Fol. 130, lines 1–12

Zur Etymologie in Anthroponymie: Der Familienname *Petljura*

A. DE VINCENZ

Für den ukrainischen Familiennamen *Petljura* wurde bisher nur eine ernstzunehmende Etymologie vorgeschlagen, die wir (in phonemischer Transkription) folgendermassen darstellen können:

(1) Petr- + -ura > *Petrúra > Petl'úra.[1]

Wir wollen zunächst explizit formulieren, was hier symbolisch dargestellt ist:

1. Der Stamm der Vollform des Taufnamens *Petr/Petro,* den wir {petr-} schreiben werden, wird mit Hilfe des Suffixes {-ura} erweitert.
2. Es entsteht eine hypokoristische Ableitung *{petrura}.[2]
3. Von den beiden /r/ Phonemen wird das erstere dissimiliert und durch das Phonem /l'/ ersetzt, was die zu erklärende Form /petl'ura/ *Петлюра* ergibt.

Bevor wir weitergehen, ist es notwendig, sprachwissenschaftliche Überlegungen für eine erfolgreiche Etymologie zu formulieren. Eine Einzeletymologie, in unserem Fall diejenige eines Familiennamens, ist eine Hypothese über die Ableitung (eventuell eine diachrone Ableitung) eines zu einem Zeitpunkt belegten Wortes, in unserem Fall eines Familiennamens des 19.–20. Jahrhunderts. Das bedeutet, daß die belegte Form von einer anderen abgeleitet wird, eventuell über Zwischenstufen (d.h. belegte oder nicht belegte Formen). Die Ableitung muß die Bedingungen erfüllen, die wir an wissenschaftliche Hypothesen bzw. Theorien stellen. Die dafür zuständige Theorie, die genetische Theorie der slavischen Sprachen (als Teil der genetischen Theorie der indogermanischen Sprachen) bestimmt z.B. welches Phonem des Urslavischen welchem Phonem (oder aber welchem Nicht-Phonem) des Ukrainischen entspricht und gibt die Bedingungen dafür an. So entspricht dem urslav. /k/ ein

[1] Rudnyc'kyj 1952 (cf. Borschak 1959: 8). Diese Etymologie wurde von Unbegaun 1972: 273 übernommen, er schreibt sie: Petljúra < *Petrúra* < *Petr.*

[2] Wir ergänzen das Sternchen, da **Petrura* nicht belegt is.

ukrainisches /k/, dem urslav. /ь/ das ukrainische /e/ oder aber Ø (Nullphonem), unter Bedingungen, die in jeder sog. historischen Grammatik nachzulesen sind. Wollten wir z.B. ukrainisch *кіт* /kit/ vom urslavischen **пьсь* /pĭsŭ/ ableiten, würde es bedeuten, daß wir die phonologischen Bedingungen nicht erfüllen, da urslav. /p/ in keinem Fall dem ukr. /k/, urslav. /s/ in keinem Fall dem ukr. /t/ entspricht, usw. Auch würde eine solche Etymologie gegen die semantische Bedingung verstoßen, wonach die Bedeutung des Etymons mit derjenigen der Ableitung in einem sinnvollen bzw. plausiblen Zusammenhang stehen soll. Bei Personennamen kann allerdings die semantische Bedingung eine nur begrenzte Anwendung finden, da sich die "Bedeutung" eines Personennamens darin erschöpft, eine Einzelperson zu bezeichnen. Wenn von der Bedeutung von Personennamen die Rede ist, wird daher die erste Anwendungsstufe, die Benennung, gemeint, diejenige Stufe, wo ein Appellativ (bzw. eine Ableitung davon) zum ersten Mal als *Beiname* auf eine Einzelperson angewandt wird.

Es ist ferner legitim, die belegte Form von einer nichtbelegten abzuleiten, vorausgesetzt, daß diese unbelegte Form ebenfalls die Bedingungen erfüllt, die für die postulierte Stufe gelten. Wir tun nichts anderes, wenn wir für ein Wort der ukrainischen Sprache der Gegenwart, z.B. *pes,* ein urslavisches Etymon (**pĭsŭ*) postulieren. Auch hier muß das Prinzip gelten, daß belegte Formen, ceteris paribus, mehr Beweiskraft haben als nichtbelegte. Im Fall also, wo für ein ukrainisches Wort, in unserem Fall für einen Familiennamen, mehr als eine Etymologie vorgeschlagen wird, ist diejenige wahrscheinlicher, die mit einer kleineren Anzahl von unbelegten Formen operiert. Eine Ableitung, die gegen eine Bedingung verstößt, ganz gleich ob diese phonologischer, morphologischer oder semantischer Art ist, kann nicht als wahrscheinlich gelten.

Wir wollen nun prüfen, ob die geltende Etymologie den notwendigen theoretischen Bedingungen entspricht:

1. Der Ausgangspunkt ist der Stamm der Vollform[3] eines Taufnamens. Dieser Taufname ist sehr gut belegt, die beiden Formen *Petr* und *Petro* unterscheiden sich nur im Nom. Sg., wobei die letztere relativ jung ist.[4]
2. Die Ableitung geschieht mit Hilfe des Suffixes *-ura.* Auch dieses Suffix ist relativ wohl belegt, und zwar sowohl bei Personennamen, insbesondere bei solchen, die von Taufnamen abgeleitet sind, wie auch bei Appellativen (darunter auch bei Personennamen, die von Appellativen abgeleitet sind).

[3] Wir unterscheiden Vollformen, z.B. *Ivan,* und Kurzformen, z.B. *Iva-s'* usw., *Va-s'* usw.

[4] Vgl. Simovyč 1929.

Einige Beispiele von Familiennamen mit diesem Suffix, nach Red'ko 1966: 157: *Staxura* (Kurzform *Stax*, Vollform *Ostafij/Ostaxij*), *Stefura* (Kurzform *Stef/Stefa*, Vollform *Stefan*); *Didura* (Appellativ *dido*), *Snihura* (Appellativ *snih*).

3. Dissimilation von *r* vor einem anderen *r* ist wohl die häufigste Form der Dissimilation überhaupt. Grammont, der dem Phänomen die bisher ausführlichste Untersuchung gewidmet hat, zitiert diesen Fall am häufigsten (z.B. latein. *fragrare* > *flagrare*, altksl. *grigorijь* > *gligorijь*.[5] Auch im Ukrainischen ist dies wohl der am meisten vorkommende Fall der Dissimilation. Es genügt Fälle, wie *rejestrovyj* > *lejstrovyj*, *rejmentar* > *lejmentar* und *rycar* > *lycar* zu zitieren. Wenn wir den Vorgang phonologisch beschreiben wollen, muß die Formulierung lauten: im Fall der Dissimilation eines /r/ vor einem anderen /r/, wird das erstere durch ein /l/ ersetzt. In Merkmalen formuliert, heißt es, daß im ersteren Phonem nur ein Merkmal verändert wird (und zwar wird [plus kontinuierlich] zu [minus kontinuierlich], wenn wir uns nach Halle 1959 richten). Das bedeutet wiederum, daß es einen Fall, wo ein /r/ zu einem /l'/ dissimiliert wäre, nicht gibt. Insofern ist die in Frage kommende Etymologie unwahrscheinlich.

Doch kann man diesen "Schönheitsfehler" relativ leicht beseitigen: das Suffix *-ura* kommt in zwei Varianten vor, die gewöhnlich *-ura/-'ura* geschrieben werden. Die Schreibweise *-ura* bedeutet, daß das Suffix den vorangehenden Stamm nicht palatalisiert, die Schreibweise *-'ura*, daß es den Stamm palatalisiert. Zwar sind sichere Beispiele für die zweite Variante selten, Red'ko 1966: 157 bringt nur ein Beispiel, das als ganz sicher angesehen werden kann: *носюра*, eine Ableitung von *nis*, *nosa* 'Nase',[6] wir können jedoch einige weitere Beispiele von Personennamen wie auch von Appellativen anführen:

1. Personennamen: *Dančura* (zu *Danko*), *Ivančur'ak* (Ableitung von **Ivančura*, zu *Ivanko*).

[5] Grammont hat *Grigorě* > *Gligorě*, doch ist dies keine altkirchenslavische Form, vgl. Sadnik-Aitzetmüller svv.

[6] Nach Hrinčenko II. 571a. Der Familienname *Козюра* (Red'ko 1966: 157) kann eine Ableitung von *koza* 'Ziege', aber auch von einer hypokoristischen Kurzform des Taufnamens *Koz'ma/Kuz'ma*, und zwar **Koz'* bzw. *Kuz'* sein (vgl. Vincenz 1970: 105 und 184). Aehnlich kann *Іванюра* (Red'ko ibid.) eine Ableitung auf *-'ura* von *Ivan*, aber auch eine auf *-ura* von *Ivan'o*, Hrinčenko IV. 552 sein, vgl. Vincenz 1970: 169. Übrigens, muß die bei Vincenz 1970: 170 als Ableitung von *Ivan* (mit Suffix *-'uš*) erklärte Form *Ivanjuš* (Familienname) ebenso von *Ivan'o* (+ *-uš*) stammen, da das Suffix *-uš* in keinem Fall den vorangehenden Konsonanten palatalisiert, vgl. Vincenz 1970: 552 und Red'ko 1966: 162.

2. *nimčura* (zu *nimec',* Stamm *n'imc'-*), *šljaxtjura* (Stamm *šl'axt-*), *žydjura* (Stamm *žyd-*), *kotjura* (Stamm *kot-*).[7]

Zusammenfassend können wir nun die oben diskutierte und auf einem Punkt korrigierte Etymologie folgendermassen darstellen:

(2) {petr-} + {-'ura} $\xrightarrow{1}$ *{petr'ura} $\xrightarrow{2}$ {petl'ura}.

Der erste Pfeil symbolisiert die Ableitung des Hypokoristikum, der zweite die Dissimilation. Man merke, daß wir hier mit zwei nur postulierten (d.h. nicht belegten) Vorgängen zu tun haben, wobei der zweite durch den ersten bedingt ist: nicht belegt ist die Ableitung **Petr'ura* und daher nicht belegt die Dissimilation von **Petr'ura* zu *Petl'ura.*

Nach dem, was oben gesagt wurde, wäre nun eine Etymologie, die mit einer kleineren Anzahl von nicht belegten Stufen operieren würde, wahrscheinlicher. Eine solche Etymologie kann ohne große Schwierigkeiten gefunden werden. Zu diesem Zweck können uns die bisher angestellten Überlegungen zum Suffix *-ura* nützlich sein: der Name *Petljura* /petl'ura/ besteht aus einem Stamm {petl'-} und einem Suffix {-ura}.[8]

Die ukrainische Sprache besitzt wenigstens ein Appellativ, dessen Stamm {petl'-} den Bedingungen für die Ableitung des Familiennamens *Petljura* entspricht. Es handelt sich um das Substantiv *petljá* 'Schlinge, Schleife'. Eine Ableitung von {petl'-} + Suffix {-ura} ergibt regelmäßig {petl'ura}.

Es gibt ferner ein Substantiv *pýtel',* Gen. *pýtlja* 'Mehlbeutel, Beutelsieb' und das davon abgeleitete Verb *pytljuváty* 'durchsieben, plappern'. Der gemeinsame Stamm ist {pytl'-}, eine Ableitung auf {-ura} wäre *{pytl'ura}, das infolge der wohlbekannten ukrainischen Neutralisierung /y/ = /e/ sowohl phonetisch als [petl'ura] wie auch graphisch als *Петлюра* vorkommen könnte.

Doch wollen wir diese Form, da sie unbelegt ist,[9] außer Acht lassen und uns nun die Frage stellen, ob Ableitungen vom Stamm {petl'-} als Familiennamen belegt sind. Dies entspricht, wie oben angedeutet, der Frage nach den semantischen Bedingungen bei Personennamen, und zwar in

[7] Vincenz 1970: 543.

[8] Strikt gesehen *-ura/-'ura,* da die Verknüpfung von *-'ura* mit einem palatalisierten Stamm das gleiche Ergebnis bringt, wie die Verknüpfung von *-ura.* Anders gesagt, kann ein einmal palatalisierter Konsonant nicht ein zweites Mal palatalisiert werden. [*This etymology was suggested long ago by the non-linguist but fine connoisseur of the Ukrainian language, Jevhen Čykalenko* (Василь Королів-Старий, «Над свіжою могилою,» *Тризуб,* Париж, 1926, No. 35-36). — *B.S.*]

[9] Auch ist die geographische Verbreitung der Neutralisierung /y/ = /e/ nicht näher bekannt, vgl. Ziłyński 29–30.

folgendem Sinne: kann ein Appellativ mit der Bedeutung *петля* als Beiname (Übername) für einen Menschen vorkommen? Red'ko 1969: 178 bringt vom Stamm {petl'-} die Ableitung *Петльоха* = {petl'-} + {-oxa}.[10] Red'ko 1966: 148 leitet zwar *Петльоха* vom Verb *петляти* ab, doch ist dieses Verb wohl eine späte Entlehnung aus dem Russischen,[11] so daß man *Petl'oxa* am besten von *petljá* 'Schlinge' ableitet, zumal das Suffix *-oxa* auch mit Nominalstämmen verknüpft werden kann (Red'ko ibid.).

Dem Sinnbezirk 'Schlinge, Schleife, Strang, Strick' kann man noch weitere Personennamen zuordnen: *Hužvij* (Familienname, Red'ko 1969: 99), *Húževka* (Beiname, Vincenz 1970: 516); *Motuzok* (Beiname, ibid.), *Slopčyk* (Familienname, Vincenz ibid., zu *slopec'* 'Vogelfalle'). Damit wurde die Frage positiv beantwortet, ob der Personenname *Петлюра* eine Ableitung von *петля* sein kann.

Wir fassen zusammen. Für den ukrainischen Personennamen *Petljura* können drei Etymologien geboten werden:

1. *Petr/Petro*, Taufname: {petr-} + {-'ura} → *{petr'ura} → *Петлюра.* Diese Etymologie hat den Nachteil, daß sie mit einer unbelegten Form und einem unbelegten Vorgang operiert.
2. *pýtel'* 'Beutel' oder *pytl'uváty* 'durchsieben usw.': {pytl'-} + {-ura} → *{pytl'ura} → **Питлюра* ODER ABER → {petl'ura} → *Петлюра.* Auch hier werden entweder eine unbelegte phonologische und eine unbelegte graphische Form oder aber eine unbelegte Form und ein unbelegter Vorgang /y/ → /e/ postuliert.[12]
3. *petljá* 'Schlinge, Schleife': {petl'-} + {-ura} → {petl'ura} → *Петлюра.* Diese Etymologie postuliert keine unbelegten Formen.

Können, den Forderungen der Wissenschaftstheorie entsprechend, Bedingungen für eine empirische Verifizierung oder Falsifizierung der genannten Hypothesen gestellt werden? Merkwürdigerweise ist eine empirische Falsifizierung nicht möglich. Die einzig mögliche Falsifizierung ist theoretischer Art: es handelt sich um den bereits erwähnten Fall, wo die postulierte Form eine (oder mehrere) theoretische Bedingungen nicht erfüllt. Eine empirische Verifizierung kann es hingegen geben. So würde für die erstgenannte Etymologie (*Petr-* + *-'ura*) die Bedingung lauten: die Etymologie gilt als bewiesen, wenn 1. die Form **Petr'ura* (Петрюра) und

[10] Darüberhinaus gibt es *Петлúчний* (Red'ko 1966: 70), *Пúтель* und *Питльóваний* (beide Red'ko 1969: 180). Die erstere Form ist eine Ableitung von *petlýcja*, die letztere von *pytl'uváty*.

[11] Da weder bei Hrinčenko noch bei Kuzela-Rudnyćkyj belegt.

[12] Unbelegt im Sinne der Anmerkung 9.

2. die Zuordnung dieser Form zur Form *Петлюра* (etwa als Zuordnung beider zu ein-und-derselben Person in einer Urkunde) belegt werden kann. Solange aber diese Bedingung nicht erfüllt ist, muß die erstgenannte Etymologie als am wenigsten wahrscheinlich und die letztgenannte als die wahrscheinlichste Etymologie des Familiennamens *Petljura* gelten.

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Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi's Polemics against Islam and Their Muscovite Translations

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The career and writings of Ioannikii Galiatovs'kyi (d. 1688) provide abundant material for ongoing scholarly investigation. A leading Ukrainian Orthodox churchman during the second half of the seventeenth century, Galiatovs'kyi has been considered the best educated and most capable of his Ukrainian contemporaries.[1] Evidence of his erudition is to be found in the religious polemics that form by far the largest part of his oeuvre. Understandably, he was most concerned with Catholics and Uniates, but he also wrote against Protestants, Muslims, and Jews. His polemics against Islam have received little scholarly attention, even though their content and history provide interesting material concerning the cultural history of the Ukraine and Muscovy in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This essay will examine the content and sources of Galiatovs'kyi's two major anti-Muslim polemics, *Łabędź* (The Swan) and *Alkoran,* and then focus on their previously unstudied Muscovite translations.[2]

[1] Such is the assessment of the author of his standard (but now outdated) biography. N. F. Sumtsov, "Ioannikii Galiatovskii (K istorii iuzhnorusskoi literatury XVII veka)." *Kievskaia starina* 8 (1884): 1–20, 183–204, 371–90, 565–88. For a bibliography of his writings and the literature on him (somewhat in need of supplement), see L. E. Makhnovets', comp., *Ukrains'ki pys'mennyky: Bio-bibliohrafichnyi slovnyk,* vol. 1 (Kiev, 1960), pp. 278–86.

[2] *Łabędź z piorami swemi z darami Boskiemi Chrystus . . .* (Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, 1679); *Alkoran Machometów Nauką heretycką y żydowską y poganską napełniony, od Koheletha Chrystusowego rosproszony . . .* (Chernihiv, 1683). I do not discuss here the short sections on Mohammed and Islam in Galiatovs'kyi's *Alphabetum rozmaitym heretykom niewiernym dlia ich nauczenia y nawrocenia do Wiary Katholickiey . . .* (Chernihiv, 1681), and his *Stary Kościół Zachodni . . .* (Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, 1678). For a recent summary of *Alkoran* (inexplicably, *Łabędź* is omitted) and the sections on Islam in these last two books, see Ks. Jerzy Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna XVI, XVII i XVIII w.,* vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 8–15, 146–81. The most extensive treatments of *Łabędź* are in A. S. Orlov, *Skazochnye povesti ob Azove. "Istoriia" 7135 goda: Issledovanie i tekst* (Warsaw, 1906), pp. 163–69; and P. M. Popov, *Albaniia v rosiis'kii ta ukrains'kii literaturakh XV–XX st.* (Kiev, 1959), chap. 14. Galiatovs'kyi's Polish works (including *Łabędź* and *Alkoran*)

Łabędź appeared in Novhorod-Sivers'kyi in 1679 and, fittingly, was dedicated to Hetman Ivan Samoilovych, one of the military leaders in the war against the Turks and Tatars and a patron of the Ielets' Monastery near Chernihiv, of which Galiatovs'kyi had been archimandrite since 1669. As the author explains in his dedication (p. [iv]), the book was intended to "arouse Christians to war against Muslims and show the devices and means whereby Christians might defeat Muslims in war and erase the foul Muslim name from the earth." The swan is the protecting Christ, under whose wings success against the infidels can be expected. The book is divided into five parts, or "feathers" of the swan, the first of which concerns the question of why Islam had lasted so long and concludes with the citation of various prophecies concerning the fall of the Ottomans and their faith. The second part deals specifically with reasons why Islam had attracted so many converts. The third part contains a discussion of Turkish successes against Christians. Galiatovs'kyi makes special note, though, of Christian victories over the Turks, providing evidence that the Turks are not invincible if Christians can unite against them. The fourth part deals with the ways in which the Muslim faithful was aroused against Christians. Here we find some of the standard Christian perceptions (and distortions) of Islam that can be traced back through the Middle Ages. The longest section of the book is the final one, which offers more than forty examples of military ruses through the ages which might be used to defeat the current foe. This "textbook of military science," to use A. S. Orlov's phrase, includes the tale of the Trojan horse, the Biblical Shibboleth, one of Princess Olga's revenges against the Derevlianians, and several examples of Scanderbeg's successes against Sultan Mehmed II. Galiatovs'kyi thus seems to have been concerned principally with proving the vulnerability of the Turks and demonstrating that a Christian victory was feasible. In the circumstances following the Turkish capture and destruction of Chyhyryn in 1678, such optimism was undoubtedly considered essential to reinforce the will to continue the war.

Galiatovs'kyi dedicated his *Alkoran* (Chernihiv, 1683) to the co-tsars Petr and Ivan Alekseevich; the dedicatory verses express the wish that they be successful in waging war against the Ottomans. Two presentation

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may soon be the subject of further study; see F. Ia. Sholom and I. P. Chepiga, "Proizvedeniia Ioannikiia Galiatovskogo na pol'skom iazyke," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 25 (1970):321–24. For additional detail about some of the material discussed here, see my "Seventeenth-Century Muscovite Pamphlets with Turkish Themes: Toward a Study of Muscovite Literary Culture in Its European Setting" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1972), pp. 157–82.

copies of the book were delivered to the tsars in August of the same year.[3] While some scholars have mistakenly assumed from the title that *Alkoran* is a version of the Koran,[4] it is, rather, a dialogue between a proponent of Islam, whom the author portrays as a woman (Alkoran) riding an apocryphal beast (the law of Islam), and a proponent of Christianity (Koheleth Chrystusów). Galiatovs'kyi's aim was that "Christians reading my arguments written against Mohammed's Koran might reply to inquiring Muslims concerning the Christian faith and teach them the truth," in the manner in which Christ answered the learned doctors in the temple (pp. [v]-[vi]). It is not clear whether a real demand existed for such a manual, although one can assume that the wars against the Turks and Tatars had provided opportunities for conversion that previously had not been available. The book devotes considerable space to exposing the falsehood of various Muslim assertions concerning Islam and the Prophet. As in the case of *Łabędź*, here one finds traditional Christian half-truths and distortions about Muslim beliefs and practices. There is also occasional authentic descriptive material, notably in a section concerning dervish orders. The final chapters discuss doctrinal matters, such as the nature of the Trinity and Christian beliefs concerning heaven and hell.

It is of particular interest to examine what sources Galiatovs'kyi used in these two books, since we can thereby obtain some idea of the variety of reading available to an educated Ukrainian cleric during his time and, in particular, see what the sources of information concerning the Turks then were. A close study of Galiatovs'kyi's use of these sources remains to be done, but some preliminary observations can be made, relying in part simply on the author's marginal references.

Understandably, scriptural quotations are by far the most numerous of all citations; they are to be found in the mouths of the defenders of Islam as well as of their opponents. Like many Ukrainian Orthodox clerics, Galiatovs'kyi appears to have used a Latin Bible. He also cites saints' lives, the Prologue, and an account about the miracles of the icon of the Vladimir (Vyshhorod) Mother of God.

Most prominent among the secular materials cited by the author are certain cosmographies or world histories. He turns frequently to Cesare Baronius's monumental history of the church in its Polish abridgment by

[3] See K. V. Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'* (Kazan, 1914), p. 452, and the indication of the heading in the manuscript of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Leningrad (hereafter GPB), Collection of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy No. 186, fol. 1^r.

[4] E.g., S. P. Luppov, *Kniga v Rossii v XVII veke* (Leningrad, 1970), pp. 110, 125.

Piotr Skarga, which was widely known in the Ukraine and Muscovy.[5] The *Kronika* of Maciej Stryjkowski is another frequently-cited work, one that appears to have provided such material as the account about Princess Olga's revenge (derived ultimately from the *Pověst' vremennykh lět*).[6] Galiatovs'kyi's contemporary in Muscovy, Andrei Lyzlov, was translating Stryjkowski and using him around this same time for information about the Turks and Tatars while writing his "History of the Scythians" (*Skifskaia istoriia*).[7] Among other historical works available in Polish to Galiatovs'kyi were Marcin Bielski's *Kronika świata*, Giovanni Botero's *Relatiae powszechne*, and Alessandro Guagnini's *Kronika Sarmacyey Europskiey*.[8] Bielski was of particular interest because of his long section on Scanderberg (based on the popular book by Marino Barlezio).[9] Botero included one of the best short descriptions of the history and institutions of the Ottoman Empire; Guagnini had a chapter on the Tatars and, in the Polish edition of 1611, a very informative concluding section on the Turks. Galiatovs'kyi used Bielski and Botero only in *Łabędź* and cited Guagnini but a single time, in *Alkoran*. In contrast, Galiatovs'kyi's contemporary Feodosii Safonovych appears to have borrowed heavily from Guagnini;[10] and the sections in Guagnini on the Turks and Tatars became rather widely known in late Muscovy, among other places, in manuscripts containing the first Russian translation of Galiatovs'kyi's *Łabędź* (see below).

Aside from these general works, Galiatovs'kyi had at his disposal some of the best sources containing detailed firsthand information about the

5 Cesare Baronius, *Rocznedźieie kośćielne* . . . , trans. and ed. by P. Skarga (Cracow, 1603), contains the first ten books; the second edition, 1607, contains all twelve.

6 Maciej Stryjkowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmodska, y wszystkiey Rusi Kijowskiey, Moskiewskiey, Siewierskiey* . . . (Königsberg, 1582); reprinted without change as vol. 2 of *Zbiór Dziejopisów polskich*, ed. by Fr. Bohomolec (Warsaw, 1766).

7 See Waugh, "Seventeenth-Century Muscovite Pamphlets," pp. 209–220.

8 Marcin Bielski, *Kronika, tho iesth Historya świata*, 3rd ed. (Cracow, 1564; 1st ed., 1551, and 2nd ed., 1554); Giovanni Botero, *Relatiae powszechne: Abo Nowiny pospolite* . . . (Cracow, 1609; also later eds.); Alessandro Guagnini (Gwagnin), *Kronika Sarmacyey Europskiey* . . . , trans. and ed. by M. Paszkowski (Cracow, 1611 — a considerable expansion of the Latin original, 1st ed., Cracow, 1578; reprinted without change as vol. 4 of *Zbiór Dziejopisów polskich*, ed. by Fr. Bohomolec [Warsaw, 1768]).

9 It appears that some material taken from Bielski (including part of the discussion of Scanderbeg) may have been wrongly attributed by Galiatovs'kyi to Johann Sleidan (d. 1556), whose popular histories of the four great empires of antiquity and of the time of Emperor Charles V contain little on the Turks. See e.g., *Łabędź*, pp. [v], 49; *Alkoran*, pp. 73, 83. Without further study, it is not clear to me which of Sleidan's works, in which editions, might have been used by Galiatovs'kyi.

10 See Waugh, "Seventeenth-Century Muscovite Pamphlets," pp. 192–95.

Turks available in Europe. He cites the chronicle of Laonikos Chalcocondylas (d. 1490), which told of the end of the Byzantine Empire and the establishment of Ottoman rule.[11] There are several references to Johann Lewenklau's collected translations of Turkish historians, which appeared in various editions and versions in the second half of the sixteenth century.[12] Galiatovs'kyi cites in *Alkoran* what some consider to be the crowning achievement of seventeenth-century descriptions of the Ottoman Empire, Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (its Polish translation appeared in 1678).[13] In particular, Galiatovs'kyi drew extensively on Rycaut's description of dervish orders.

Galiatovs'kyi also seems to have been well read in works of belles lettres. He occasionally refers to the *Aenaeid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; he seems to have found Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* (in the popular Polish translation of Piotr Kochanowski) appropriate because of its themes of struggle against the infidel.

One comes away from Galiatovs'kyi's works impressed by the author's learning, but a bit disappointed that he used so sparingly some of the rich material available to him. His arguments against Islam, as most of his oeuvre, are basically in the spirit of medieval religious polemic.[14] There is only the stark contrast of evil and good; in between, there are no shades of gray. The emphasis is on discrediting the opponent with any kind of slander and on rather bald reiteration of the cardinal points of Christian belief. Characteristically, for material about Mohammed and the origins of Islam, he relies most heavily on one brief section of Baronius under the year 630. Baronius's information derived ultimately from the work of the

[11] Galiatovs'kyi probably used J. B. Brumbach's 1615 Geneva edition of Chalcocondylas (*Historiae Byzantinae scriptores tres*), which also contained Nicephoras Gregoras's *Istoria Romaike*, cited in *Alkoran*. This was the first edition of Chalcocondylas and the only seventeenth-century edition of Gregoras. See Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1958), pp. 391–97, 450–53.

[12] Lewenklau's work is *Annales sultanorum Othmanidarum, a turcis sua lingua scripti* . . . (Frankfurt, 1588), with various subsequent editions (listed by C. Göllner, *Turcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vols. 1–2 [Bucharest, etc., 1961–68], nos. 1828, 1867, 1868, 1876, 1956, 2044, 2045, 2203). The work cited by Galiatovs'kyi as "Ian Gaudier w Kronikach Tureckich" (*Łabędź*, pp. 22, 41, 51) is also Lewenklau's (Gaudier was his translator).

[13] Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* . . . , 1st ed. (London, 1668). The Polish edition used by Galiatovs'kyi was *Monarchia Turecka, opisana przez Ricota Sekretarza Posła Angielskiego u Porty Ottomanskiey residuiącego: Z francuskiego ięzyka na Polski przetłumaczona* . . . (Słuck?, 1678).

[14] One of the foremost authorities on Galiatovs'kyi's works, Professor Constantine Bida, made this general assessment of them; see the summary of his seminar presentation on "The Works of I. Galjatovs'kyj," in *Minutes of the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies Held at Harvard University* 3 (1972–73): 12.

Byzantine chronicler Theophanes (ca. 752–818), whose account was very influential in forming the warped medieval Christian view of Islam.[15] When dealing with historical information about the Ottomans and their institutions, Galiatovs'kyi seems content to cite repeatedly a few small sections in world histories. Some accounts which contained a reasonable amount of detail, such as Guagnini's, or a book devoted entirely to the Turks, such as Rycaut's, received scant attention. This picture is rather similar to what we find in Galiatovs'kyi's long polemic against the Jews, *Mesia pravdyvȳi,* which he produced in the late 1660s, apparently in response to Jewish agitation over the false messiah, Sabbetai Zevi.[16] Given the genre of his writings, it is, of course, unreasonable to expect of Galiatovs'kyi a much different approach. Even if they wished, it was not all that easy for Christians of the seventeenth century to obtain genuinely unbiased information about Islam. Most of those who produced anti-Islamic polemics in Europe during the frequent Habsburg wars with the Ottomans seem to have been no more concerned than Galiatovs'kyi with establishing the facts about Mohammed and his faith. Whatever their limitations, Galiatovs'kyi's works were among the first (if not the first) efforts by an Orthodox cleric in Eastern Europe to write "scholarly" polemic against Islam that would be more than a translation of one or two traditional sources.

The events that led Galiatovs'kyi to write his polemics involved Muscovy, as well. This fact and the close cultural ties between the Ukraine and Muscovy in the late seventeenth century ensured that his works would find an audience in Muscovy. The history of the Muscovite translations, to which we now turn, suggests that the books were valued not only as religious polemic, but as Turcica which might serve as a source of information for those curious about Ottoman beliefs and customs. The Russian translations have not previously been studied; what follows must be considered a preliminary report on them.[17] Critical editions will be required

15 See Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica,* 1: 531–37; Adel-Theodore Khoury, *Les Théologiens byzantins et l'Islam: Textes et auteurs (VIII^e–XIII^e s.)* (Louvain and Paris, 1969), pp. 106–109.

16 See my "News of the False Messiah: Reports on Shabbetai Zevi in Ukraine and Muscovy," *Jewish Social Studies* 41 (1979): 301–322.

17 The manuscripts known to me are the following (asterisked ones have not been examined de visu; descriptions of all but these may be found in Waugh, "Seventeenth-Century Muscovite Pamphlets," Bibliography):
(1) The translation of *Łabędź* — State Lenin Library of the USSR (hereafter GBL), Collection of N. S. Tikhonravov No. 391, Collection of the Rogozhskii Cemetery Nos. 62* and 384; State Historical Museum, Moscow (hereafter GIM), Collection of A. S. Uvarov Nos. 491 (68) and 492 (855); GPB, Collection of the Solovki Monastery No.

before firm conclusions can be reached regarding the accuracy of the translations, editorial changes subsequent to translation, and so on.

Apparently, *Łabędź* was translated twice in Muscovy, the first time "from the Polish tongue and alphabet in the year 1683. The first name and remaining names of the translator begin with 'B' and total the number 1503."[18] The same individual produced, in 1671, a translation from the Polish of a collection of amusing anecdotes (*facecye*). The interest in such anecdotes may explain in part why he undertook to translate *Łabędź,* the last and longest section of which is merely a collection of anecdotes, albeit with a rather different tone and focus than those in the *facecye.* The translator was familiar with Bielski's *Kronika świata,* and he also translated from the chronicles of Guagnini and Botero (see below). He made an effort to render the Polish verse of his originals in verse of his own, but his failure to follow the rules for syllabic poetry and his ignorance of Latin suggest that he had limited formal schooling.

The translation of *Łabędź* is uneven and often far from literal. Purely historical portions of the original tend to be rendered quite faithfully, while portions dealing directly with religious questions are less so. Words and phrases are omitted;[19] epithets and synonyms are added wherever possible, with the result that this version of Galiatovs'kyi's work acquires

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322 (490), Q.I. 244 (formerly Collection of F. A. Tolstoi, II, 26); Library of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Leningrad (BAN), 17.6.18*; Institute of Russian Literature of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Leningrad (IRLI), *r.*IV, *op.* 7, Karel'skoe Collection No. 36*, and *r.*IV, *op.* 19, Prichudskoe Collection No. 2*.

(2) The translation of *Alkoran* — Västerås (Sweden), Stifts- och Lands-Biblioteket, Codex ad 10; GIM, Collection of A. S. Uvarov No. 490 (307); Central State Archive of Ancient Arts, Moscow (TsGADA), *f.* 181, Collection of MGAMID No. 756 (1286); GPB, Collection of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy No. 186, F.XVII.19 (formerly Collection of F. A. Tolstoi, I, 236).

18 This translation is found in all the copies I have examined. BAN 17.6.18 contains what appears to be a different translation (see below); the version found in the fragmentary copies I have not examined must still be determined. A. M. Panchenko identifies the translator as one Bogdan or Boris Sekiotov; see A. M. Panchenko, *Cheshsko-russkie literaturnye sviazi XVII veka* (Leningrad, 1969), pp. 42, 59–60, fn. 37. Panchenko suggests that the same translator may have been responsible for the translation from Guagnini of the "Short History of Bohemia." This seems unlikely; cf. Waugh, "Seventeenth-Century Muscovite Pamphlets," pp. 397–98, fn. 69.

19 The translation is complete, however, in the sense that it encompasses the entire book. S. A. Klepikov had expressed some doubts as to whether the edition of *Łabędź* with the text ending on p. 66 is complete ("Izdaniia novgorod-severskoi tipografii i lozhnochernigovskie izdaniia 1674–1679 godov," *Kniga: Issledovaniia i materialy* 8 [1963]: especially 266). At least two of the known copies of the book (including the one I have used on film from the Academy of Sciences Library in Kiev) end with p. 66; the translation ends in the same place, suggesting that Klepikov's doubts were without foundation.

a polemical tone even stronger than that of the original. The "Mohammedan sect" becomes a "heresy," and an "accursed" one, at that. Its inflictions on Christians are "merciless," even though in Galiatovs'kyi's original they are not. The translator seems to have referred to the Bible (or possibly cited it from memory), since he expands some of Galiatovs'kyi's scriptural citations. While the language of the translation needs close analysis, we can characterize it as a mixture of Slavonic and plain style. As a whole, the features of the translation provide some support for A. M. Panchenko's contention that the translator was a monk.

The Muscovite manuscripts containing *Łabędź* include another work by the same translator entitled, "In Brief About the Turks, from whence they came, and about their accursed false teacher Mohammed, from whence this liar, and how he lived and how many peoples he seduced, and concerning the customs and rites, and concerning Turkish judges." This is a compilation, introduced by a line from Guagnini's chronicle, and continuing with Baronius's account for the year 630 concerning Mohammed and the origins of Islam. Following Baronius, the translator returns to Guagnini, where he uses portions of book 10, part 3, with the subtitles "On Asia Minor" and "On the Turkish Military." The Guagnini provides material on the origins of Islam, the nature of Muslim rituals, Ottoman justice, and the ranks and organization of the Ottoman army. His final section, which provides the conclusion for the Muscovite compilation, includes a short history of the Ottomans and their military successes and the well-known "Prophecy of the Red Apple" portending the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Among the sources which Guagnini used, and which thereby reached Muscovy indirectly through the translation, were the well-known sixteenth-century account about the Ottomans by Bartholomew Georgijević and the verses on the Turks by the prolific Polish polemicist against Islam, Krzysztof Warszewicki.[20] Since the translations from Guagnini and Baronius were completed in 1682, it is likely that the translation of *Łabędź* in the next year was seen to be a necessary supplement to the largely historical "In Brief About the Turks."

There is a second translation of *Łabędź,* with which I am acquainted only from a description of its manuscript, that is, the work of a monk, Avraamii Karamyshev, who dedicated his translation to Tsar Peter I.[21] In

20 For a bibliography of their works, see Göllner, *Turcica.*

21 The manuscript is BAN 17.6.18. See *Istoricheskii ocherk i obzor fondov Rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademii nauk,* vol. 1 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1956), pp. 116, 420. A later copyist added a title page on which he referred erroneously to the translation's original as an edition published in Chernihiv (!) by Lazar Baranovych in 1709 (!).

his dedication he praises Peter for his victories over the Turks and Swedes and compares the monarch with the swan, who was willing to sacrifice its own life. Following the dedication, the manuscript includes Simeon Polotskii's verses on the birth of Peter in 1672, in which the poet had glorified Peter as a future conqueror of the Turks. Presumably, the translation dates to the time before Peter's disastrous defeat on the Pruth at the hands of the Turks in 1711; it may be that the reference to victory over the Swedes is an indication that the *terminus a quo* for the translation is the Battle of Poltava (1709).

While there was a delay of a few years between the appearance of *Łabędź* and its first Muscovite translation, Galiatovs'kyi's *Alkoran* was probably translated in Muscovy soon after it was received there in August 1683. We have two translations of the work, or, at least, what we must consider to be a rough translation and an extended reworking and improvement of it. There is good reason to believe that the translations were done in the Muscovite Diplomatic Chancellery. What appears to be the earlier of the versions follows the Polish text very closely, preserving the word order of the original and containing many calques. One of the three known copies of this translation is found in convoy with a number of documents deriving from government chancelleries; this fact points to the official milieu as the possible place of origin or at least of the circulation of the work.[22] The second translation is a polished work by a man with considerable education and literary talent, a translator for the Diplomatic Chancellery, Stakhii Ivanovich Gadzelovskii. A noble from Vilnius, where he probably received a Jesuit education, Gadzelovskii began his long career in the Diplomatic Chancellery in 1667.[23] He is known to have translated a "chronicle" from Polish in the 1670s while on assignment in the Ukraine; he may have written a collection of heraldic *virshi* in Muscovy in the 1680s. While he seems to have used the first translation of *Alkoran,* he nonetheless referred as well to the original book. He attempts to avoid calques and Polish syntax. Unlike the author of the first transla-

[22] The manuscripts containing the first translation are GPB, St. Petersburg Theological Academy No. 186; GIM, Uvarov No. 490 (307); and TsGADA, *f.* 181, No. 756 (1286). Kharlampovych (*Malorossiiskoe vliianie,* pp. 431, 452) cites the TsGADA manuscript as though it is the second translation by Gadzelovskii. Manuscript 186 contains, in addition, a series of decrees issued between 1681 and 1700, although it should be noted that they are written in a different hand and on different paper from the translation of *Alkoran* and thus may have been joined to it only long after copying.

[23] On Gadzelovskii, see Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie,* pp. 431, 452; S. A. Belokurov, *O Posol'skom prikaze* (Moscow, 1906), p. 132; Nils Åke Nilsson, *Russian Heraldic* Virši *from the 17th Century* (Stockholm, etc., 1964), especially pp. 68–69.

tion, who rendered the verse of the original in prose, Gadzelovskii used verse that preserved carefully the 13-syllable lines that were formally required in Polish Baroque poetry. Gadzelovskii must have completed his translation by 1687, since a copy of it was included in a manuscript miscellany taken to Sweden in that year by his acquaintance, the Swedish diplomat Sparwenfeld.[24]

A few observations can be made about the spread of Galiatovs'kyi's books and their translations in Russia. Aside from the fact that copies of the books were available to the translators (in the case of *Alkoran,* presumably one of the two presentation copies was used), we know that the library collected by Simeon Polotskii and his pupil Silvestr Medvedev contained both *Alkoran* and *Łabędź* (the former in two copies).[25] This library was confiscated when Medvedev fell from grace in 1689 and eventually became part of the library of the Moscow Printing House. The Polotskii-Medvedev library contained other works produced by Galiatovs'kyi and his patron Baranovych, among them Galiatovs'kyi's *Alfavyt* of heretics, a section of which is devoted to Mohammed. At least one other copy of *Alkoran* was owned by a Muscovite cleric in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.[26]

The manuscript history of the Muscovite translations of Galiatovs'kyi's works can be connected with two of the leading Russian "Westernizers" of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn and his young third cousin, Dmitrii Mikhailovich Golitsyn. A copy of the translation of *Alkoran* was in the possession of the elder Golitsyn when he was disgraced and exiled in 1689.[27] As head of the Diplomatic Chancellery in the 1680s and as one actively involved in the renewed Muscovite commitment to fight the Ottomans, he may well have

24 This is the fascinating Codex ad 10 now in Västerås, a manuscript that provides an excellent cross section of the literature which was *au courant* in chancellery circles in the mid-1680s in Muscovy. For a full description, see Staffan Dahl, *Codex ad 10 der Västeråser Gymnasial-Bibliothek* (Uppsala, 1949).

25 See I. E. Zabelin, ed., "Knigi perepisnye knigam . . . ," *Vremennik Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete,* bk. 16 (1853), sec. 3, pp. 58, 67 (items 164 — where the author is named Gratovskii — 510, and 517). Orlov (*Skazochnye povesti,* 164) notes the existence of a copy in the Synodal Typography library with Medvedev's inscription of ownership.

26 The copy now in the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (formerly in the Moscow Synodal Library) has a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century inscription on the back end-paper: "Siia kniga glagolemaia Alkoran diiakona Pavla Vologzhanina."

27 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom i ego soobshchnikakh,* vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1893), col. 33. Golitsyn also owned works by Baranovych and a "Letopisets Kievskoi, pechatnoi" (Gizel's *Synopsys*?) (ibid., cols. 56–57).

had something to do with the translation of that work and the fact that a copy of it came into the possession of the Swedish diplomat Sparwenfeld sometime between 1684 and 1687. While governor of Kiev in the middle of the reign of Peter I, Dmitrii Mikhailovich Golitsyn commissioned translations and did much to enlarge what was the most remarkable Russian private library of his time. He seems to have had a particular interest in Turcica. Among his books was a copy of the translation of *Alkoran,* in a manuscript of the early eighteenth century that includes many of the works found in Sparwenfeld's manuscript with virtually no textual differences.[28] In other words, there would appear to have been a copy or protograph of the Sparwenfeld collection in the 1680s, from which the manuscript of D. M. Golitsyn was later copied. Golitsyn also owned a copy of the translation of *Łabędź,* a manuscript previously owned by one Fedor Kirilovich Gerasimov (possibly a government clerk).[29] This copy is of particular interest, because it shows evidence of some effort to edit and improve the translation with reference to the original book.

Other copies of the translation of *Łabędź* include one made in 1698 by a certain D. A. I., an early eighteenth-century manuscript purchased in Vologda in late 1720 by an Ivan Ivanovich Popov, and one belonging to Nikita Petrovich, a priest of the Cathedral of the Dormition in Vladimir in 1721.[30] The translation seems to have been popular in the Russian North, in part amongst the Old Believers. One of the manuscripts, which has come down to us in the collection of the Solovki Monastery, was the property of a deacon of that monastery in the eighteenth or the early nineteenth century.[31] A full copy and a fragmentary copy of the work are in manuscripts that were in the library of the Moscow Old Believer Rogozhskii Cemetery, and other fragments appear in two eighteenth-century manuscripts discovered recently by the archaeographic expeditions that have so successfully mined the libraries of Old Believer villages in the North.[32]

[28] The manuscript is GPB, F.XVII.19, which contains other works that may be classified as Turcica. On it and the related MS Codex ad 10, see my *The Great Turkes Defiance: On the History of the Apocryphal Correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan in Its Muscovite and Russian Variants* (Columbus, Ohio, 1978), pp. 161–62. On Golitsyn's library, see S. P. Luppov, *Kniga v Rossii v pervoi chetverti XVIII veka* (Leningrad, 1973), pp. 204–223. A listing of his manuscripts is in my book, *The F. A. Tolstoi Collection* (Zug, 1977), pp. 10–11, 69–71.

[29] MS GPB, Q.I.244.

[30] These are, respectively, GBL, Rogozh. 384; GIM, Uvarov 492 (855); and GBL, Tikhonravov 391.

[31] GPB, Solovki 322 (490).

[32] GBL, Rogozh. 384 and 62; IRLI, Prichudsk. 2 and Karel'sk. 36.

In conclusion, a few words should be said about the chronological distribution of the manuscripts containing the translations of Galiatovs'kyi's two works, since this evidence enables us to infer what may have attracted at least some Russian readers to them. I know of ten manuscripts containing *Łabędź* (three of them fragmentary copies) and five manuscripts containing *Alkoran*. Of the fifteen, one is from the 1680s (prior to 1687), one is dated 1698, eight additional copies appear to have been made in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century during the reign of Peter I, and another toward the end of his reign or soon thereafter. We may posit with some assurance that at least one other copy existed in the 1680s. So the bulk of the manuscript tradition falls within the reign of Peter, which encompassed Vasilii Vasil'evich Golitsyn's disastrous Crimean campaigns, the conquest of Azov, and the campaigns against the Turks that culminated in the treaties of Constantinople (1700) and Adrianople (1713). In Russia the Turkish wars of this period led to the production of new items of Turcica and the revival of earlier ones.[33] The manuscripts containing the first translation of *Łabędź* must have been of particular interest as Turcica, since all of the complete ones contain, as well, the compendium from Baronius and Guagnini on the Turks. Those manuscripts are thus similar to any number of polemical booklets produced in seventeenth-century Europe during the Habsburg wars against the Ottomans, in which the reader could expect to find some facts (and fancy) about the Ottomans and their faith, along with Christian prophecy and polemic about their fall.[34] Since not only *Łabędź* but also the Guagnini text included prophecies in which the Russians played the key role in the fall of the Turks, it is easy to understand how the books gained currency in the era when direct Russian involvement against the Ottoman Empire emerged as a leading element in European international relations.

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33 See Waugh, *The Great Turkes Defiance*, especially pp. 165–68.

34 E.g., *Tuercken-Einfall, oder kurtzer jedoch scheinbarer Bericht von dem grausamen Einfalle Gogs und Magogs* . . . (Stuttgart, 1664); *Reflexion politique sur les Grandeurs et Puissances de l'Empire Ottoman, avec les Moyens Asseurez de Ruiner cette grande & superbe Monarchie* . . . (Cologne, n.d. [1683 or 1684?]).

Renaissance Poland and *Antemurale Christianitatis*

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB

The catchphrase *antemurale Christianitatis,* applied to Poland as well as to other European countries bordering on the Muslim world, seems to have a clearly defined, unambiguous meaning. But, as is the case with most ideological slogans, that meaning turns out to be quite malleable. For one thing, it would seem that "antemurale" stresses the *defensive* role of the country so called. In fact, quite often it was used as a call to arms and as an appeal to join in an offensive action. Still more unexpected is another ambiguity: already in the sixteenth century the term was occasionally used in Poland with reference to wars against Muscovy — another Christian power (although of a different church) but, by Polish standards, hardly a Christian political regime.[1] And if in the nineteenth century the term, or, rather, its vernacular counterpart, *przedmurze chrześcijańistwa,* became part of Polish patriotic rhetoric, its popularity was certainly not due to an imminent Turkish menace.

Only recently has the antemurale theme become the subject of special historical studies. A large variety of instances, culled primarily from political tracts and literary works, was collected by Janusz Tazbir,[2] and Italian opinions on Poland as *antemurale,* dating mostly from the seventeenth century, were analyzed with discrimination and a fine understanding of stylistic nuances by Sante Graciotti.[3]

Tazbir's study is primarily an inventory of data. He is not interested in changing Polish attitudes towards the *antemurale* concept. According to

[1] Cf. the following description by a student of Turcica: "There was a similarity in the image projected by the Muscovite and Ottoman states and their rulers. This image in turn inspired a common language in polemics and descriptive literature." D. C. Waugh, *The Great Turkes Defiance: On the History of the Apocryphal Correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan in its Muscovite and Russian Variants* (Columbus, Ohio, 1978), p. 23.

[2] "Przedmurze jako miejsce Polski w Europie," in J. Tazbir, *Rzeczpospolita i świat* (Warsaw, 1971), pp. 63–78.

[3] S. Graciotti, "L'antemurale polacco in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento: il barocchizzarsi di un mito," in the collection *Barocco fra Italia e Polonia,* ed. by J. Ślaski (Warsaw, 1977), pp. 303–324.

his presentation, Poles and foreigners, from the fifteenth century on, applied to Poland the appellation *antemurale,* and that was that. In fact, with the passage of time, Polish attitudes towards the concept underwent dramatic change, which is especially discernible if one studies old chronicles and other historical works disregarded by Tazbir. It turns out that Renaissance Poland was quite reluctant to assume the part of *antemurale* that the West tried to assign to it.

In 1444, Francesco Filelfo, a famous Italian humanist, sent an ecstatic missive to Ladislas III, king of Poland and Hungary. Dated November 5, that is, after the Varna disaster had occurred but before the news of it could have reached Italy, it extolled the king as "Christianae Reipublicae propugnaculum."[4] Of course, the king was hailed so primarily as the ruler of Hungary.

Most probably, the term *antemurale Christianitatis* was first applied to the Polish Commonwealth in 1462. In that year, the ninth year of Poland's protracted war against the Teutonic Order, now known as the Thirteen Years' War, Pope Pius II sent to Poland his nuncio Hieronimo, archbishop of Crete, to mediate between the two warring states. On November 27, the nuncio was received in Cracow by King Casimir II, and, according to Długosz, said in his address that the pope considered Poland and its ruler "scutum," "murus," and "antemurale" of Christianity:

> Qui Sabbato subsequenti, audientiam nactus, suo more enarratis obstantiis, et quali, quantoque Papa Pius in Kazimirum Regem et Regnum suum Poloniae, quod Christianitatis scutum sit, et brachio suo illud a Thartaris protegendo, censeatur christianae fidei murus et antemurale, feratur affectione et amore, disserens, ad tria se principaliter commemoravit missum: ad pacificandam Cracoviensem ecclesiam, ad bellum Pruthenicum intercipiendum, ad animandum Regem in bellum Turco inferendum.[5]

Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, already in the 1440s, before he had been elevated to the See of Rome, called Hungary "murus" or "scutum" of Christianity.[6] There, such honorific metaphors had an obvious meaning:

[4] I am quoting after the reprint in A. Prochaska's *Uwagi krytyczne o klęsce Warneńskiej,* in *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności/Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 39 (1900): 52.

[5] J. Dlugossi (Długosz), *Historiae polonicae libri XII,* ed. by J. Żegota Pauli, vol. 5, *Dzieła wszystkie,* vol. 14 (Cracow, 1878), pp. 360–61. According to a contemporary historian, S. M. Kuczyński, Długosz's report on the audience is trustworthy. See his so-called critical commentary, *Lata wojny trzynastoletniej w 'Rocznikach czyli kronikach,' inaczej 'Historii polskiej' Jana Dlugosza (1454–1466),* in *Łódzkie Towarystwo Naukowe, Prace Wydziału II* (Łódź), no. 57 (1964–65), p. 170.

[6] R. Wolkan, ed., *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini,* in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum,* vol. 61 (Vienna, 1909), pt. 1: 548; pt. 2: 4.

Hungary was engaged in mortal strife with the Ottoman Empire. To apply them to a state that was actually engaged in a war with a Catholic order (no matter how un-Christian its policy) was as much a reproach as a compliment. Above all, the slogans were propaganda for a future political program: the pope wanted Poland to join a coalition against the Turks. In this attempt he failed.

Długosz does not comment on the nuncio's address. But elsewhere in his work he did not hide his critical opinion of both the pope and his nuncio. He accused Pius II of being prejudiced against the Poles and partial to the Germans,[7] an attitude which can be amply documented.[8] As for the nuncio, who came from the Venetian patrician family Lando, the Polish historian presented him as a former merchant who only recently had taken Holy Orders and, because of a certain crime he had committed, was of bad repute.[9] Długosz's animus against Hieronimo is quite understandable: the following year, the nuncio went from Cracow to Königsberg, where he freely vented his anti-Polish feelings.[10]

Moreover, there can be no doubt that any idea of Poland as *antemurale Christianitatis* was quite alien to Długosz. The reader of his *Annales* must be struck by the extraordinary tribute he paid to the Tartar khan Hadji Giray upon his death in 1466. He not only praises the Muslim ruler as a man "humanus, civilisque et bene agendi cupidus" and as a staunch ally of Poland, but ends his obituary with a startling compliment: "maiori Christianorum quam suo damno extinctus."[11]

In order to appreciate fully the extent of this peculiar praise, one has to realize that it is based on a pun. In medieval Latin, *damnum* means "loss," but it can be a theological term, as well, meaning the place where the souls of virtuous non-Christians went. They were deprived of the joy of seeing the Godhead, but they did not suffer there.[12] Of course, theologically speaking, the comparison does not make much sense: one's soul cannot be more or less in *damnun* (or in paradise, for that matter); either it is there or it is not. Most probably, Długosz — who, as the preface to his

[7] Dlugossi, *Historiae polonicae*, p. 278.
[8] See I. Zarębski, *Stosunki Eneasza Sylwiusza z Polską i Polakami*, in *Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego PAU* (Cracow), 1st ser., 80 (1939): passim.
[9] Dlugossi, *Historiae polonicae*, p. 303. On the nuncio see Flaminius Cornelius (Corner), *Creta sacra*, vol. 2 (Venice, 1755), pp. 86–90. He must have entered the priesthood rather late in life, because Corner mentions that before taking orders he had a wife and a son (p. 88).
[10] Dlugossi, *Historiae polonicae*, pp. 369–70.
[11] Dlugossi, *Historiae polonicae*, p. 471.
[12] See *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, vol. 3 (Wrocław, 1969), p. 15, with quotations from fifteenth-century theologians.

work amply proves, suffered from the consciousness that his Latin lacked humanist polish — was so pleased with his pun that he disregarded its theological implications.

The words of high praise Długosz devoted to the khan are all the more noteworthy because our historian was not prone to easy eulogies, as proved by the caustic, occasionally malicious obituaries of bishops, his contemporaries, found in the *Annales*. After his patron, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, the Tartar khan is probably the most highly praised man among Długosz's contemporaries.

It is obvious that Długosz could not take the nuncio's encomium at face value. The formula of detachment *suo modo,* and the heaping up of the synonyms *scutum, murus, antemurale,* indicates, rather, that there is an ironical undertone in the passage reporting on the nuncio's address.

The earliest mention of the antemurale theme in Tazbir's study is that by Jan Ostroróg, a fifteenth-century political writer and diplomatist.[13] In an address to Pope Paul II delivered in Rome in 1467, Ostroróg praised Ladislas III, killed in the battle at Varna. But his eulogy did not fail to mention that, at the pope's instigation, the king had broken his oath and, instead of abiding by the conditions of the truce, renewed the war which had had such fatal consequences for him: "Hortante iterum hac sede, oblitus dextram datam servandae pacis causa, / . . . / interiit arbitror martyr."[14] The reproof directed at the Roman see is quite strident, and the gist of the whole passage is more that *pacta sunt servanda* than that Poland has assumed the part of an *antemurale.* It is true that later in his address Ostroróg praised King Casimir for not having allowed Turks and Tartars to attack his country and, thus, for defending the Christian world: "regna sua, totam idem christianitatem non sinit lacessendam." He made it clear, however, that the king achieved his aims by peaceful means and was not prone to involvement in military adventures: "Si verum est non minorem virtutem esse, quam quaerere, parta tueri, maximus mihi ad dicendum campus pateret."[15]

Polish diplomacy occasionally used brutally frank language in this respect. Here is what King Casimir wrote to Pope Innocent VIII some twenty years later, in 1489, at a time when relations between Cracow and Rome were especially tense:

[13] Tazbir, "Przedmurze," p. 65.
[14] I. Chrzanowski and St. Kot, eds., *Humanizm i reformacja w Polsce: Wybór źródeł* (Lviv, 1927), p. 58. I quote from this anthology because it gives a better text of the address than previous reprints.
[15] Chrzanowski and Kot, *Humanizm i reformacja,* p. 58.

Scribit mihi interea Sanctitas Vestra in his, quae at defensionem cristianam ex Turco, quae Sanctitas Vestra pro salute paceque cristiana tenet, spectant, ut nuntios meos in urbem mitterem ad consultandum cum nuntiis aliorum regum et principum. Beatissime pater, aequum est, ut primum rebus propriis quisque consulat et opituletur, quam ad alia se conferat.[16]

Długosz died in 1480. Less than twenty years later, traumatic events determined Polish attitudes towards the Turks for many years to come. King Casimir's son and successor, John Olbracht, reversed the cautious policy of his father and organized a huge military expedition aimed at wrenching from the Ottoman Empire two Black Sea ports, Kiliia and Bilhorod (Belgorod, Akerman), recently conquered by the Turks. Once the Polish army entered Moldavia, it suffered a number of setbacks, owing largely to the defection of the local ruler, who sided with the Turks. The Polish army had to retreat. All this occurred in 1497. In the next year came two retaliatory Turkish attacks which the Poles managed to repulse.[17]

The Moldavian expedition was not a smashing defeat. But from the beginning it must have been unpopular with the masses of the gentry. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the numerous confiscations of estates from those who failed to join the army. The losses the gentry suffered during the war were magnified in popular reports. A saying coined in the sixteenth century held that "Za króla Olbrachta wyginęła szlachta [The gentry perished during King Olbracht's reign]."[18] Moreover, many of the gentry believed that their heavy losses were due not to unfortunate coincidences, but to sinister royal plans. According to that opinion, the war against the Turks served the king as a pretext only, for he saw it as an opportunity to break the political power of the gentry and to introduce an absolutist regime.

People who held such views were convinced that behind the royal scheme stood an evil foreign adviser, the Italian humanist Philippo Buonacorsi, who wrote under the pseudonym of Callimachus and was therefore known in Poland as Kallimach. He was a gifted writer and an adventurer with a marked propensity for political intrigue. Involved in a conspiracy against Pope Paul II, he had to flee Italy, went to Chios, then

[16] A. Sokołowski and J. Szujski, eds., *Codex epistularis seculi decimi quinti,* vol. 1, Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1876), p. 294.
[17] See F. Papée's discussion of the war in *The Cambridge History of Poland,* vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 262–64.
[18] The first instance of the saying, quoted in J. Krzyżanowski, ed., *Nowa księga przysłów polskich,* vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1969), p. 825, dates from 1564.

to Istanbul, and, in 1470, found refuge in Poland, where he remained until his death in 1496. Once in Poland, he rather quickly found access to the royal court. He was employed by both King Casimir and his son, John Olbracht, as an adviser in political matters and as a diplomatic agent.

Kallimach's policy was not consistently anti-Turkish. In 1478, for instance, he advocated a Polish-Turkish alliance against the Hungarian king Matthew.[19] When, however, he was sent in 1490 to Pope Innocent VIII, he prepared an address in florid Latin for the occasion, in which he asserted that any plans for an alliance of all the Christian powers against the Ottoman Empire were both utopian and unnecessary. One Christian state, Poland, would alone be able to chase the Turks from Europe, thanks to its might, its geographical position, and its tradition of warfare against the Tartars (whom he represented as more dangerous than the Turks), which had earned Poland the name of "religionis nostrae arx et propugnaculum."[20]

Kallimach's *Oratio* was published in Cracow in 1524 and reprinted nine years later. Thus, for the Poles, Kallimach was a champion of an anti-Turkish crusade. He was also credited with the so-called *Consilia Callimachi,* advice purportedly given to John Olbracht about how to put an end to the political aspirations of the gentry by cunning, deception, and, when needed, the application of brutal force. The tract was circulated in sixteenth-century Poland in manuscript copies. Whether or not it was actually written by the Italian is beside the point. The important thing is that there existed a widespread legend of a nefarious adviser to the king.[21] As late as 1562, the popular poet Mikołaj Rej wrote that his name aroused terror.[22] And there was a close link in public opinion between John Olbracht's expedition against the Turks and his presumed absolutist plans as suggested by Kallimach. The link was discussed by Marcin Kromer in his history of Poland:

[19] See J. Garbacik, *Kallimach jako dyplomata i polityk,* in *Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego PAU* (Cracow), 2nd ser., 46 (1948): 66.

[20] Philippi Callimachi (Kallimach), *Ad Innocentium VIII De bello Turcis inferendo oratio,* ed. by I. Lichońska (Warsaw, 1964), p. 68.

[21] Some interesting aspects of that legend are studied by J. Zathey in the paper "Z dziejów staropolskich opinii o Kallimachu," published in the collection *Kultura i literatura w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 31–48. A previous study by J. Skoczek, *Legenda Kallimacha w Polsce,* in *Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie* (Lviv), 2nd ser., vol. 23 (1939), despite its title, does not deal with the subject, but is a rather superficial sketch of Kallimach's life and works.

[22] Mielichmy też kiedyś ony Kallimachy,
Lecz, gdy je wspominają, i dziś o nich strachy.

M. Rej, *Zwierzyniec,* ed. by W. Bruchnalski, Biblioteka Pisarzów Polskich, 30 (Cracow, 1895), p. 148.

Hinc sane nati sunt, uel confirmati duntaxat sermones hominum, quibus iactatum est postea seu uero, seu falso rumore, usque ad nostra tempora, expeditionem illam suasu Callimachi a rege susceptam fuisse, quo feroces minus morigerae sibi, diuinaque et humana iura contemnentis nobilitatis Polonae spiritus incommodis belli, aut etiam clade aliqua retunderet.[23]

From Kromer's cautious wording it is obvious that he had serious doubts as to the historical truth of the rumors about the dark intentions of the king and his Italian adviser. He reported them because so many people believed in them. The story was being repeated as a cautionary tale, to immunize the sixteenth-century gentry against the idea of an anti-Turkish crusade. The crusade was deemed dangerous not only because of the military might of the Turks. It seemed to threaten the political liberties of the gentry, as well.

In 1533, King Sigismund I concluded an "eternal" treaty with the Ottoman Empire. It proved to be more eternal than most such treaties because it lasted beyond the end of the century, but it was an uneasy peace. A constant irritant were the repeated inroads of the Tartars, who at that time were already Turkish vassals. The Turks could not always restrain their unruly vassals, and at times they actually incited the Tartars against Poland.[24] People were conscious of the bitter fate that befell the Balkan Slavs and reacted especially strongly to the tragedy of Hungary. Turkish diplomacy was often tactless, to say the least. In spite of Turkish provocations, pangs of Christian conscience, and calls-to-arms instigated by Habsburg diplomacy, Polish politicians deemed it wise to make special efforts to find an accommodation with Istanbul.

Quite recently, the ambience of that uneasy peace and the whole gamut of Polish opinions on Turkey were analyzed with subtlety and penetration by Claude Backvis.[25] Backvis based his analysis on the rich political literature of the period. His conclusions are borne out by examples from other sources, as well. Kochanowski's poetry is a good case in point. It is true that Kochanowski's queer political address, delivered 25 November 1575 and reported by the historian Swiętosław Orzelski, shows him as

[23] Martini Cromeri (Kromer), *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX* (Basel, [1555]), p. 646.

[24] This happened during the 1575 Tartar inroad which devastated Podolia. See K. Beydill, "Die polnische Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte Osmanischer Archivalien," *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients* (Munich), 19 (1976): 73.

[25] C. Backvis, "La difficile coexistance pacifique entre Pologne et Turcs au XVIe siècle," in *Melanges d'islamologie, dédiés à la mémoire de A. Abel*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1975), pp. 13–51. Cf. also B. Kopański, "Kwestia turecka w sejmach polskich i pismach ulotnych XVI wieku," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, 1977, no. 1, pp. 37–41.

obsessed at that moment with the Turkish danger.[26] Also his poem on King Ladislas III, of which only a few fragments are extant,[27] proves that he was not indifferent to the idea of a crusade against the Turks. But the poem he wrote upon receiving the news of the 1575 Tartar attack on Podolia shows him in a different light.[28] It is probably the most passionate and vehemently expressive piece of Polish Renaissance poetry. The poet was well cognizant of the fact that the Tartars attacked Poland at the instigation of the Turks: "niewierny Turczyn psy rozpuścił swoje [the infidel Turk let loose his dogs]." The inroad is presented there as a disaster and a disgrace crying out for vengeance. But the poet is still far from calling for a war against Turkey. When it comes to practical measures, the incensed poet is remarkably level-headed: he asks for higher taxes and for a strengthening of frontier defenses.

Two prominent sixteenth-century publicists propagated the idea of a war against Turkey through an alliance with Vienna: by the middle of the century Stanisław Orzechowski, and by the end of it Krzysztof Warszewicki. Orzechowski's two eloquent and elegantly written orations, his so-called *Turcicae* (1543 and 1544), enjoyed considerable success. They were reprinted in Poland and abroad, in Basel, Rome, and Vienna. Both were translated into Polish, and the second also into German. The orations dwelled on the idea that the Turks would not feel bound by the treaty with Poland and, thus, it was desirable to forestall their aggression by attacking them in coalition with other Christian powers.

Warszewicki was a Habsburg political agent and, because of that, he was twice forced to flee to Austrian lands. It is significant that the first version of his anti-Turkish tract, *Turcicae tres,* was published in 1589 while he was an émigré in Prague. The expanded version, *Turcicae quatuordecim,* appeared in 1595 in Cracow, after he had been allowed to return to his native country. There, in the twelfth oration, he speaks of Poland as "quasi totius Europae propugnaculum."[29] It is telling that only a few sentences above, he speaks of Pope Pius II in highly laudatory terms.

Despite the fact that these anti-Turkish voices must have found favor

26 S. Orzelski, *Interregni Poloniae libri VIII,* ed. by E. Kuntze, in *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum* (Cracow), 22 (1917): 425.

27 J. Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie,* ed. by J. Krzyżanowski, 7th ed. (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 587–90.

28 "Pieśni," II, 5, in Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie,* pp. 280–82.

29 Christophori Varsevicii (Warszewicki), *Turcicae quatuordecim* (Cracow, 1595), p. 155.

with some segments of the reading public, one can prove that the idea of Poland as *antemurale* or *propugnaculum* of Christianity was not popular with sixteenth-century Poles. The treatment of the 1462 nuncio's address with its antemurale theme is quite telling in this respect.

More compact books, like Maciej from Miechów's *Chronica Polonorum* (1521) or Stanisław Sarnicki's *Annales* (1587), do not mention the nuncio's address at all. Kromer (1551) tells us only that Hieronimo arrived in Cracow and "ad pacem cum Cruciferis faciendam et ad bellum Turcicum regem hortatus est publice."[30] Two other historians report, however, that the nuncio called Poland *antemurale* on that occasion. Bernard Wapowski did so early in the century.[31] By its end, the address had been reported in the Polish chronicle Joachim Bielski published in 1597 under his father's name, Marcin.[32] Neither report commented on the nuncio's words, but both put them into a context in which they must sound absurd.

The nuncio delivered his speech on November 27. Two months earlier, on September 17, a battle took place between the Poles led by Piotr Dunin and the Teutonic Knights. (It was traditionally called the battle at Puck, but for a contemporary historian it became the battle at Świecino.)[33] Dunin, after having heard that the Teutonic Knights had laid an ambush for him, sent a messenger to the king asking for reinforcements. The king dispatched a detachment of the Polish army together with a contingent of 200 Tartars. Before these reinforcements reached Dunin, however, the Teutonic Knights engaged him in battle. Against considerable odds, Dunin managed to defeat them. When telling the story of the battle,[34] Długosz did not mention the presence of a Tartar unit in the reinforcements. He might have overlooked the detail or, more probably, he might have considered it to be irrelevant: after all, the Tartars did not take part in the actual battle. In any case, elsewhere Długosz did not conceal Tartar participation in the war.[35] Both Wapowski and Bielski, however, stated that a Tartar unit formed part of the reinforcements.[36] If a few pages later their readers learned that the papal nuncio commended Poland as "ante-

[30] Cromeri, *De origine*, p. 546.
[31] Bernard z Rachtmanowic Wapowski, *Dzieje Korony Polskiej i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego od roku 1380 do 1535*, trans. by M. Malinowski, vol. 3 (Vilnius, 1848), p. 473. I cite the Polish translation because Wapowski's chronicle, left in manuscript, was never published in the original, except for the final part.
[32] Marcin Bielski, *Kronika*, ed. by K. J. Turowski (Sanok, 1856), p. 784.
[33] See M. Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim, 1454–1466* (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 622–29. The book gives a detailed discussion of the battle.
[34] Dlugossi, *Historiae polonicae*, pp. 353–56.
[35] See, for instance, Dlugossi, *Historiae polonicae*, p. 441.
[36] Wapowski, *Dzieje Korony Polskiej*, p. 462; Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 781.

murale" of Christianity, such praise must have struck them as preposterous. The contexts of both books work effectively as commentary.

Bielski's text is instructive in another respect, as well. Here is what he wrote about the nuncio: "Nazajutrz do rady przyprowadzon, gdzie uczynił rzecz piękną do króla, zowiąc go antemurale, albo basztą jaką i zaszczytem od pogan, Tatarów i Turków."[37] The fact that Bielski deemed it necessary to explain the meaning of "antemurale, or bastion of sorts and defense" proves that at that time it was still unfamiliar to Polish readers. One should add that the vernacular counterpart of *antemurale*, that is, *przedmurze*, was most probably still unknown in the sixteenth century.[38]

The seventeenth-century wars with Turkey radically changed the whole situation. The phrase *antemurale Christianitatis* and its various synonyms then acquired immediacy and poignancy for the Poles and became a source of moral comfort and pride. The intellectual climate, however, and, with it, receptivity to the phrase became apparent before the actual outbreak of hostilities — as a matter of fact, as early as the last decade of the sixteenth century. Two factors contributed to its acceptance: on the one hand, a surge of an ardent, militant Counter-Reformation Catholicism, best exemplified by the prose of the Jesuit father Piotr Skarga;[39] and, on the other, the policy of King Sigismund III, a bigoted Catholic who wanted to ally Poland with the Habsburg Empire. It is significant that in 1590 a Polish translation of Orzechowski's *Turcicae* appeared under the martial title *Na Turka* (Forward, against the Turk), followed a few years later, as we have seen, by Warszewicki's *Turcicae*. From these prewar years came the first poetic text quoted by Tazbir, that of Stanisław Grochowski, who called Poland a Christian *mur* ("wall") and *wał* ("rampart").[40] In 1618, two years before the outbreak of the first Turkish-Polish war, there appeared in Cracow under the title *Goffred* a Polish version of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* by Piotr Kochanowski. How telling it is that among Polish renderings of Tasso's name for the Crusaders ("Franchi"), we find the pronoun "naszy" (ours).[41] In

[37] Bielski, *Kronika*, p. 784.
[38] It is not attested in the card index for the *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, now under publication (the most recently published volume, no. 11, is for the letter *k*), as the editor-in-chief of the dictionary, Professor M. R. Mayenowa, was kind enough to inform me.
[39] See the most recent and the best book on Skarga: J. Tazbir, *Piotr Skarga, szermierz Kontrreformacji* (Warsaw, 1978), especially pp. 152–53.
[40] Tazbir, "Przedmurze," p. 66.
[41] See R. Pollak, *"Goffred" Tassa-Kochanowskiego*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1973), p. 75.

seventeenth-century Poland *Goffred* enjoyed the position of a national epic poem.[42] This was due not only to the high poetic qualities of Piotr Kochanowski's version, but also to the fact that in the decades of dogged struggle with the Turks, Polish readers could identify easily with the Crusaders.

All this, however, is a later story, that of Baroque Poland. As for Renaissance Poland, it is telling that most instances of *antemurale Christianitatis* cited by Tazbir are those by foreign writers. There are among them some leading figures of the period, including Machiavelli, Erasmus, and Melanchthon.[43] The appellation carried two meanings. One was that Poland occupied the eastern confines of the Christian world that had a common Latin heritage. In that sense it was accepted by Poles as a matter of fact. But there was also a certain political program implied by that catchphrase as well, namely, that Poland should stand in the forefront of countries fighting the infidel. That honor most sixteenth-century Poles chose to decline.

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[42] See my paper "Recepcja 'Jerozolimy wyzwolonej' w Polsce i na Zachodzie," in *Od Reja do Boya* (Warsaw, 1977), pp. 115–38.

[43] See Tazbir, "Przedmurze," p. 65. One should add, however, that in spite of Machiavelli, sixteenth-century Italian writers, unlike those in the following century, were reluctant to grant Poland the title of *antemurale Christianitatis*. See Graciotti, "L'antemurale polacco," p. 304.

Francis Stancaro's Schismatic Reformed Church, Centered in Dubets'ko* in Ruthenia, 1559/61–1570

GEORGE H. WILLIAMS

INTRODUCTION

On 14 March 1560 John Łużyński, Reformed pastor in Cujavia, informed John Calvin of the death on January 8 of John Łaski, who had been superintendent of all the Reformed churches of the Commonwealth from Great Poland into Podolia, 1556–1560. During the course of his brief reforming career in his native land, John Łaski had had to cope with the onsets of two theological schisms in the Reformed church that after his death would cross over the internal Byzantine/Latin-rite boundary in the largest European state of the sixteenth century.

Of the two emerging theological schisms, the better known is that of the Minor Reformed Church of the eventually fully unitarian "Polish" Brethren, completed between 1563 and 1565. In 1638, after the destruction of Raków in Little Poland, its intellectual center became Kyselyn (Kisielin) in Volhynia.[1] The slightly earlier and also shorter-lived schism was the Stancarist Reformed Synod, 1559/61–1570. Largely Polish in leadership and constituency, this schism began its brief existence in Byzantine-rite territory, with a school and seminary centered in Dubets'ko (Dubiecko).[2]

It was about the second schismatic church that Łużyński wrote to Calvin in March 1560, after appealing to him to write something further

* The western parts of the Palatinate of Ruthenia are presently within the boundaries of the People's Republic of Poland. Where identifiable, I have given placenames there in Ukrainian, with the Polish equivalent in parentheses at first occurrence.

1 See my "Protestants in the Ukraine during the Period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1978):41–72; and no. 2 (1978):184–210, especially 192–97. The present essay is devoted to what was mentioned there but briefly (ibid., p. 186).

2 Andrzej Węgierski, *Libri quattuor Slavoniae Reformatae* (hereafter *Slavonia Reformata*), 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1679; facsimile ed. by Janusz Tazbir, Warsaw, 1973), p. 126.

against Francis Stancaro (1501–1574).[3] Łużyński's letter to Calvin continued:

From among ours, although they were even as it was scarcely ours, there are two [lords] in Ruthenia (*Russia*) especially, but not these last by their names, who are supporters and promoters of Stancaro, besides some others, Papists, who were once even ours, but who, having once adored Satan, turned and now join themselves to him again that they may find something half way between ours and the church of the Pope.[4]

Łużyński was perceptive, for the Stancarist "church" was not to be formalized until a year later. We shall presently identify the promoting patrons, but now let us review some dozen years of the neglected history of a form of Protestantism that penetrated into the Ukraine and Belorussia, although it did not involve many patrons or pastors of Orthodox antecedents.

Stancaro appears to have belonged to a converted Jewish family of Mantua. In any case, he was an accomplished Hebraist.[5] He mastered the Talmud and the Cabala, and he argued with the Talmudists and Italian Anabaptists that the Messiah, son of Joseph, and the Messiah, son of David, were identical, and that Jesus was that Messiah anticipated by Isaiah who would come at his Second Advent in glory as the Son of David, as predicted by other prophets.[6]

Although converted to the Reformed version of Protestantism, Stancaro did not accept such distinctively classical Protestant emphases as original sin, the bondage of the will unto salvation, or ineluctable election or reprobation. Yet, he is remembered primarily as the exponent of the view that Jesus Christ was Mediator in his human nature alone and not in his divine nature. Stancaro at first assumed that the principal Reformers

[3] The literature on Stancaro is extensive. I cite only the most recent works, with antecedent literature: Lorenz Hein, *Italienische Protestanten und ihr Einfluss auf die Reformation in Polen* [to 1570] (Leiden, 1974), chap. 3; Theodor Wotschke, "Francesco Stancaro," *Altpreussische Monatsschrift* 47 (1910): pp. 1–78; Francesco Ruffini, *Studi sui Riformatori Italiani*, ed. by Arnalda Bertola et al. (Turin, 1955), pp. 165–361 (reprinted from several installments in *Ricerche Religiose*, vols. 8 [1932] and 9 [1933]).

[4] Johannis Calvin, *Opera omnia* (hereafter *OC*), 59 vols. (Braunschweig, 1863–1900), 18, no. 3168, especially col. 25.

[5] The evidence for his ethnic Jewish antecedents has not yet been published by Italian scholars.

[6] G. H. Williams, "Two Strands in Italian Anabaptism ca. 1550," in *Social History of the Reformation: In Honor of Harold J. Grimm*, ed. by Lawrence P. Buck and Jonathan W. Zophy (Columbus, Ohio, 1972), pp. 156–207. For the ancient Jewish beginnings of the idea of the Messiah ben Joseph, not originally a suffering warrior, see Joseph Heinemann, "The Messiah of Ephraim and the Premature Exodus of Ephraim," with the literature, *Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1975): 1–15.

were on his side, but later he found that Philip Melanchthon and then Henry Bullinger and John Calvin all came around to the view that Christ by office was Mediator in both natures, and that, indeed, Christ was Mediator before the incarnation and that *qua* Mediator he was inferior to the Father, with whom he achieved redemption by suffering through his Person in two natures. Yet Stancaro knew very well that according to the "asymmetric" Christology in Greek Orthodoxy which had been slowly refined after the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the One Person or Hypostasis in Two Natures of Chalcedon had become expressly identified with the Second Hypostasis of the Trinity. Stancaro considered himself faithful to the Greek and Latin fathers — even those antedating Chalcedon, like Cyril of Alexandra and Augustine — and then notably to Peter Lombard, schoolmaster of all schoolmen, who wrote: "Christ can be called Mediator only according to his humanity, not according to his divinity."[7] The problem of Christ the Mediator crested among classical Protestants about 1550. It was particularly acute for Lutherans in Königsberg and Frankfurt, the university cities of Ducal Prussia and the Mark of Brandenburg, respectively, and in the Reformed church of the Commonwealth.

Stancaro had come north prepared to teach Hebrew, and his first employment was as a professor of that subject in Vienna. When his adherence to the Reformation became known, he had to leave his post. Thereafter, he successively published a Hebrew grammar, acquired a doctorate in theology at Basel, and moved on to Cracow, where he was again immediately engaged as a professor of Hebrew at the Jagellonian University. Once his Evangelical views became known to the bishop, however, he was imprisoned at Lipowiec. There he composed, among other pieces, his *L Canones* for the Reformation of the Commonwealth. Peter Negri liberated the Mantuan Hebraist, who was received by the deputy chamberlain Stanislas Lassocki and the poet Andrew Trzecieski, Jr. Stancaro then went straightaway, surely by previous agreement, to Lord Stanislas Matthew Stadnicki in Dubets'ko.[8] Stadnicki had become a "Lutheran" under the influence of Felix Cruciger (Krzyżak, d. 1563) of Shchebreshyn (Szczebrzeszyn) near Kholm (Chełm), pastor of his village of Medvid' (Niedźwiedź). The lord in turn converted the priest of Dubets'ko, Albert of Iłża, forming a congregation there ca. 1546. Stadnicki

[7] *Libri sententiarium*, II, dist. xvii, 7; J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (hereafter *PL*), XXCII, cols. 797f.

[8] Węgierski, *Slavonia Reformata*, p. 228.

became a strong supporter of the Reformed church and, eventually, one of the two major patrons of Stancaro as schismatic.

Stancaro soon left Stadnicki's home for that of Lord Nicholas Oleśnicki, owner of Pińczów. A synod was held in Pińczów in October 1550, which Gregory (Orszak) Orsatius (ca. 1520–ca. 1567) attended, and where Stancaro proposed, as the basis of reformation, the *Reformatio* of Electoral Archbishop Hermann von Wied of Cologne. It was provisionally accepted as the proposal least upsetting to tender consciences.[9] Thereafter Oleśnicki drove the Pauline monks from their church,[10] and made of it the house of worship for the first Reformed congregation in the Commonwealth (25 November 1550), organized under Stancaro. His first Commonwealth patron, Stadnicki, along with those who had helped him escape from Lipowiec, participated in the Lord's Supper, solemnized by the former priest, Jacob Sylvius.

Another protégé of Lord Stadnicki was Martin Krowicki (d. 1572), possibly of Krowicka, near Belz in Ruthenia. Krowicki had upon ordination to the Latin priesthood received two livings, one of which was in Sudova Vyshnya (Sądowa Wisznia); it was there that the dietine of the palatinate of Ruthenia took place in which he participated. In the diocesan synod of Peremyshl' (Przemyśl) of 13 December 1550, Krowicki, having been won over to the views of the Ruthenian Latin-rite priest Stanislas Orzechowski (see below), argued for communion in both kinds for the laity, for optional marriages of priests, and for the validity of Orthodox baptisms. Later, in December 1550, Krowicki became the first Latin-rite priest in the Commonwealth to be married — by a village vicar with the unwitting permission of the rector of Perevors'k (Przeworsk). Afterwards, the stern Latin-rite bishop John Dziaduski of Peremyshl' summoned Krowicki for trial. At this point Lord Stadnicki intervened to protect Krowicki, who later succeeded Stancaro as castle chaplain to Oleśnicki in Pińczów (1551–53) and went on to matriculate at Wittenberg.[11]

[9] Maria Sipayłło, *Akta synodów różnowierczych,* 2 vols. to date (Warsaw, 1966–), 1:2. On Orsatius, rector (*didascalus*) of the first Reformed school in the Commonwealth at Pińczów and translator of postils and part of the Old Testament into the vernacular, see Stanisław Bodniak, "Grzegorz Orszak," *Reformacja w Polsce* 7–8 (1935–36): 1–20; Henryk Barycz, *Polski słownik biograficzny* (hereafter *PSB*), vols. A through O (Cracow, 1935–), 24:260–63. Orszak seems to have been of German ethnic origin.

[10] The Pauline Monks, named after Paul the Hermit of Nitria, had their origin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the eleventh century and in Poland during the time of Louis the Hungarian. Their first cloister in the Commonwealth was on Jasna Góra above Częstochowa. *Podręczna encyklopedia kościelna,* 64 vols. (Warsaw, 1904–1915), 30: 395–404.

[11] Henryk Barycz, "Krowicki," *PSB* 15 (1970):350–53.

A royal edict of 12 December 1550 made it necessary for Stancaro to go to the university at Königsberg. He spent the early spring of 1551 with the Lutheran Lord Andrew Górka, and arrived at the university in May with letters to Duke Albert from Górka and from Queen Isabelle of Hungary-Transylvania. We cannot pursue the controversialist through his argumentation and peregrinations in Ducal Prussia and Brandenburg. When Stancaro reentered the Commonwealth, he went first to Lord Abraham of Zbąszyń (Bentschen), who had Hussite antecedents, and then to Lord Jerome Filipowski of Krzcięcice, who expended some hundred florins in having Stancaro's *L Canones Ecclesiarum Polinicarum Reformationis* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1552) translated and published (Cracow, 1553). A cartful of the publication was drawn to the Reformed synod at Słomniki on 25 November 1554, where, according to a hostile reporter, twelve presbyters and many nobles "elected Stancaro pope, and others they made into bishops, others archdeacons." Because Stancaro had been proscribed by royal decree and because the *Canones* used such expressions as "we ordain, we decree," Stadnicki with others was successful in having the cartful of books burned "out of fear of the king." Nonetheless, the *Canones,* without ascription to Stancaro, were accepted as the new constitutional and sacramental basis of the emerging Reformed church.[12]

Stancaro left the Commonwealth in November 1554 to spend almost five years in Hungary-Transylvania. On his second visit to the region he aroused further controversy within the Lutheran church in Transylvania and found himself opposed on the issue of the Mediator by, among others, Francis Dávid. Stancaro composed a *Collatio,* comparing the doctrine of Melanchthon and his followers, such as Dávid, with that of Arius. As put forth in a parallel column, the position of Arius was drawn from Augustine's *Contra sermonem Arianorum.*[13]

Meanwhile, in the Commonwealth John Łaski had come to head the Reformed church (December 1556 to January 1560), eschewing the title of "superintendent" but acting as "the pope" of Protestantism, according

12 On Stancaro's activity in Great Poland in towns west and north of Poznań, see Hein, *Italienische Protestanten,* p. 80. The hostile account is that of Canon Stanisław Górski of Cracow to Bishop Stanisław Hosius, 6 January 1555; *Epistolae,* 5 vols., ed. by Franz Hipler and Wincenty Zakrewski (Cracow, 1886), 2: no. 1317. This information supplements Sipayłło, *Akta,* 1:2. Only fragments of a single copy of *L Canones* survive. The Polish version was entitled *Porządek naprawienia w kościelech naszych.*

13 Migne, *PL,* 42; Hein, *Italienische Protestanten,* pp. 97–99. A copy of the *Collatio* is in the Staatsarchiv in Zurich. The Transylvanian followers of Melanchthon whom Stancaro had in mind, besides Dávid, were Caspar Helt and Matthias Hebler. Dávid and Helt became Unitarians.

to a hostile observer.[14] During his directorship, of the several lords destined to become prominent in the Stancarist schism, Stadnicki of Dubets'ko first reappears by name in the synodal protocols at the gathering of 9 March 1557 in Krzcięcice (owned by Filipowski). It was Albert of Iłża who was present with papers from Stadnicki, and who explained why, after four years as pastor there, he was leaving Dubets'ko.[15] Jerome Ossoliński, owner of many properties, especially in the Palatinate of Sandomierz, first appeared at the Reformed Synod of Pińczów on 10–17 August 1557.[16] Ossoliński, brother-in-law of Stadnicki and father-in-law of Drohowski (see below), was the spokesman of five lords, including Filipowski. Having long taken an anti-episcopal stance, they now also expressed dislike of ministerial controls. They demanded and were accorded the right of choosing synodal elders from among their own number. The lords also insisted on approving, separately, the *Confessio* of the Czech Brethren, which had been undergoing repeated scrutiny and revision since the arrival of Łaski, as the prospective future basis for the federation of the Czech Brethren, the Lutherans, and the Reformed in the Commonwealth. The ministers who succeeded to Ossoliński's principal seat at Goźlice were Martin Krowicki and Alexander Witrelin.

At the instigation of Rector Orsatius of the School of Pińczów, himself under epistolary pressure from Stancaro, the printer Daniel of Łęczy published the provocative *Collatio* of Stancaro (Pińczów, 1558). At the Synod of Włodzisław of 16–28 June 1559, the printer was disciplined and Stancaro's *Collatio* was burned.[17] The synod asked several lords to assume the costs of printing what would appear as the Berestia (Brest) "Unitarian" Bible of 1563.

Among the lords thus singled out were Jerome Filipowski of Krzcięcice and Stanislas Drohowski (Drohovs'kyi) of Iachmyr (Jaćmierz) near

[14] See my "The Polish-Lithuanian Calvin during the 'Superintendency' of John Łaski, 1556–1560," *John Calvin: Essays in Honor of Ford Lewis Battles*, ed. by Brian Gerrish (Pittsburgh: Pickwick Press, forthcoming), chap. 8. Łaski never assumed the title of superintendent; in the protocols of the synods, however, he was always listed before the superintendent and once as *reverendus pater*. Sipayłło, *Acta*, 1:304; Halina Kowalska, *Działalność reformatorska Jana Łaskiego w Polsce, 1556–1560* (Wrocław, etc., 1969). For the hostile characterization of Łaski, see Jan Przerembski, bishop-elect of Kholm, to Hosius, Vilnius, 4 November 1557, in Hosius, *Epistolae*, no. 1872, p. 911.

[15] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 1:175.

[16] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 1:216–22; *PSB* 24 (1979):396–99.

[17] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 1:309. Hosius refers to this: see his *Opera*, vol. 2 (Cologne, 1584), p. 655; and also Francesco Lismanino to the Zurichers, September 1559, in Theodor Wotschke, *Der Briefwechsel der Schweizer mit den Polen* (Leipzig, 1908), no. 174, p. 96.

Sianik (Sanok). We have already noted that the former took Stancaro in in 1553; the latter was another supporter of Stancaro in the formal schism. Stanislas (1529–1583) was brother of Bishop John (1505–1557) Drohowski of Cujavia.[18] They were sons of John Parys Drohowski and Catherine Orzechowska (baptized into the Greek Orthodox Church). After having studied in Wittenberg and Padua, Stanislas returned to the Commonwealth to become secretary to Sigismund Augustus. Through contacts in Germany Stanislas became a collector of Polish and Greek manuscripts for the Magdeburg centuriator Matthias Flacius Illyricus. In 1559 Stanislas Drohowski established a Reformed congregation at his seat, with Stanislas of Żywiec as pastor. Excommunicated by the Latin bishop of Peremyshl' in 1559, Drohowski would later become castellan in that city (1574).

THE STANCARIST FACTION IN THE SYNOD, 1559–1561

In May 1559 Stancaro entered the Commonwealth for the third and last time, going directly to Lord Oleśnicki at Pińczów. He appeared in his own defense at the Synod of Pińczów, 7/20 August 1559. The items on the agenda were: (1) the proposed condemnation of Stancaro as a Nestorian, and (2) the appeal of Ossoliński, with his pastor Alexander Witrelin, and Drohowski, with his pastor Stanislas, and other lords and pastors to allow for a debate. Stancaro had gathered works of the Fathers in the chamber of the former Pauline cloister for debate. Łaski, supported by the other clerical leaders, informed the synod that Stancaro was guilty of heresy, that Lord Oleśnicki should send him away, and that they would be committing the crime of lese-majesty if they presumed to debate dogma without royal approval. Łaski also maintained that such a discussion would jeopardize the Reformed participants in the national reform council promised by the king at the Diet of Pitorków (1555), but that they would freely dispute with Stancaro if the king granted permission.

The synod proceeded to draw up a lost *Confessio (longa)* of 19 August and the *Confessio (parva) de Mediatore generis humani* (Pińczów, 10 August 1559). The latter represents the reworking by Peter Statorius, teacher in the school at Pińczów, of the work of Caspar Helt of Transylvania and of Melanchthon against Stancaro (Wittenberg, 1555). The *Confessio parva* gave prominence to the threefold office of Christ in

[18] On both, see *PSB* 5 (1939–46):380–82, 388; also see the entry "Jaćmierz," in *Słownik Geograficzny* (hereafter *SG*), 15 vols. (Warsaw, 1880–1906), 3:358; Wotschke, "Francesco Stancaro," p. 141; Sipayłło, *Akta*, 1, s.n.

dealing with him as the Mediator in the office of Prophet, Priest, and King. During the important deliberations, despite the stricture of Łaski, Stancaro was so loud in his raving that he could be overheard, giving Statorius the opportunity to write Calvin all about it.[19]

Stancaro withdrew to Dubets'ko under the protection of Lord Stadnicki, where he wrote the tract "De officiis Mediatoris." An indication of the extent of sympathy many had for the position, if not the person, of Stancaro is that the compiler of the official *Confessio*, Statorius, was charged at the gathering at Pińczów (20 November 1559) with having opposed the invocation of the Holy Spirit, whereupon he was required to draw up a statement of faith in which, among other things, he abjured the "blasphemy of Stancaro."[20] Yet Stancaro himself was present at the full synod two days later, where his view on the Mediator was the center of the discussion. And he could have agreed with, although he was not asked to sign, the *Responsio apologetica* of the synod, drawn up against Lord Remigian Chełmski, defending the invocation of the Holy Spirit.[21]

Łaski died in Pińczów on 6 January 1560. While awaiting the arrival of distant representatives for his burial, the leadership convened a synod there from January 13 to 16, at which the principal business on the first day was to examine carefully their *Confessio de Mediatore*. On the following day a letter was read from Lord Stadnicki, asking for a new minister: whether at Dubets'ko or at Medvid', where Sarnicki was pastor, is not clear.[22] At Dubets'ko, a certain Caspar had succeeded (ca. 1558) Albert of Iłża. Most of the day was taken up with the problem of the

[19] Statorius to Calvin, 20 August 1559, *OC*, vol. 17, no. 3098, col. 601, for "ad ravim." The protocol of the synod is for August 7 only: Sipayłło, *Akta*, 1:310–12, and 2:1, no. 3. However, the proceedings must have been protracted. The synod's very important surviving *Confessio*, structured in terms of the threefold office of Christ, was published by Hein, *Italienische Protestanten*, suppl. 2, with a German translation, pp. 101–104. In a letter of 1 September 1559, Francesco Lismanino told the Zurichers that Stancaro was a Nestorian because he divided Christ's flesh from the Word and placed the mediatorial reconciliation in the human nature alone. Wotschke, *Briefwechsel*, no. 174, pp. 95–97.

[20] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 1:313ff.

[21] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 1:315–18. Since Stancaro preferred the invocation of the Triune God as One to any of the Persons separately, it is more probable that Chełmski and Statorius were influenced by Biandrata, who had singled out the Third Person for non-invocation. Cf. Stanisław Lubieniecki, *Historia Reformationis Polonicae* (Amsterdam, 1685; facsimile ed., Warsaw, 1971), pp. 208–211.

[22] The regnant interpretation of the request is that Stanisław M. Stadnicki intended to be rid of Sarnicki at Niedźwiedź, but see fn. 23 below on Casper: Sipayłło, *Akta*, 1:256. Sarnicki complained of his rough treatment by a Lord Stadnicki at Niedźwiedź without giving the lord's Christian name, which could well have been Mikołaj. Sipayłło, *Acta*, 2:2, 33, 42; and below at fn. 27.

Mediator, and a formulation by Sarnicki in opposition to Stancaro gained majority acceptance. Yet it was asserted that Stancaro had suffered injury for not having been permitted to participate in a public debate in synod on the Mediator problem. Superintendent Felix Cruciger denied this in the name of the *seniores* (clerical and lay), and proceeded to promise Stancaro the privilege of defending himself in a written statement. Out of deference to the judgments against Stancaro of the most learned divines of Germany and Switzerland, it would not be permissible, however, "to descend to debate." The majority also demanded of Orsatius that he renounce his tendency to favor Stancaro. To this Orsatius responded: "I, since I am a disciple of Stancaro, have written with Christopher Przechadzka [of Lviv] our confession, which I should like to have read by me in the face of the assembly of ministers." The Stancarist Christopher of Lviv, with the sobriquet *Peripateticus,* would appear to have had conspicuous training in Aristotelianism. Superintendent Cruciger responded that there was no need for such a reading, since the church was united on the Mediator matter, but if he should wish to be instructed further, he could submit the confession to the church's judgment. An alumnus of the Jagellonian University and an advanced Hebrew student of Stancaro, already commissioned to help translate the Bible from the original languages into Polish, Orsatius said that he nevertheless wished to present the confession of faith. This boldness did not deter the synod from urging him and the other two translators from getting on with the work of producing the Brest Bible. The problem of whether Christ mediated in both natures by office and therefore, according to the Stancarists, was inferior to the Father in his *divine nature,* or whether Christ mediated in his human nature only, was still before the synod on the last day. Besides Orsatius and Przechadzka, there were two other holdouts, namely, Martin of Lublin, pastor of Włodzisław, and Erasmus Gliczner, pastor of Chmielnik (west of Sandomierz). Martin remained favorable to Stancaro, and he eventually became minister in Dubets'ko. Gliczner mustered the strength, amidst an overwhelming majority, to say that he abominated the error of Stancaro but nevertheless had his doubts.[23]

Because Pińczów was in the grip of winter, the solemn sepulture of Łaski was postponed until more personages got word of his death. Thus, there was still time for a district synod at Bychawa (near Lublin) to take place, on 14 January 1560,[24] at which the notables present included Lord

23 Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:1–6.
24 Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:7.

Nicholas Stadnicki. It was this synod's decision to send two ministers into Ruthenia (*do Rusi*) at the church's cost to help in the reformation of churches breaking away from Rome and Kiev, namely, those of Pastor Stanislas Wardęski of Bychawa and Pastor Nicholas Zhytno (Żytno) in the village of Pustotiv (Pustotew), in the Land of Kholm. On 21 May 1560, Wardęski, in his capacity as "superintendent of the Reformed churches in Ruthenia (*Russia*)," wrote to Calvin asking him to send ministers and teachers "trained in the sacred languages and in pure theology," who, by turning to Greek with an appropriate *double-entendre,* could "direct a straight path (*orthotomein*) for the Word of Truth." It is clear from the letter that Wardęski had in mind the churches and people of the Byzantine-rite, as well as the Polish gentry settled on estates among them.[25]

By January 29 all who could be expected were gathered in Pińczów for the funeral of Łaski, which also occasioned still another, very large synod, 29 January to 2 February 1560.[26] On the first day Łaski was laid to rest to the accompaniment of orations in Latin by Sarnicki, Statorius, and Cruciger. On the second day, much to his discredit, Orsatius said in synod that the lips of Łaski had congealed as if in divine disapprobation of his opposition to Stancaro. The whole synod stood in suspense for the coffin to be opened to prove the falsity of the claim and interpretation.[27] It was agreed to pay Orsatius for his work on the translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Polish, but to dismiss him from further translation with a separation bonus of twenty marks.

At the next synod in Pińczów, 5 to 9 May 1560,[28] which included substantial representation from the churches of Lithuania, Podlachia, and Samogitia, George Biandrata, physician and *archpresbyterus* in high repute locally (despite Calvin's numerous attempts to expose his "tritheism," or non-philosophical concept of the Trinity based upon the acceptance of the Apostles' Creed alone and Scripture), urged the synod to demand of the owner of Pińczów, Lord Oleśnicki, that he oblige Orsatius to leave the school and town altogether. The suggestion was received favorably. Martin of Lublin was charged with Stancarism and was closely questioned.

Because of his preeminent Hebrew scholarship, Orsatius was given another chance to recant. But he reaffirmed his conviction that "Jesus

25 *OC,* vol. 18, no. 3217.
26 Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:8–12.
27 Wotschke, *Briefwechsel,* no. 184, pp. 100–102.
28 Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:21–26.

Christ the Son of God was Mediator in his human nature only." He was thereupon solemnly excommunicated as "a Nestorian Stancarist," and the company asked God the Father that "He bring down this miserable one that His Church might be saved from this kind of pestiferous men." It had earlier been agreed that Palatine Nicholas IV Radvila (Radziwiłł) of Vilnius be asked to defray the expenses of the publication of the Brest Bible on which Orsatius and his fellow teachers had been at work.

Before the excommunication of Orsatius, the synod decided to issue a warning to Palatine Nicholas Sieniawski of Ruthenia, captain of Halych, Bar, and Kolomyia, and his minister Thomas Chodowski of another Medvid' (Niedźwiedź) in the region of Drohobych. They were to beware of a "fanatic" Peter Gonesius, a proto-Unitarian, lest the flocks of Christ be infested with error. The Calvinist historian Andrew Węgierski put the situation thus: "Francis Stancaro of Mantua, by his disputations concerning Christ the Mediator, provided the occasion, by which the new Arians have arisen in Poland [i.e., the Commonwealth]."[29]

To defend Martin of Lublin, Andrew Frycz Modrzewski, an ally of Stancaro, had written in April 1560 at Wolbórz near Piotrków his first *Liber de Mediatore,* dedicating it to the forthcoming Synod of Włodzisław.[30] At the gathering of seniors in Włodzisław that met on 28 May 1560,[31] Martin of Lublin reappeared, on probation although still minister of the town's church. During a close examination he made a useful distinction in answering one question: "I believe that the Son of God has two natures and that he is Mediator with the Father according to the divine nature as Author, but only Executor according to the human nature." In reply to further questions he acknowledged (with Stancaro): "I believe that the Son of God is Mediator even to himself, to the Father, and the Holy Spirit, because the operations of the Trinity are indivisible."[32] Thereupon he was relieved of his office for the heresy of Nestorianism. Martin appealed to the owner of the town and church, Lord John Włodzisławski-Lanckoroński, and, in fact, remained in office.

On 3 June 1560, at Dubets'ko, Christopher Przechadzka of Lviv finished his *Okazanie* (Pińczów, 1560) in defense of the Stancarist position and dedicated it to Stadnicki. On June 9, in Geneva, Calvin finished *Responsum ad fratres Polonos ad refutandum errorem Stancari,* the first of his two major tracts against Stancaro. Presumably it was in Peremyshl'

29 Węgierski, *Libri,* p. 508.
30 *Opera omnia,* 5 vols., ed. by Kazimierz Kumaniecki (Warsaw, 1953–60), 4:11–18.
31 Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:21–26.
32 This is based on Augustine's *De Trinitate,* 1:4, 7 and 5, 8.

that Orzechowski composed against "the Nestorian Stancarists" (with special reference to Stancaro's "De officiis mediatoris") and against "the Arian Pinczovians" (using Stancaro's term for Lismanino and Statorius) the imprint *De Jesu Christo Mediatore seu de Ecclesia Christiana* (1560).[33]

The status of Martin of Lublin was the first order of business at the synodal assembly that met in Włodzisław on 12 June 1560.[34] Here Martin answered to close questioning in such a way as to substantiate Węgierski's observation that Stancarism could — or, in this case, did — lead to a kind of Unitarianism. For, responding to queries in more direct a fashion than anything Stancaro himself would have said, Martin said he could not make any distinction between the Persons, their properties, and the alleged common Essence. Accordingly, he thought that the plenitude of God — namely, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit — was in Christ, and that the Son did not descend from heaven, but that God had sent his only begotten son (John 4:10) in the sense that a man, not a divine son, was born from the womb of Mary. This son of Mary emptied himself according to his humanity "for our redemption," not according to his divinity (Phil. 2:7). Martin wanted clerical *seniores* to judge his case; but the ministers saw the matter as so clearly one of confused Sabellianism and Nestorianism that they permitted no further discussion. They declared him a heretic, and a pastoral replacement was made for his church. Martin, for his part, said he would betake himself to Stancaro in Dubets'ko.

In July 1560, Stancaro took advantage of the presence of a new papal nuncio to present himself in Cracow to Bernard Bongiovanni, and to purport agreement with Catholics in all but one (unidentified) article.[35] In the démarche against the majority of the Reformed, Stancaro was unsuccessful in gaining favorable Catholic attention to his church as midway between the Reformed and the Catholic.

It was at this time that the maverick priest, historian, and publicist, Stanislas Orzechowski (Orikhivs'kyi) (1513–1567), *gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus,* became involved in the debates about Stancaro's views. Born in Peremyshl' or nearby, on his mother's side a grandson of a

[33] The imprint has been lost. For Calvin's work, see *OC*, vol. 9, cols. 333–42. For Orzechowski's work against Stancaro's, see the annotated version of Orzechowski's Polish letter in his *Wybór pism*, p. 189, fns. 16ff.

[34] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:27ff.

[35] Letter of Sebastian Pech, bookdealer and former helper of Łaski, to Calvin, 13 September 1560; *OC*, vol. 18, no 3245. Although "the one article" was probably the propriety of clerical marriage, Stancaro's whole well-wrought system of theology and polity was "low Church" Catholicism without a pope.

Ruthenian Orthodox priest, Orzechowski had studied at Cracow, Vienna, Padua, Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Bologna. A Latin-rite priest at his father's bidding, he had defended the validity of Orthodox baptism (1544) and espoused priestly marriage (1547). In 1551, following Krowicki, he, too, was married, the ceremony performed by the former priest Martin Cruciger (brother of Felix). He defended his marriage's solemnization by a Calvinist, while still regarding himself as a Catholic. His action and defense became a *cause célèbre,* requiring the attention of the Diet. He appealed to Rome. Several times he threatened to revert to or to espouse Orthodoxy, and he wrote powerfully against usurpations in Rome (1556). After being suspended from priestly duties, he finally submitted to Rome and became a notable defender of the Commonwealth constitution of mixed polity and of Tridentine Catholicism. On 3 July 1560, with temperamental fury, Orzechowski in Peremyshl' urged Stancaro to submit to the authority of St. Peter's successor, as he had done. To this appeal Stancaro in due course replied, "The Papists are [indeed] bad, the Lutherans are worse, the Swiss and the Sabaudians [the Reformed Waldensians of Savoy] are the worst of all,"[36] and continued to fight the alleged Arianism of the bulk of the Commonwealth Reformed and of their Helvetian counselors. On the same day that Orzechowski wrote from Peremyshl' to Stancaro, he also wrote to Lord Nicholas Stadnicki of [Stary] Żmigród *about* Stancaro. It seems Nicholas and a Stanislas of Dubets'ko were sons of Catharine Tarnowska and Andrew Stadnicki, castellan of Sianik and owner of Nowy Żmigród. Together or successively the sons owned Medvid', where Stanislas Sarnicki had been pastor. In a second letter, of July 6, Orzechowski said that Nicholas went with Stancaro to Medvid' to oppose Sarnicki's charges that Stancaro erred as a Nestorian, that Sarnicki and his ilk erred as Eutychians in Christology and as Arians in Triadology, and that Lord Nicholas himself should return to the Roman fold.[37]

Stancaro's ally, Modrzewski, after visiting Castellan Ossoliński of Sandomierz, dedicated to him a second *liber,* basically supporting Stancaro

[36] Letter of Pech; *OC,* vol. 18, col. 183.
On Orzechowski, see *PSB* 24 (1979):287–92; Hanna Świderska, "Stanisław Orzechowski: The Uneasy Years, 1550–1559," *Polish Review* 8, no. 3 (1963):1–45; Józef Korzeniowski, ed., *Orichoviana: Opera inedita et epistulae Stanislae Orzechowski, 1543–1566,* vol. 1 (none other printed; Cracow, 1891). Some of these works and others edited earlier appear in whole or in part, with notes, in J. Starnawski, *Wybór pism* (Warsaw, 1972).

[37] Korzeniowski, ed., *Orichoviana,* nos. 76–79, pp. 497–510. The letter to Mikołaj Stadnicki in old Polish is reprinted with notes in *Wybór pism,* pp. 187–98.

and enlightening Ossoliński on the issue.[38] He pointed out that the ancient concept of the *communicatio idiomatum*, which had been exclusively christological in application to the exchange of properties of the two natures in Christ, had become enmeshed in the eucharistic controversies among Lutherans explaining the ubiquity of Christ; that in the course of the debate over the Mediator, it had come into its own again, in a christological sense; but that difficulties in mutual understanding had ensued, since the Lutherans and the Reformed differed so widely on the eucharist. Modrzewski urged Lord Ossoliński to bring peace to the Commonwealth and the true church by helping to minimize all differences in the face of the Papists. Like Stancaro and Orzechowski, Modrzewski was almost Erasmian (and patristically Greek) on free will unto salvation. He would later be closely associated with the Unitarian Minor Reformed Church.

In the meantime, on 9 June 1560, Calvin had completed — partly, no doubt, to please John Łużyński — his *Responsum ad Fratres Polonos, quomodo Mediator sit Christus ad refutandum Stancari errorem.* There Calvin stated:

> [W]e [in Switzerland] maintain . . . that the name of Mediator suits Christ, not only by the fact that he put on flesh, or that he took the office of reconciling the human race to God, but *from the beginning of creation* he already was Mediator, for he was always head of the church [of the elect] and had primacy over the angels, and was the firstborn of every creature (Eph. 1:22; Col. 1:15, 3:10).[39]

On 1 August 1560, Calvin dedicated the second edition of his *Commentary on Acts* to Palatine Radvila, writing a letter which opposed Stancaro and Biandrata with angry perceptiveness:

> Since we will never lack plagues of this kind [of theological vagaries], and since Satan will never cease bringing forward into the front line of battle those champions who are devoted to him to throw the foremost ranks of the Gospel into disorder, we must persevere and stand ready for battle.[40]

The dedication ranked the medical *archepresbyterus* Biandrata, beloved by most Reformed Poles, on a level lower than that of their avowed enemy, Stancaro, but placed both among the minions of Satan. The Reformed in the Commonwealth were disconcerted. The *Responsum* would surely be no help to persons like Lismanino and Biandrata, who were trying to escape the ancient and ominous charge of "Arianism" — a charge which Stancaro would now raise against Calvin himself and the

[38] Entitled *De Mediatore*, it was dated 12 September 1560. *Opera*, 4:19–30.
[39] *OC*, vol. 9, col. 33–42.
[40] *OC*, vol. 18, no. 3232.

rest, for he could no longer say that their writings were being locally fabricated or tendentiously edited.

A very large general synod took place in Książ from 13 to 19 September 1560.[41] Among its clerical participants were Francis Lismanino, in charge, Alexander Witrelin of Goźlice, Stanislas Chrząstowski, pastor in Iazlovets' (Jazłowiec) and eventually superintendent for Podolia; Stanislas Wardęski, pastor in Bychawa and superintendent of Ruthenia, and the poet and trilinguist, Andrew Trzecieski, who replaced Orsatius on the Bible translation committee. Among the noble patrons were Lord Kotnicki of Podolia, who came the furthest distance from the east, and, though not present, Lord George Jazłowiecki (1510–1575), the patron of the above-mentioned Chrząstowski.[42] Jazłowiecki founded a Reformed congregation in Iazlovets' on the Ol'khovets' (Olchowiec) River in Podolia in 1548, converting the priest of St. Mary Magdalene's into his Reformed pastor. In 1556 he had converted the Dominican cloister in Chervonohorod (Czerwonogród) on the Dniester River, also in Podolia, into a Reformed church. Later he would become palatine of Ruthenia and Grand Hetman of the Crown. Cruciger was elected general superintendent, with Lismanino and Biandrata as coadjutors. The general synod was divided more carefully into districts. Stanislas Chrząstowski, superintendent of Ruthenia, called for the appointment of a superintendent for Podolia, and took the occasion to condemn as abomination "the doctrine of Stancaro and Gonesius," although he would end up a repentant Stancarist. Several others also spoke out against Stancaro.

The Synod of Książ received the *Responsum* of Calvin against Stancaro.[43] The problem of Stancarism had been at the fore, indeed, from the opening session which restated the "common belief in Christ the Mediator." Yet, during this very synod it developed that some still truly believed that the writing of the Swiss divines against Stancaro were local falsifications. Although Lord Ossoliński had professed to agree with his pastor Witrelin against Stancarism, he later made the proposal, which carried, that there be an interim of four months during which there would be no discussion of the Mediator or of Stancaro. Meantime, it was to be ascertained without doubt what the Swiss divines really held about the man and his doctrine, and to this end the confession of the Commonwealth's church, *De Mediatore*, was to be sent abroad along with the writings of

[41] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:32–68.
[42] *PBS* 11 (1964): 121–23; *SG* 3:538ff.
[43] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:38.

Stancaro. On the synod's opening day, September 13, Sebastian Pech, who had delivered Calvin's *Commentary* and letter against Biandrata and Stancaro in Vilnius on August 29, reported to Calvin on the influence of Biandrata in the church of the Commonwealth, and said that questions about the invocation of the Holy Spirit and about Christology were being raised everywhere.[44]

On 4 December 1560 Stancaro wrote to Wolfgang Musculus, Peter Martyr, Calvin, and Bullinger, informing them of the dangerous spread of "the Arian and the Eutychian heresy" in the Commonwealth. He said that Christopher of Lviv would explain his master's position in full; nevertheless, he went on to argue it himself, while still hoping that the Swiss divines, once alerted, would agree with him. Stancaro also said that the Pinczovian heresies had spread into Ruthenia.[45] On December 11 Lord Stadnicki wrote from Dubets'ko to Calvin alone, commending his protégé.[46] He said that only Stancaro could protect the Reformed church in the Commonwealth from moving toward three Gods, three wills, and three operations while rejecting the creed of Nicaea and calling that of Athanasius *Sathanasium*.[47]

THE STANCARIST FACTION CREATES ITS SEPARATE SYNOD AND SCHOOL AT DUBETS'KO, 1561–1570

At the Synod of Pińczów of 25 to 30 January 1561,[48] the official acts of the Reformed church of the Commonwealth first mentioned the school in Dubets'ko. The school, which at one point employed five teachers of fine arts and theology, was headed by the Hebraist Orsatius and had three hundred students, "almost all drawn from the equestrian order and ... [it] would continue to the death of Stadnicki" (1563).[49] It is likely that the school continued to function until 1570,[50] as a rival to the school of

44 *OC*, vol. 18, no. 3245.
45 *OC*, vol. 18, no. 3288.
46 *OC*, vol. 18, no. 3290.
47 The charge was denied by Sarnicki at the synod held in Włodzisław, 21 to 25 September 1561: Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:123.
48 Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:72–91.
49 Węgierski, *Slavonia Reformata*, p. 126.
50 Węgierski is not always accurate. The departure of Stancaro would not have so quickly dissolved an institution of such size. Stanisław M. Stadnicki had at least two sons: Andrzej and Stanisław, the "Devil of Lantsut" (Łancut), ca. 1551–1610. Andrzej became a Catholic. In 1588 he altered services in the parish church which then stood beneath the castle, whose patrons were Mikołaj, Stanisław, and Marcin, presumably sons of Andrzej of Nowy Żmigrod. See fn. 37 above, and *SG*, vol. 2, col. 188A.

Pińczów. Martin of Lublin was probably one of the teachers at Dubets'ko, and was certainly minister of the local church. Stancaro, for as long as he was associated with the school, was probably general overseer as well as teacher of Hebrew and theology.

The synod agreed that since Stancaro had not met its previous conditions — that is, had not kept silent on the mediator principle until position papers were sent to the Swiss, but had, instead, sent his personal emissary, Christopher of Lviv — they were now free to act definitely. The participants summarized their own view on the Mediator in light of their earlier *Confessio de Mediatore* and of the responses from Geneva, Basel, and Strassburg:

> Christ according to each nature divine and human is from eternity the High Pontifex and Mediator between God and men . . . and that he is therefore called Priest unto eternity, because he is not simply appointed from among men (*assumptus ex hominibus*) [like the High Priest of the Temple; cf. Heb. 5: 1] but *by a decree of the Father* assumed (*assumpsit*) man for the expiation of sins.

When someone asked why Stancaro should be condemned once again, the answer was that it was for the good of "our churches, in order that he not turmoil them further nor teach them to pray to a Jewish Messiah and that his Mediator is like that whom the Jews, charmed by the Devil, await." The synod went on to condemn Orsatius and Martin of Lublin as heretical "pseudopastors" and warned lords and ministers that they should refrain from sending their youths to the school at Dubets'ko lest they be infected with the Stancarist doctrine.

Clearly, Stancarism did remain a considerable threat to the main body of the Reformed church, which still embraced pastors and lords who would follow Biandrata and Lismanino into the Minor Reformed synodal schism or church (1565–1660). At this synod Sarnicki and Sylvius initiated an action against foreign pastors for lording it over native pastors; the action also favored a confession of faith from every new immigrant.[51]

In Geneva, Stancaro's emissary, Christopher of Lviv, wrote to Calvin, 25 February 1561, enclosing his own *Okazanie*, dedicated to Stancaro.[52] The letter was replete with patristic and conciliar citations supporting Stancaro's view on the Mediator and stressing particularly the Ecumenical Councils V and VI. On 26 February 1561 Calvin wrote to Stadnicki against both Biandrata and Stancaro.[53] In March he and the ministers of

51 Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:73; Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, "Jakub Sylwiusz a rozłam w zborze małopolskim," *Reformacja w Polsce* 9–10 (1937–39): 28–63.

52 *OC*, vol. 18, no. 3345. The only copy of the *Okazanie* is in the Czartoryski Library, Cracow.

53 *OC*, vol. 18, no. 3347.

Geneva published their definitive *Responsio ad nobiles Polonos et Franciscum Stancarum,* which was intended to eliminate some of the ambiguities of the earlier *Responsum.* The tone of the second *Responsio* was magistrally confident and apolemical. It acknowledged that many Fathers, including Augustine, spoke of Christ as Mediator in his human nature — a circumspection due to the protracted struggle with Arian subordination of the Logos/Son to the Father — but emphasized that they also spoke otherwise. Although the terms, *Logos, Son, Christ* appeared, the usage was almost interchangeable, without any suggestion of the ancient philosophical connotation of *Logos.* Christ was considered Mediator before the incarnation with functions other than the sacrifice on Calvary. The Genevese did concede to the Stancarists that Christ mediated with God in Three Persons, but maintained that it is better to hold with Scripture that in the divine economy the Son mediated with the Father and with Augustine that "humanity apart from divinity is not mediatrix, and the divinity apart from the humanity is not mediatrix." This concession, subordinating Christ as Mediator to God the Father, allowed many left-wing Pinczovians to feel that they could be faithfully Calvinian and yet escape the local Stancarist charge of being arch-heretically Arian by becoming even more scriptural, retaining only the Apostles' Creed.[54]

At about this time Calvin responded to Stancaro directly in an undated letter, upbraiding him for comparing the recently deceased Melanchthon (1560) with Arius, for he had a letter from Melanchthon, privately congratulating him on "the repression" of the blasphemies of "Arian" Michael Servetus.[55]

In June 1561, at Dubets'ko, Stancaro prepared his "De Trinitate et incarnatione" against Calvin and an "Admonitio" for the readers of the books of Calvin with reference, in part, to the above noted *Responsum* and the *Responsio.* In the foreword to "De Trinitate" he declared that Calvin had driven him, a paralytic, and his family from the Kingdom of Poland into Ruthenia and had called him many things, including a "Nestorian, murderer, and circumcised Jew." On the two basic theological issues he denied any communication or exchange of the divine and human properties in Christ and, appealing to Augustine's *Ennarationes in Psalmos* (29), he again asserted that Christ redeemed by suffering only in his human nature and that the Triune God was the author of salvation through Christ. In August, Lord Nicholas Zborowski arranged a collo-

54 *OC,* vol. 9, cols. 349–58.
55 *OC,* vol. 19, no. 3684. Here Calvin refers to Stancaro's *Collatio.*

quium at his seat in Stobnica in an effort to end the Stancarist schism. Lord Ossoliński was present with his pastor, Witrelin. There Stancaro presented his "Examinatio Pinczovianorum," a critique of the Pinczovian *Confessio de Mediatore* of 1559, in which he pointed out that among the Pinczovians there were three "parties" (*sectae*) on the problem of the Mediator: (1) a small group, represented by an elder visiting Dubets'ko from Lublin, which agreed with the Stancarists; (2) Cruciger and others, who held that the Son of God is equal to the Father according to his divinity and who therefore accepted the three ancient Creeds (but followed the Helvetians as to the involvement of both natures in the mediation of Christ); (3) Sarnicki, Biandrata, Lismanino, and George Negri, who made Christ "less than the Father and rejected the creeds of Nicaea and Athanasius and call that of Athanasius: *Sathanasium*."[56]

In the Synod of Włodzisław of 21 to 25 September 1561 there was much discussion of the Stancarists and their protector Stadnicki. It was decided that, after due warning, the Stancarists should be excommunicated by two plenipotentiaries of the synod to be sent to Dubets'ko. However, there was considerable defense of Stadnicki as not being heretical because he held to the three ancient Creeds (as if Stancaro did not).[57]

In the meantime the uxorious Latin-rite Ruthenian, Orzechowski, using arguments similar to those of Modrzewski and now defending the papacy, had become the fiercest opponent of Stancaro. Already in 1560 he had composed and published his *Chimaera: de Stancari funesta in Regno Poloniae secta* (Cracow, 1562). Having also published *Confessio catholicae fidei* (Cracow, 1561; published in Polish the following year), Orzechowski regarded himself as the handsome Bellerphontes who was summoned by Providence to slay the triple-bodied monster Stancaro, "lion before, serpent behind, she-goat in the middle." It was in this book, in which he appealed to the king for coercion, that Orzechowski adumbrated his theory of the perfection of the constitution of the multiethnic Commonwealth and in so doing became the forerunner of Polish Messianism. To the Ruthenian publicist, Stancaro was an alien intruder. Already on 15 June 1561 Orzechowski had also written to Andrew Przecławski, scholasticus of Cracow, specifying why both the Pinczovians and the Stancarists were wrong. Lismanino and Statorius, with their Swiss and Saxon advisors, improperly held that the redeemer Son

[56] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:113. The pre-publication tracts of Stancaro are mentioned with some citation from the published text by Wotschke, *Briefwechsel*, p. 126, fn. 3; p. 156, fn. 2; p. 129, fn. 1; see also Hein, *Italienische Protestanten*, p. 95.
[57] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:115–23, especially 118, 120ff.

could be called Christ before the incarnation. He cited the words of the angels to be shepherds, Luke 2:11: "quia natus est vobis hodie salvator, qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David." And he went on to correct the Pinczovians: "Therefore not before he was born in the city of David was Christ both Savior and Mediator, who before he was incarnate did not exist as Mediator of God and men." According to Orzechowski, the Stancarists did not understand that once the Word, and not the Triune God, was incarnate, the resultant Jesus (Christ) of Bethlehem and Nazareth became the Mediator in the interworking of the divine and human nature. In John 14:6 Christ says, "I am the way, the truth, and the life," which meant that in his human nature Christ was the way and in his divine nature the truth leading to life eternal. Orzechowski quoted approvingly, unidentified, the passage in Augustine used by Calvin in the *Responsio*: "humanity apart from divinity is not mediatrix. . . ." Thus although he did not make use of the Protestant terminology of Christ's person and three offices common to Calvin, Lismanino, and Stancaro, nor even of the patristic term *communicatio idiomatum,* Orzechowski did argue against Stancaro that once the Logos was made flesh, Jesus was the Mediator in both his divinity and humanity.[58]

The manuscript of "Chimaera," the letter just characterized, and the *Confessio fidei* all belonged to the years 1560 and 1561. Then on 26 July 1562, referring to these three works as being in print, Orzechowski, while at the seat of the land judge of Peremyshl', Valentine Orzechowski, composed a letter in Latin to Palatine Nicholas IV of Vilnius, the final sponsor of the Berestia Bible. This he did in the presence of a large group of lords equally angry, including Palatine Spytek Jordan of Cracow and Palatine John Starzechowski of Podolia. Known in the literature as *Epistola ad Radvilam* (Cracow, 1562),[59] the letter ended with twenty-four articles of "admonition" in Polish, of which the most striking is the claim, presumably inserted by the co-signatories, that "the *Chimaera* of Stanislas Orzechowski has been sent of God to Poland for the Polish king as a prophecy" and that the statute of King Ladislas Jagiełło against heresy should be made applicable alike to "Stancaro, Lismanino, Statorius, Blandrata, Krowicki, Gregory [Paul], Sarnicki, Cruciger [called after his birthplace], [Christopher] Przechadski: Arians and Nestorians." Notably, the list begins and ends with a Stancarist, while orthodox and incipient anti-Calvinist Pinczovians are mingled in between. The Ad-

58 To Przecławski, in Korzeniowski, ed., *Orichioviana,* no. 85, pp. 523–27.
59 Korzeniowski, ed., *Orichioviana,* no. 87, pp. 530–39.

monitors follow Orzechowski in designating both types of Pinczovians by Stancaro's term "Arians," while the Stancarists, in turn, received from Orzechowski the same appellation which the Pinczovians used.

In the same year that the *Epistola ad Radvilam* was published, Stancaro gathered together several manuscripts dating from 1559 to 1561 and published them as *De Trinitate et Incarnatione atque Mediatore* (Cracow, 1562), directed against the Helvetians and the Pinczovians.

Thus altogether four groups of the Reformed and two detached publicists were denouncing each other as Arians, to their mutual confusion. The four groups were the Swiss divines, the Pinczovians of the Creed of Nicaea, the Pinczovians of the Apostles' Creed only, and the Stancarists. The two publicists, allies on the issue of the Mediator, were Modrzewski, who would end up with the radical Pinczovians (Unitarians), and Orzechowski, the married Latin priest of Byzantine-rite origins and sympathies. None of the groups was even close to the ancient Arius on the issue of Christ the Mediator. It is little wonder that they were confused and mutually embittered, for they were trying to solve the problem of Chalcedon (Christology) with the terminology and heresiology of Nicaea (Triadology). In terminology Stancaro was closer than Calvin to the received view (Catholic and Orthodox) on the Mediator. But Stancaro's charge of Arianism against Calvin and the Pinczovians would irreparably divide the Reformed church of the Commonwealth, even after he and his followers, themselves a decade in schism, rejoined the Major Reformed in communion with Geneva.

A further indication of the effect of the Stancarist charge of Arianism against the Reformed in Little Poland, Ruthenia, and Podolia was a joint letter by Pastor Stanislas Paklepka of Lublin, who signed himself as superintendent; Martin Krowicki, signed as superintendent of Podolia; and Nicholas Zhytno, signed as superintendent "of the churches of Kholm in Ruthenia." The letter was sent in November 1562 to the divines in Zurich.[60] In it the superintendents refer to: (1) the recently published *De Trinitate et Mediatore* of Stancaro, supported by "not few nor vulgar *fautores*"; (2) Stancaro's charge of Arianism, which was dividing the Pinczovians into two groups; (3) their own acceptance of the Apostles' Creed as scripturally revealed truth and of the Nicene Creed as properly condemning Arius, but their rejection of the Athanasian as papist and thus of wholly philosophical, hence human, invention; (4) their dislike of the term "Trinity" as not scriptural and misused by Stancaro; (5) their

[60] Wotschke, *Briefwechsel*, no. 263, pp. 155–63.

belief in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit in simple trust, without any probing into the mystery veiled forever from them and others; (6) their belief "that the Word was made flesh or the Son of God man, not divided but whole, as our Mediator to God the Father, not to God the Trinity according to the humanity, as Stancaro dreams"; and (7) their desire to be confirmed in this confession of faith by the recipients of their long letter.

On 14 December 1562, Sarnicki, writing to John Rokyta of the Czech Brethren, listed ten propositions of the Biandratist faction emerging among the Pinczovians (represented by the foregoing letter from Lublin). Among them were that to believe in "one God in Trinity and a Trinity in unity" was "to have four gods"; that to invoke God without reference to Persons "was to have a Turkish God, a conflated God" and be Stancarist and Jewish; that God the Father is the one God of Israel and the Creator; that the Spirit proceeds from him through the Son," as the Greeks and Ruthenians teach"; that the Father sent the Son and, as the greater, is alone reconciled by the Son.[61]

The noble *fautores* of Stancaro, including John Tarnowski, Stanislas Drohowski, castellan of Peremyshl', Peter Zborowski, and Lord Ossoliński, had in the summer of 1563 arranged for further conciliatory colloquia between Stancaro and selected ministers; in Rzoków (Żoków, owned by Lord John Tarnowski), with Pastor Jacob Sylvius of Oleśnica; in Oleśnica, the same; in Rzoków again, with Pastor Witrelin of Goźlice. Because Witrelin was stubbornly set against Stancaro, the owner of his town and church, Ossoliński, dismissed him.[62]

By this time Stancaro had permanently left Dubets'ko, because of the death of Stadnicki early in 1563 and the threats from the angered lords assembled around Orzechowski. He resettled in Stobnica under the protection of Palatine Martin Zborowski of Cracow, father of Stadnicki's widow, Barbara Zborowska Stadnicka. Her brother, Lord Peter Zborowski (d. 1581), deputy chancellor of the treasury for Sandomierz, continued to work to heal the Stancarist schism. In Cracow, in the palace of Palatine John Firlej of Lublin, there was a harsh colloquy, 2 October 1567, between a haughty Superintendent Sarnicki and a somewhat conciliatory Stancaro, although the latter called the former and his party "trideists." The *Okazanie* of Christopher Przechadzka, who was present, entered into the discussion. Another person present was John Thénaud of

[61] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:324ff.
[62] Sipayłło, *Akta*, 2:153, fn. 2, and 257; Wotschke, "Stancaro," p. 582.

the school of Pińczów. Peter Zborowski, in his new capacity of palatine of Sandomierz, succeeded in having Stancaro ennobled by the king in 1568. Stancaro published his records of the colloquia in Rzoków and Cracow under the title *Libri duo* (Cracow, 1568).[63] The Zurich divine and historian Josiah Simler (d. 1576) tried to appeal to a major patron of Stancarism in Ruthenia and Podolia: he dedicated his *De aeterno Dei Filio* (Zurich, 1568) to Palatine George Jazłowiecki, who had turned his parish priest of Iazlovets' into a Reformed pastor and seen him, Chrząstowski, elevated to the superintendency of the Reformed churches of Podolia.

On 24 March 1570 at Stobnica, under the protection of Lord Peter Zborowski, Stancaro published his *Summa Confessionis fidei* in thirty-eight articles.[64] Both pathos and arrogance color the preface, in which Stancaro refers to several ancient popes and fathers, as well as to the three Lutheran and three Roman divines at the Conference of Regensburg of 1541 (as Stancaro himself was) who had been obliged to set forth their faith before Charles V. Such a crucial moment had now come for him and his "disciples." The articles are, indeed, admirably arranged. The whole gives the impression that Stancaro's ideal Universal church was a congeries of Edwardian (low Anglican) national churches with bishops and priests, Christ as its only Head. The idea of predestination was so muted as to allow for the exercise of free will. On the central issue of the debate with the right-wing Pinczovians, since 1565 reorganized without the proto-Unitarians into the Major Reformed Church, Stancaro was very clear. In article 4, he quoted I Tim. 2:5: "For there is one God, and there is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." He understood God not as the Father alone, but as the Triune Deity. He understood the Mediator as the Word made flesh, as the eternal Son of God become man. Adducing only Augustine among the Fathers this time, he insisted that the humanity of Christ mediates with God, although the initiative for redemption comes from God, "for wherever one Person of the Godhead operates, the Three Persons act." Stancaro concluded that in making Christ the Mediator in both natures, the right-wing Pinczovians divided the Son/Logos from the Father and *ipso facto* became "tritheists," precisely Calvin's appellation for the left-wing Pinczovians who ended up in the Minor Church with only the Apostles' Creed.

[63] Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2: 359–63, representing the section of *Libri duo* on the colloquium in Cracow.

[64] A copy is in the Universitätsbibliothek of Zurich; its preface and article headings, along with further discussion of some articles, are given by Ruffini, *Studi,* pp. 313–25. Hein discusses the booklet (45 pages) and supplies the full text of the fourth article on the Mediator: *Italienische Protestanten,* pp. 90–97, and suppl. 1.

Already by the autumn of 1567 many of the Stancarist congregations had come to desire reunion with the Major Reformed Church.[65] At the general synod of Sandomierz, held 9 to 14 April 1570,[66] the Reformed, the Lutheran, and the Czech Brethren agreed to keep their own confessions, but to construe them as roughly equivalent in a consensus which realized in principle a major goal of Łaski.[67] The three denominations agreed to meet together frequently, to receive observers from other denominations in their several synods, general and local, and to present a common political front. The Major Reformed Church, which had by now broken fully with the Minor church, had previously adopted the Second Helvetian Confession of Bullinger, altered to include material on the eucharist drawn from the Confession of the Czech Brethren. On the central issue that had by now caused the two schisms — Stancarist (1559/61) and proto-Unitarian (1563/65) — the Major Reformed Synod of 1570 declared: "We believe that the Mediator of God and men was the man Jesus Christ, such that we constantly asseverate and do not deny that the whole force and efficacy of the effected mediation proceeded from the divinity of the same Son incarnate, not of the Father incarnate, not of the Holy Spirit incarnate."[68]

At the synod seven Stancarist ministers submitted and variously formulated their understanding of the consensus. The group must have had more members to have posed the threat it did at successive synods. Their identification provides some clue as to the geographical range of the Stancarist Synod at its height. The representation of pastors and lords from Byzantine-rite territories suggests that this church, "halfway between ours and that of the pope," was predominantly Polish and Latin in origin and participation. However, it had spread far to the east in the Commonwealth. Because of the strong emphasis of Stancaro, himself of Jewish origin, on the Old Testament, the study of Hebrew, and a "Jewish Messiah" mediating to an undifferentiated Triune God as one, Stancarism could have confirmed the suspicions of surounding Orthodox, Catholic, and faithful (Sarnickian) Calvinist lords and clerics that it was a continuation of the Judaizing trend in Ukrainian religious history.[69]

There is almost no way to identify the larger number of Stancarists who

65 Wotschke, "Stancaro," p. 584; Heim, *Italienische Protestanten,* p. 115.
66 Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:251–304.
67 Kai E. J. Jørgensen, *Ökumenische Bestrebungen unter den Polnischen Protestanten bis zum Jahre 1545* (Copenhagen, 1942), chap. 8.
68 Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:269.
69 See my "Protestants in the Ukraine," pts. 1 and 2.

had already returned to the fold of the Major Reformed Church.[70] On April 13, Pastor Christopher Brzecholski of Dubets'ko renounced Stancarism in the name of his fellow ministers. To the synod's satisfaction, he affirmed, in a formulation that safeguarded something of what they had gone into schism over, that "Jesus Christ was [Mediator] in such a way that the whole force of the Mediation enacted was in the human nature, and the efficacity was from the divinity of the same Son incarnate."

A second person involved in the asservation and submission was a Pastor Blasius of Gorlice in the piedmont of Little Poland. Another was Pastor Stanislas Chrząstowski[71] of Iazlovets' (owned by Palatine George Jazłowiecki of Podolia),[72] who was also identified as "minister of the palatine of Ruthenia (*Russiae*)," which would clearly make a Stancarist of the palatine patron himself. It seems plausible that it was Palatine Jazłowiecki — not, indeed, *a* Ruthenian but *of* Ruthenia and Podolia — whom Łużyński had in mind along with Lord Stadnicki when he wrote Calvin of two lords who were supporting Stancaro in the formation of a church between the Calvinist and the Roman. A fourth pastor to disavow Stancarism was Michael Bieńkowski, the minister of Lord Stanislas Rzemieński of Książnice in Little Poland, whose patron must also have been a Stancarist. The next, Caspar Ważnovienis, is identified as "a minister of Palatine [Nicholas Mielecki, d. 1585] of Podolia, grand Hetman of the Crown," who had married Elizabeth Radvila, daughter of Nicholas IV the Black of Vilnius. A Ruthenian pastor of Lord Mielecki, Ivan Stets'ko (Stecko), was in attendance at synod more than once,[73] but he does not figure as one of the last Stancarist holdouts. Palatine Mielecki was owner of Zaslav'l (Zesław) near Minsk and a Pastor Blasius Kaczanowski (Kachanouski) of Zaslavl' was present at the extreme Unitarian synod of Iu̧"e (Iwie) in Belorussia (20 to 26 January 1568) which Simon Budny attended. The radical ideas discussed there included whether Jesus was the son of both Mary and Joseph.[74] The next disavower was Pastor

[70] Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:268, 271.
[71] *PSB,* vol. 3, gives only later Calvinists of this name, but in Sipayłło Chrząstowski is also identified as "minister of the palatine of Ruthenia (*Russiae*)." This would clearly make the palatine patron himself, Lord George Jazłowiecki "*of* Ruthenia," a Stancarist.
[72] He was deputy from Podolia in the Diet of Piotrków of 1562/63, and by 1564 he had become castellan of Kam"ianets'-Podil's'kyi. He was to become a plausible "Piast" candidate at the Election Diet of 1573. *PSB* 11:121–23.
[73] Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:201, 209. On Mikołaj Mielecki, later a plausible "Piast" candidate at the Election Diet of 1573, see *PSB* 20 (1975):759–64.
[74] Sipayłło, *Akta,* 2:218.

Albert of Rzeszów (Riashiv) on the Wisłok River in the piedmont of Little Poland, minister in Pidhaitsi (Podhajce) near Los'k, which had a printing press owned by Prince John Kyshka (Kiszka). His ministry was given to Ivan Chaplych Shpanovs'kyi (d. 1604) of Shpaniv (just above Hoshcha), son of Peter, the castellan of Kiev, after Shpanovs'kyi pledged allegiance to Sigismund Augustus following the Union of Lublin in 1569 (but he may have held it before this).[75] Later, there would be several Arians in branches of this family, particularly in Volhynia.[76]

Stancaro himself gave up a few years before his death. After his death on 12 November 1574, in an act of reconciliation, he was buried close to his former foe, Łaski, in Pińczów. Stancaro's son and namesake was among the dignitaries present to pay reconciliatory respect to the man who had founded the first Reformed congregation of the Commonwealth at that very place twenty-four years earlier.[77]

* * *

So much for Stancaro and the seven self-acknowledged Stancarists at the Synod of Sandomierz in 1570. As for "the Papists who were once even ours" about whom Łużyński wrote to Calvin in 1560, the reference might well have been to Lord John Tarnowski (d. 1571/4), who tolerated Protestant pastors on some of his estates and who defended Orzechowski. The Stancarist schism had two major Polish patrons in Ruthenia, Stanislas Matthew Stadnicki and George Jazłowiecki. However, it also had many other adherents, including Jerome Ossoliński, Nicholas Stadnicki, and Stanislas Drohowski, the last an Orthodox Ruthenian by birth. The Stancarist church, true to the Fathers, Peter Lombard, and the post-Chalcedonian Second and Third Councils of Constantinople, held that Christ was Mediator in his human nature only. Andrew Frycz Modrzewski, who was close to the left-wing Pinczovians, and Stanislas Orzechowski, who moved freely in Orthodox, Reformed, and Catholic lordly circles, both agreed with Stancaro, against the Helvetian and Saxon advisors of the Pinczovians, that Christ could not have been Mediator before the incarnation of the eternal Son of God. However, these two most able native publicists, and perhaps also theologians, differed from Stancaro and from each other about the role and modality of Christ as Mediator and about the Trinity.

75 *PSB* 4:170A.
76 See my "Protestants in the Ukraine," especially pp. 191–204.
77 Węgierski, *Slavonia Reformata,* p. 414.

The Stancarist appellation for both the right-wing and left-wing Pinczovians, "Arian," popularized by Orzechowski, survived as the common designation used not only by Polish and Ukrainian peasants, but also by the educated to refer to Stancarist, Sarnickian, and Socinian congregations and their edifices.

The Saxon and Helvetian theologians were actually more innovative than they realized or acknowledged, changing patristic and conciliar formulations without due attention to the enormously sophisticated and not wholly scriptural Christology and Triadology of antiquity. Stancaro was, at least at the beginning, closer to Catholic and Eastern Orthodoxy than were those whom he so vituperatively attacked in the Commonwealth and in their scholarly theocracies in Saxony and Switzerland. By pillorying them as "Arian," the Stancarists caused the left-wing Pinczovians, under the guidance of Francis Lismanino and George Biandrata, to become scriptural and to be satisfied with belief in the Three Persons of the Apostles' Creed. These forerunners of the Unitarians and the later Socinians never passed through an "Arian" phase, in the ancient sense of that word. But thanks to Stancaro and Orzechowski and the eventual royal decree against them (1658), they bear that name among scholars even today.

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The Early Period of Pavlo Teterja's Hetmancy in the Right-Bank Ukraine (1661–1663)

ZBIGNIEW WÓJCIK

The upheaval produced by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj's uprising virtually ended the authority of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Ukraine. Polish ruling circles certainly did not intend that state of affairs to continue. However, the events following the victory of royal troops over the Cossacks in the battle of Berestečko (28–30 June 1651) demonstrated that it was no longer possible to control the Ukraine by force or to return to the *status quo ante bellum.* The Perejaslav Treaty (1654) that subordinated the Ukraine to Tsar Alexis, combined with the Muscovite intervention in the Polish-Ukrainian war, made the reestablishment of Polish authority even more elusive a goal.

But Xmel'nyc'kyj soon understood that he had paid too high a price at Perejaslav, and he began to look for allies against Muscovy as he had earlier done against Poland. The main result of these efforts was his well-known pro-Swedish policy. After Xmel'nyc'kyj's death his successor, Vyhovs'kyj, decisively broke with Muscovy and realigned himself with the Commonwealth. The resulting Union of Hajdač (1658) certainly represented political wisdom on both sides, although many years too late to do much to solve their problems. The idea of the union was, to put it mildly, unpopular in the Ukraine, and the Poles did not want to consent to the emergence of a Commonwealth of Three Nations — the Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Duchy of Ruthenia.

After Vyhovs'kyj's downfall, the Zaporozhian mace fell to Bohdan's son, Jurij. The Ukraine's ties with Muscovy were renewed, but in the Čudniv campaign (1660), the Poles won a great victory over the Muscovite army and its allies, Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj's Cossacks. The resulting new Polish-Cossack treaty — the Agreement of Čudniv — seemed to augur the return of Polish influence in the Dnieper basin. But once more this goal was illusory. The Commonwealth possessed neither the military

force nor sufficient influence among the Cossacks to benefit from its success.

The situation in the Ukraine became increasingly complicated. While Poland and Muscovy vied for political and military control over the country, Tatar claims,[1] backed by the Ottoman Empire (although not very actively because of internal Ottoman difficulties), increased. The Cossacks, who had been by and large unified in external policy under Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, were by now split into a number of factions that reflected the deteriorating situation in the country. By the early 1660s the pro-Muscovite party was strong in the Left-Bank Ukraine, where "the tsar's high hand" lay heavy. The group counting on agreement with Poland prevailed in the Right-Bank Ukraine. A pro-Tatar party was also gathering adherents, with Ivan Vyhovs'kyj, the former hetman and co-architect of the Union of Hadjač, as their leader. In the general turmoil and chaos that ensued, the idea of an independent Ukraine was not lost, however. It was represented, in my view, by two mutually antagonistic political groups in the Left-Bank Ukraine, led by the Cossack leaders Jakym Somko and Vasyl' Zolotarenko,[2] respectively. Both were subsequently executed by Muscovy for their policies.

The court at Warsaw, preparing for another major campaign against Muscovy, decided to make yet another attempt to subordinate at least that part of the Ukraine nominally under the rule of King John Casimir. The decision was made because it had become apparent that tension in the Ukraine was sufficiently serious to oblige the Poles to act: that moment came in the winter of 1661–1662, after the unsuccessful attempt by the incompetent hetman Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj to conquer the Left-Bank territories.

A "confederation" or resistance by the army to royal authority in Poland made a repetition of Berestečko or Čudniv impossible, so this time the government was forced to take recourse through diplomatic channels. Pavlo Teterja, the former colonel of Perejaslav and a leading Cossack representative, had left the Ukraine a year earlier for Warsaw, where he became keeper of the king's household (*stolnik, dapifer*) in the province of Polotsk and a royal courtier. He was certainly being prepared for his future role as Zaporozhian hetman under the Commonwealth's auspices.

1 See Z. Wójcik, "Rywalizacja polsko-tatarska o Ukrainę na przełomie lat 1660/1661," *Przegląd Historyczny* (Warsaw), vol. 45, no. 4 (1954); and idem, *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza* (Warsaw, 1959), p. 42ff.

In February 1662 it was apparently decided that the time was right for his mission, and on February 8 Teterja set out for the Ukraine bearing detailed instructions.[3]

According to these instructions, one of Teterja's most important tasks was to ascertain why Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj had not suppressed the signs of unrest along the Dnieper and why, in spite of the agreements, he had removed royal officials (*starostowie, capitanei*) and private estate officials (*dzierżawcy*). This was a delicate issue, since the move had outraged Polish landowners; after it had been resolved, Teterja was supposed to deal with the political problems of the Right-Bank Cossacks. In particular, he was to determine what kind of treaty the khan had recently concluded with the Zaporozhian hetman; why the Cossacks and Tatars had withdrawn from the Left-Bank Ukraine; what the attitudes toward Muscovy were, particularly among the officers; whether any attempts were being made to reestablish relations with the tsar; how the Cossacks viewed the Polish-Muscovite peace the king and the Commonwealth were supposedly seeking; and, finally, what the attitude toward the proposed peace was in the Crimea. Teterja was also directed to acquaint himself with a number of minor issues regarding relations between Poland, Muscovy, the Tatars, and the Cossacks. Moreover, he was reminded that, while assuring Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj and the officers of the king's and the Commonwealth's favor, he should not forget to add that no Orthodox patriarch could free them from their oath of loyalty to John Casimir, a clear warning that the Commonwealth would react strongly to any machinations in that regard by groups of Cossacks in Constantinople. Teterja was directed to stay as long as circumstances required and to keep the king informed through coded messages. While in the Ukraine, he was to receive 2,000 Polish zlotys every three months, a handsome sum for the time. Teterja received his stipend on schedule, a point of some significance at a time when the treasury was consistently short of funds.[4]

In the summer and fall of 1662, the situation in the Ukraine was causing alarmed concern in the Polish court, which had learned through its agents in the Crimea that the Ottomans and Tatars intended to increase their

[3] *Pamjatniki, izdannye Vremennoju komissieju dlja razbora drevnix aktov. . .*, vol. 4, pt. 3 (Kiev, 1859), no. 33. Cf. the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), Cracow, ms. 1065, pp. 208–209.

[4] "Assignacyja dla Wielmożnego Podskarbiego Koronnego Urodzonemu stolnikowi połockiemu Pawłowi Teterze na Ukrainę w potrzebe Rzplitej jadącemu na złotych dwa tysiące na każdą ćwierć roku, póki na tej usłudze będzie. Dan w Warszawie dnia . . . lutego 1662." Main Archive of Ancient Acts (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, hereafter AGAD), Warsaw, *Sigillata*, no. 5, folio 51.

control over the Ukraine.[5] King John Casimir, his wife Queen Louise-Marie, and their entourage relied on the Cossacks for protection against their internal enemies, especially the rebellious army, but grim news was beginning to arrive from the Dnieper of the disappearance of Polish influence in the Zaporozhian Host. Once more the king resorted to diplomacy, and once more Teterja was entrusted with the surveillance of Xmel'nyc'kyj and the Cossacks. At the same time, to curb the influence of the Ottoman-Tatar forces, Paweł Wolski, a military man (*towarzysz roty pancernej*) and royal chamberlain, was sent to the Crimea.[6]

We do not know what Wolski's instructions were, but they must have included some touchy questions, since the khan tried hard to make his excuses to the king, claiming that the sultan was not to blame for the unrest in the Ukraine, and, on the contrary, was seeking an understanding with the Commonwealth. The reason given for the anarchy on the Dnieper was the absence of Polish troops; the Tatars could not by themselves restore order.[7] As for the Tatar-Cossack intrigues about which the king so bitterly complained, the khan denied their existence. The Ukrainian Cossacks were merely traitors trying to trouble Polish-Tatar friendship; they served the king and the Commonwealth disloyally by "incessantly importuning His Majesty the Khan to take them under his protection."[8] To prove his sincerity, the khan advised the king to conclude a peace with the Muscovite tsar (a plan the king had already ominously mentioned)[9] only after the Cossacks had submitted completely to the Commonwealth.[10] In the meantime he appealed that the Poles send him military assistance.

All of these assurances were a subterfuge, of course. The Tatars continued to undermine Polish authority in the Ukraine at every turn.[11] The Polish mission in the Crimea accomplished little, but it did convey to the Tatars that the Commonwealth knew of their intentions vis-à-vis the Cossacks and that the Commonwealth held a trump card in the form of a possible agreement with Muscovy.

5 Islam bey Cegielski, the former Polish prisoner of war who voluntarily converted to Islam, was one of these agents. See Cegielski to Chancellor Prażmowski, undated, 1662, AGAD, the Warsaw Crown Archives (Archiwum Koronne Warszawskie, hereafter AKW), Tatar section, carton 61, folder (*teka*) 38.

6 See fn. 5.

7 Khan Mehmet IV Giray to King John Casimir, Kobazīd, undated (delivered in Lviv on November 5), 1662, AGAD, AKW, Tatar section, folder 36.

8 "Respons na instrukcyją JKMości daną ur. Pawłowi Wolskiemu . . . nazad powracającemu się z poselstwem od Chana JMości Krymskiego. . . ." From Kobazīd near Baxčysaraj, 30 November 1662, AGAD, AKW, Tatar section, folder 27.

9 AGAD, AKW, Tatar section, folder 36.

10 AGAD, AKW, Tatar section, folder 27.

11 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 48.

Encouraged by this new proof of royal favor, Teterja carried out his mission simultaneously with Wolski's embassy.[12] It was an exceptionally difficult mission, since Teterja's task was undoubtedly to control the dangerous strife among the Cossacks either by deft manipulation of the puppet hetman Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj and his advisers or, if the anarchy was too far-reaching, by assuming control himself. The court had plans for the Ukraine in the near future and needed a completely trustworthy man at the head of the Zaporozhian Host.

The situation that Teterja found on the Right Bank when he reached Xmel'nyc'kyj's camp near Rasava appeared disastrous. Chaos had reigned in the country since 1660. Tatar pillage was constant. An inept hetman and his officers contributed to the hopeless situation, as did the recent defeats, which had made the Cossack soldiers and the common people rebellious. Xmel'nyc'kyj was blamed — not altogether justly — for all these misfortunes. The Cossacks complained, the peasants were restless, and the Zaporozhian land openly threatened the hetman by demanding that he voluntarily resign and leave Čyhyryn.[13] The army under his command was increasingly undisciplined and hostile.[14] The star of Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj, hetman despite himself, was obviously on the wane.

Surrounded by a band of advisers representing varying factions, trapped in the intricate policies of the Polish-Muscovite-Tatar triangle, the hetman faced tasks beyond his ability and strength. The Ukraine needed a leader equal to his father, Bohdan, one who would be able to control and unify the divided Cossacks and to choose Polish, Muscovite, or Crimean-Tatar "protection." The young Xmel'nyc'kyj could not control the quarreling Cossacks, and all his efforts in foreign policy failed. He antagonized the Commonwealth, Muscovy, and the Crimean Khanate, and, although unquestionably advised by others, he nonetheless received all the blame. The tsar was clearly pushing Brjuxovec'kyj, and the khan was nurturing plans involving Vyhovs'kyj. The Commonwealth could still afford to tolerate Xmel'nyc'kyj for a time, while holding Teterja, the only man guaranteed to govern the Ukraine according to Warsaw's directives, on alert and in reserve.

[12] "Pozwolenie na wybieranie indukty i ewekty w województwach ukrainnych, to jest bracławskim, kijowskim i czernihowskim na paszach i komorach od przychodzących i wychodzących towarów urodz. Pawłowi Teterze . . . do dalszej ordynacyjej JKMości, a to na instancyją urodz. Hetmana Zaporoskiego," Warsaw, 20 July 1662, AGAD, *Sigillata*, no. 5, folio 110.

[13] S. Veličko, *Letopis' sobytij v Jugozapadnoj Rossii v XVII veke* (Kiev, 1848), pp. 31–35.

[14] *Pamjatniki*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 46:209–211.

Xmel'nyc'kyj, however, could no longer count on anyone. He was at least intelligent enough to realize that no one needed him. In September he sent Hryhorij Lesnyc'kyj to Poland to plead with the king for permission to resign the office of Zaporozhian hetman, which he no longer had the power to hold.[15] At the same time he announced the conclusion of an agreement with the khan according to which he was to conduct one more sally across the Dnieper.[16] This small-scale campaign was carried out, but to no effect.[17]

When Teterja reached Xmel'nyc'kyj's camp, the reports he sent back to the king and Grand Chancellor Mikołaj Prażmowski were pessimistic.[18] He made no attempt to conceal the situation among the Zaporozhian Host, and he advised that if the Commonwealth wanted to control the Ukraine and to maintain a staunch hetman, it had to send in the army: "The hetman awaits help and if he does not get it, collapse is imminent," the royal emissary concluded.[19]

In his most comprehensive report, dated September 15 (old style) from the vicinity of Rasava,[20] Teterja argued at length that the only way to keep the Ukraine on the side of the Commonwealth was to send the troops of the Kingdom of Poland to the Dnieper area. The Zaporozhian hetman would otherwise insist on resigning his office, which would not at that point benefit Poland. Only Teterja's assurances that a Polish relief force would appear in two weeks would shake the hetman in his intentions.

The relief force, of course, did not come. Negotiations with the rebellious Polish army were still going on in Lviv, and in view of both the internal and the external situation — mutinies, snags in the negotiations with Muscovy, and Tatar intrigues — the court did not regard it as appropriate to maintain Xmel'nyc'kyj as hetman, whatever the frequent official protestations to the contrary. The office of hetman was to pass from the Xmel'nyc'kyj family, and events of great moment were about to occur in the Ukraine.

The large correspondence between Teterja and John Casimir and Chancellor Prażmowski at the end of 1662 had its ironic side.[21] It was

15 *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 48.
16 *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 45.
17 N. Kostomarov, "Getmanstvo Jurija Xmel'nickogo," in *Sobranie sočinenij . . . Istoričeskie monografii i issledovanija,* bk. 5, vol. 12 (St. Petersburg, 1905), pp. 164–165.
18 *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, nos. 46, 47.
19 *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 46.
20 Czartoryski Library (Biblioteka Czartoryskich), Cracow, ms. 402, pp. 451–452.
21 *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, nos. 50–53.

clear that in sending Teterja to the Ukraine, the court had decided to give him the Zaporozhian mace. In taking on the mission, Teterja was no doubt also perfectly aware what its outcome was supposed to be and did everything in his power to see that it came to pass. But his letters dutifully protest that such an idea was alien to him and that he would oppose it in every way. He exaggerated the difficulties, particularly the Tatar threat that hung like the Sword of Damocles over the Ukraine.[22] He also blackmailed the king by saying that unless he received his stipend, he would be compelled to abandon his mission and leave the Ukraine.[23] There is no doubt that early in the fall of 1662 both the court and Teterja wanted to keep Xmel'nyc'kyj in power for a little longer, not only for their political purposes but also to give the future Zaporozhian hetman time to prepare for a takeover which would be by no means easy to achieve.

Teterja was not the only candidate; there were also Cossack officers who were eager to become Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj's successor. First, there was the ambitious Vyhovs'kyj, who never lost hope.[24] Some Polish chroniclers claim that Ivan Nečaj was also among the competitors, but this could not have been the case, for he had already fallen into Muscovite hands and was never to return from his exile in Siberia.[25] However, the same chroniclers neglect to mention the other Cossack leaders who quietly entered the arena and secretly pursued their ambitions, their aspirations nurtured by the Commonwealth's steady proof of favor. Among them were Petro Dorošenko, Myxajlo Xanenko,[26] and Hryhorij Lesnyc'kyj,[27] all of whom were pro-Polish, and, especially, Hryhorij Huljanyc'kyj, who, along with Teterja and Vyhovs'kyj, was certainly among the more serious contenders.[28] They were not mentioned openly only because they

[22] Teterja to the king, Korsun', 20 November 1662; *Pamjatniki*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 51.

[23] *Pamjatniki*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 52.

[24] W. Kochowski, *Annalium Poloniae Climacter*, vol. 3 (Cracow, 1698), p. 51.

[25] V. V. Volk-Karačevskij, "Bor'ba Pol'ši s Kozačestvom vo vtoroj polovine XVII i načale XVIII veka," *Universitetskie izvestija* (Kiev), 1899, no. 1, p. 105.

[26] P. Gordon, *Tagebuch des Generalen Patrick Gordon* . . . , ed. by M. A. Obolenskij and M. C. Posselt, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1849–52), 1:126: "Chanenko hielt fest an der polnischen Partei."

[27] Lesnyc'kyj, who remained as an envoy with the king in Lviv, received further proof of royal favor in November of that year. See "Uniwersał do urzędów, ceł i administratorów i pisarzów, aby towary ur. Leśnickiego wedle wolności Wojsku Zaporoskiemu nadanych wolno były przepuszczane," AGAD, *Sigillata*, no. 5, folio 141.

[28] An interesting note proving that his efforts to win the staff were known in Poland runs as follows: "this outstanding man [Huljanyc'kyj], was recently a candidate for the staff," Lviv, 18 February 1663, Jagellonian Library (Biblioteka Jagiellońska), Cracow, ms. 5, p. 905. Cf. my biography of Huljanyc'kyj in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 10, pt. 1 (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1962), pp. 88–89.

were not relatives of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj, whose name was still charismatic in the Ukraine. However eager they might be to rid themselves of the inept "Juraško," they could not imagine, at least for the moment, handing over the office to anyone without family ties to Bohdan. Vyhovs'kyj and Teterja, however, both qualified. Vyhovs'kyj's sister-in-law Olena — his brother Danylo's widow — was the daughter of Bohdan and his wife Anna (née Somko). Teterja had married the same Olena after Danylo had been killed by the Muscovites.[29]

Family connections had an emotional significance, of course, but they did not play a serious role in what was going on behind the scenes. More important were Vyhovs'kyj's adherence to the idea of establishing a Duchy of Ruthenia, even if it had to be under the protectorate of the Ottoman Porte and the Crimean Khanate, and his enmity toward the Commonwealth. Thus, in his struggle against Vyhovs'kyj, Teterja had the advantages of the support of the Commonwealth, of dynastic claims through his wife, and of money, which he passed around generously to gain supporters.[30] Bribery was easy, since the ethical level among the Cossacks had fallen low by that time: Velyčko said that a Cossack would willingly sell out his own father or brother,[31] and Teterja's wife Olena masterminded a propaganda campaign backed with gold.[32]

The results were favorable to Teterja. At the end of 1662, Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj convened a Cossack council at the Vil'šana monastery near Korsun' and declared that he could no longer bear the heavy burdens placed upon him. He had therefore decided to fulfill an old wish: he would lay down the Zaporozhian mace and seclude himself in a monastery for the remainder of his life. Wishing good luck and a wise choice in the election of their new hetman to all assembled, he reportedly advised them not to associate themselves with either the Poles or the Muscovites, but to place themselves under Ottoman authority. The reaction of the assembly varied. Some, including Teterja, begged him not to give up his mace of office; but most voiced complaints unflattering to the hetman and prepared to elect a new chief for the Zaporozhian Host.

On 6 January 1663 (o.s.), the Kievan metropolitan Denys Balaban

29 V. B. Antonovič and V. A. Bec, *Istoričeskie dejateli Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii v biografijax i portretax*, no. 1 (Kiev, 1883), p. 51.
30 Veličko, *Letopis'*, p. 36.
31 Veličko, *Letopis'*, p. 36.
32 *Historia panowania Jana Kazimierza. . .* , ed. by E. Raczyński, vol. 2 (Poznań, 1840), p. 191.

tonsured the unfortunate hetman, and he entered the Čyhyryn monastery, first as a simple monk named Hedeon,[33] but soon as an archimandrite.[34] Jurij notified John Casimir of his resignation in a letter, revealing his calling to God's service and thanking the king for all the benefits he had received.[35] There is no evidence that his motives were in fact pious, however. Jurij secluded himself neither "for repentance" nor "for his father's misdeeds,"[36] but mainly for his own safety and the security of his wealth, collected *per fas et nefas,* but now no longer offensive, since it was formally destined for the Orthodox church.[37] Thus Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj disappeared from the political scene, though he was to reemerge later to play a new role in the deepening political crisis in the Ukraine.

In the meantime, the question of the office of Zaporozhian hetman was quickly decided. Teterja outmaneuvered his competitors and was elected Zaporozhian hetman at Čyhyryn. According to a contemporary chronicler, the colonels, already currying favor, triumphantly carried him on a chair to the front of the hall in which the election had taken place and showed him to the assembled Cossacks who, throwing their hats in the air, greeted him with joyous acclaim.[38] Both the election and the festivities that followed were surprisingly peaceful.[39] Teterja's ascension to the office of the Zaporozhian hetman was a great triumph for the Commonwealth, and especially for the royal court. Control over the Right-Bank Ukraine was taken over by a man who owed his position to John Casimir, and who saw his future as lying in service to the Commonwealth.

Teterja, who came from a family of Perejaslav burghers, began his career with the advantage of being Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj's godson. Owing to that same connection, the young Pavlo had been given an excellent education in Polish schools, and this, too, contributed to his later success. In 1645 Teterja was appointed to a position at the Luc'k Castle court (*sąd grodzki*), where Stanisław Kazimierz Bieniewski was then a scribe. Bieniewski later became palatine of Černihiv, an outstanding diplomat, and

33 Kochowski, *Annalium,* 3:49–51; Kostomarov, "Getmanstvo," p. 165; F. Rawita-Gawroński, *Ostatni Chmielniczenko (zarys monograficzny), 1640–1679* (Poznań, 1919), p. 84; Volk-Karačevskij, "Bor'ba Pol'ši," p. 104; Antonovič and Bec, *Istoričeskie dejateli,* p. 30.

34 Kostomarov, "Getmanstvo," p. 165.

35 Xmel'nyc'kyj to the king, Kam"janka, 17 January 1663. Czartoryski Library, ms. 402, no. 80, p. 477.

36 Rawita-Gawroński, *Ostatni Chmielniczenko,* p. 87.

37 Lviv, 18 February 1663: "Xmel'nyc'kyj joined the monastery *quidem* so that *eo pretextu* he might take treasures away." Jagellonian Library, ms. 5, p. 905.

38 Kochowski, *Annalium,* 3:53.

39 *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 55.

the chief architect of the Union of Hadjač on the Polish side. Teterja was soon his favorite. The Xmel'nyc'kyj uprising not only did no damage to his career, but actually made his promotion easier. In 1653 Teterja became colonel of Perejaslav; and in the next year he took part in the Council of Perejaslav. After the council, on orders from Bohdan Xmel'-nyc'kyj, he delivered a letter to Moscow notifying the tsar that the Zaporozhian Host and the entire Ukraine had accepted Alexis's protection. After Bohdan's death, Teterja remained at the side of the next two hetmans, Vyhovs'kyj and Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj.

Representing Hetman Vyhovs'kyj, Teterja took an active part in the negotiations leading to the Union of Hadjač, working together with his former superior Bieniewski. At the same time he acted as envoy to Moscow. During the Čudniv campaign Teterja was in the camp of Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj.[40] Immediately afterwards, he clearly associated himself with the Commonwealth. At the Cossack council held in Korsun' after the campaign (November 19–21), he became chancellor (*pysar*) of the Zaporozhian Host with the Commonwealth's acquiescence — an acquiescence that took into account the weakness of Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj, even with the Commonwealth's support. But Teterja remained chancellor for a very short time: he was soon once more at the king's side as master of his household.

An extremely ambitious man, Teterja was greedy for honors, titles, and property. His vast business enterprises were not confined to the Dnieper Ukrainian lands and the royal treasury in Warsaw, but reached as far as the Radziwiłł estates in Podlachia (Pidljaššja).[41] As we have seen, this assiduous amassing of wealth was later of considerable assistance in obtaining the mace of Zaporozhian hetman. The outlay of funds required to win that office was undoubtedly high, but it hardly made a dent in Teterja's impressive assets. Nevertheless, he recouped his losses by demanding payment from the king for services to the Commonwealth. In both intelligence and education he certainly surpassed the Cossack leaders of the time, but his ethical principles were no more elevated:[42] all the

40 Antonovič and Bec, *Istoričeskie dejateli*, pp. 50–51; Volk-Karačevskij, "Bor'ba Pol'ši," p. 107; O. Levickij, "Očerk vnutrennoj istorii Malorossii vo vtoroj polovine XVII v.," *Universitetskie izvestija* (Kiev), 1874, nos. 7–8, pp. 589–91; Kostomarov, "Getmanstvo," pp. 166–167; *Sobranie gosudarstvennyx gramot i dogovorov. . .*, 5 vols. (Moscow, 1813–94), 3:507–513.

41 Teterja to Bogusław Radziwiłł, Korsun', 20 February 1663. AGAD, the Radziwiłł Archives (Archiwum Radziwiłłow), sec. 5, folder 402, no. 16241.

42 An excellent characterization of Teterja can be found in Kostomarov, "Getmanstvo," pp. 166–67.

leaders' first concern was increasing their land holdings and gold reserves.

The election of Teterja was recognized abroad as a triumph for the king and the Commonwealth. In France, it was reported that a "resident de Sa Majesté Polonaise dans la dite Province [i.e., the Ukraine]"[43] had become the new Zaporozhian hetman. The Tatars — sincerely or not — congratulated the king and the grand chancellor for the results of the Council of Vil'šana, and voiced their conviction that Teterja would certainly remain loyal to his king.[44]

Early in February 1663, Teterja reported his unanimous election as Zaporozhian hetman to the king,[45] sending as envoy Huljanyc'kyj, his recent rival for the mace. This deft move was meant to win his defeated opponent over and to demonstrate that the new hetman wanted harmonious and friendly relations with his officers. In his letter to John Casimir, Hetman Teterja recommended the envoy as one of his most loyal subjects,[46] which turned out actually to be true. His instructions to Huljanyc'kyj are also an example of Teterja's superior diplomatic talents.[47] Fitting immediately into his role, the new hetman asked the king to return the Orthodox churches and estates that had been taken over by the Uniates in both the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, this matter remained unsettled, much to the indignation of the Ukrainian population. Putting church affairs clearly to the forefront, Teterja wrote that a failure to resolve these matters to the satisfaction of the Zaporozhian Host would have serious consequences:

> . . . and should this not happen, then, unwilling to betray my conscience — as I swore to the Zaporozhian Host — I declare that I will renounce my office without delay. . . . In other words, should the churches not be returned by declaration of His Royal Majesty and all the estates, I will have to leave this office immediately, because I shall otherwise be reproached for taking only half-hearted care of this and for failing to behave according to the dictates of my conscience.[48]

He pleaded for the preservation of Cossack rights, privileges, and liber-

[43] *Gazette de France* (Gdańsk), 21 February 1663.
[44] Sultan Selim Giray to the king, from near Kam"janka, 7 January 1663 (o.s.); AGAD, AKW, Tatar section, carton 61, folder 42. Sultan Selim Giray to Chancellor Prażmowski; ibid., folder 43.
[45] Korsun', 22 January 1663 (o.s.). *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 4.
[46] *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 4.
[47] "Instrukcyja do Jego Królewskiej Mości ode mnie, Pawła Tetery, na ten czas hetmana z woli i postanowienia całego Wojska Zaporoskiego przez Pana Hrehorego Hulanickiego dla pamięci, dnia 22 januarii v.s., roku Pańskiego 1663 dana." Czartoryski Library, ms. 402, pp. 467–76.
[48] "Instrukcyja." Czartoryski Library, ms. 402, pp. 467–76.

ties. The hetman also beseeched the king to assign the office and lands of the *starostwo* of Lysjanka to the needs of the Zaporozhian Host, to allow him to ally himself, if necessary, with Moldavia and Wallachia, to intercede with the tsar for Cossack prisoners, and to pardon Colonel Ivan Bohun for his activities against the Commonwealth.[49]

The answer Huljanyc'kyj received from the king, who was then staying in Lviv, amounted mostly to meaningless promises, especially on the basic issues. John Casimir promised to settle the question of the return of churches and estates, but only after various "divisions" within the country had been resolved. The other Cossack demands were similarly dealt with.[50] The Polish king was for the most part justified, however. If he had not succeeded in settling the problems of Orthodoxy in the two years that followed the Čudniv campaign, he could not have done so in the early spring of 1663, when he was distracted by matters of greater urgency.

This well-considered and deft embassy to Lviv, designed primarily to win popularity among the Cossacks and the common people, was not, of course, Teterja's only diplomatic act after he had assumed power. He also had to find — immediately — some kind of *modus vivendi* with the Tatars, who continued their bloody activities in the Ukraine,[51] probably to express discontent with the election of a new hetman so completely loyal to the Commonwealth. Their alleged protestations of joy at the news of Teterja's election were illusory: no congratulatory letter to John Casimir from either the khan or the grand vizier Sefer Ghazi Agha has come down to us.

Immediately after he assumed power, Teterja, following the example of his predecessor, decided to conclude a "friendship pact" with the Crimea that would impose on the Tatars some obligation to give the Cossacks better treatment as official and formal "allies." The treaty was soon concluded: Teterja and Selim Giray, the qalgha sultan who then commanded the Horde in the Ukraine, renewed the "friendship" between the Zaporozhian Host and the Crimean Khanate. Teterja made his excuses for this treaty to the king in the ambassadorial instruction Huljanyc'kyj carried:

> . . . for it could not be otherwise, because the sultan (qalgha) with all his officers required this of me and of the whole Zaporozhian Host. And if I had been

49 "Instrukcyja." Czartoryski Library, ms. 402, pp. 467–76.

50 *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 60.

51 *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 56; *Gazette de France* (Riga), 3 February 1663: "Les Tartares continuent leurs ravages dans l'Ukraine."

reluctant I would have aroused their suspicion and, moreover, would have had no help and would have been threatened from across the Dnieper where the enemy is awake. . . .[52]

The new Cossack-Tatar treaty proved to be a handy tool for the expansion of Crimean authority over the Ukraine. Towards the end of February, the Zaporozhian hetman was already complaining to the Polish king, through his special envoy Andrzej Sielnicki, that the Tatars were cruelly oppressing the country and that Khan Mehmet Giray had demanded that the Cossacks not dispatch any embassy without his knowledge.[53] The Tatar mirzas were said to be very angry at Teterja for Huljanyc'kyj's recent embassy to the king.[54]

Coexistence with the Tatars was becoming more and more difficult. The Zaporozhian hetman realized that there would be no advantage in attempting an alliance, because neither Baxčysaraj nor Constantinople had any interest in making him a vassal of the Ottoman Porte. In contrast to his powerless and weak-minded predecessor, who vacillated between three neighboring states, Teterja from the beginning steered the fate of the Ukraine in only one direction — towards subordination to the Commonwealth. Ambition made him undertake the unification of the Right- and Left-Bank Ukraine under the protection of the Commonwealth, because he was convinced that for this loyal service he would be appointed hetman of a united Ukraine; his personal prospects would then be truly magnificent. Teterja saw two ways of reuniting the territories along both banks of the Dnieper under the scepter of the Polish king: either through treaties between the Commonwealth and Muscovy and the latter's renunciation of the Left Bank, or through military action. A peaceful resolution was preferable, of course, because a war contained dangers that might threaten him with the loss of the Zaporozhian mace. To the king he wrote in a letter sent through Sielnicki:

> Your Royal Majesty, my gracious Lord, will do a Godly work if you achieve a settlement with His Majesty the Muscovite tsar, it is owing to him that the Trans-Dnieper area is cool to unification and does not declare its obeisance to Your Royal Majesty; may God grant that an agreement be achieved and that those across the Dnieper, whether they wish to or not, give way, no longer hoping for Muscovite protection. . . .[55]

While he awaited further developments, especially the results of the

[52] "Instrukcyja." Czartoryski Library, ms. 402, pp. 467–76.
[53] *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 56.
[54] *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 56.
[55] *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 57.

Polish-Muscovite negotiations that were just starting in Lviv, Teterja resumed his intensive negotiations to win over the Cossack regiments of the Left Bank. There the situation invited subversion. Somko, who had already been designated for execution by Muscovy and was particularly susceptible to suggestion, was contacted first. He agreed to cooperate, but would not act until he had received assurances from the king that he would not be punished for his earlier activities.[56] John Casimir granted his request, promising to forgive everything,[57] though in the end it did the Left-Bank hetman little good. While secretly favoring Teterja's plan, Somko outwardly opposed it, expressing fear of Muscovy and ordering his colonels to seize Right-Bank agents found roaming in the Muscovite-controlled Ukraine.[58] The result of these subversive activities in the Left-Bank Ukraine were insignificant; the people were ill-disposed towards an accommodation with the king and the Commonwealth.

Teterja wanted to win over the Zaporozhian Sich for the Commonwealth along with the Left-Bank Ukraine. To that end he asked the king to issue a special decree forgiving the Cossacks in the Kish (a camp beyond the Dnieper rapids) for having changed sides, thus encouraging them to favor the Commonwealth.[59] This move also came to naught. The Zaporozhian Sich not only turned a deaf ear to the hetman's appeals, but also, in reaction, initiated a determinedly anti-Polish and pro-Muscovite movement aimed at dividing the Ukraine between the Commonwealth and Muscovy.[60] Anticipating failure in all his endeavors and aware of ominous signs, particularly from the Tatars, Teterja continually urged the king to send Polish troops to the Ukraine, for only under their protection would he be safe.[61]

But the Polish court ignored his appeals, not through any lack of willingness, but because the military mutiny continued. Instead of sending reinforcements to the Zaporozhian hetman, the court was demanding troops from him. Teterja's bitterness about the situation reached its peak toward the end of March, when he wrote to the king: "The Zaporozhian Host is losing its morale and shows little enthusiasm for fighting against the enemy for Your Royal Majesty's honor, because it has not received

56 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 57. For Teterja's action, also see *Gazette de France* (Gdańsk), 4 April 1663.
57 Kostomarov, "Getmanstvo," p. 167.
58 Kostomarov, "Getmanstvo," p. 167.
59 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 58.
60 For the situation in the Ukraine at the time, see also O. M. Apanovyč, *Zaporiz'ka sič u borot'bi proty turec'ko-tatars'koji ahresiji 50-70 rr. XVII st.* (Kiev, 1961).
61 *Pamjatniki*, vol. 4, pt. 3, nos. 58, 59, 62, 63.

reinforcements after so many requests and has only to conclude that Your Royal Majesty, my Gracious Lord, intends to ignore the Ukraine completely. . . ."[62] Fear of enemies on all sides forced Teterja to show concern above all for the Zaporozhian troops. Soon after his election, he issued a universal ordering the collection of import and export duties primarily on Muscovite, Turkish, and Armenian foreign goods; the revenues were to support Cossack regiments on the Right Bank.[63]

The renewed efforts of the Polish court to regain power over the Ukraine with the help of Teterja and the pro-Polish Cossack officers failed. In 1663, still before John Casimir's unsuccessful campaign against Muscovy in the Left-Bank Ukraine, the de facto division of the Ukraine occurred. On the Right Bank, control remained in the hands of Teterja; on the Left Bank Muscovite support made the pro-Muscovite Martyn Brjuxovec'kyj hetman. The chances that the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Porte would gain the upper hand were increasing, especially after 1665, when Polish power collapsed for a time after Teterja's defeat at Braclav by Cossack insurgents. Teterja saved his life only by escaping to Poland.[64]

Together with Jurij Xmel'nyc'kyj and the metropolitan of Kiev, Josyf Tukal's'kyj, Teterja spent some time in a Polish prison.[65] Nevertheless, he retained his Polish loyalties, and in the late 1660s would again play a role in Poland's Ukrainian policy. He did finally break with Poland, however, escaping to Wallachia, where like many other Cossack leaders he staked his fortunes with the Turkish-Tatar alliance. But death cut his career short.[66] Teterja's policies of cooperation between the Cossack Hetmanate and the Commonwealth and of the subordination of a united Ukraine to Poland had lost any chance of realization, as the future would show.

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[62] *Pamjatniki,* vol. 4, pt. 3, no. 63.

[63] K. Xarlampovyč, "Narysy z istoriji hrec'koji koloniji v Niženi (XVII–XVIII st.)," *Zapysky Istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu Vseukrajins'koji akademiji nauk* (Kiev), 24 (1929):119.

[64] N. Kostomarov, "Ruina. Getmanstvo Brjuxoveckogo, Mnogogrešnogo i Samojloviča," *Istoričeskie monografii i issledovania,* bk. 6, vols. 15–16 (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 45; Volk-Karačevskij, "Bor'ba Pol'ši," p. 132; Wójcik, *Traktat andruszowski,* p. 218.

[65] Z. Wójcik, "Nieznane dokumenty do biografii Pawła Tetery, Jerzego Chmielnickiego i Józefa Tukalskiego," *Przegląd Historyczny* 52, no. 3 (1961):521–25.

[66] Z. Wójcik, *Między traktatem andruszowskim a wojną turecką: Stosunki polsko-rosyjskie, 1667–1672* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 248–50.